

ANGLO-SAXON ARCHITECTURE



H. M. TAYLOR AND JOAN TAYLOR

VOLUME I

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

ANGLO-SAXON ARCHITECTURE

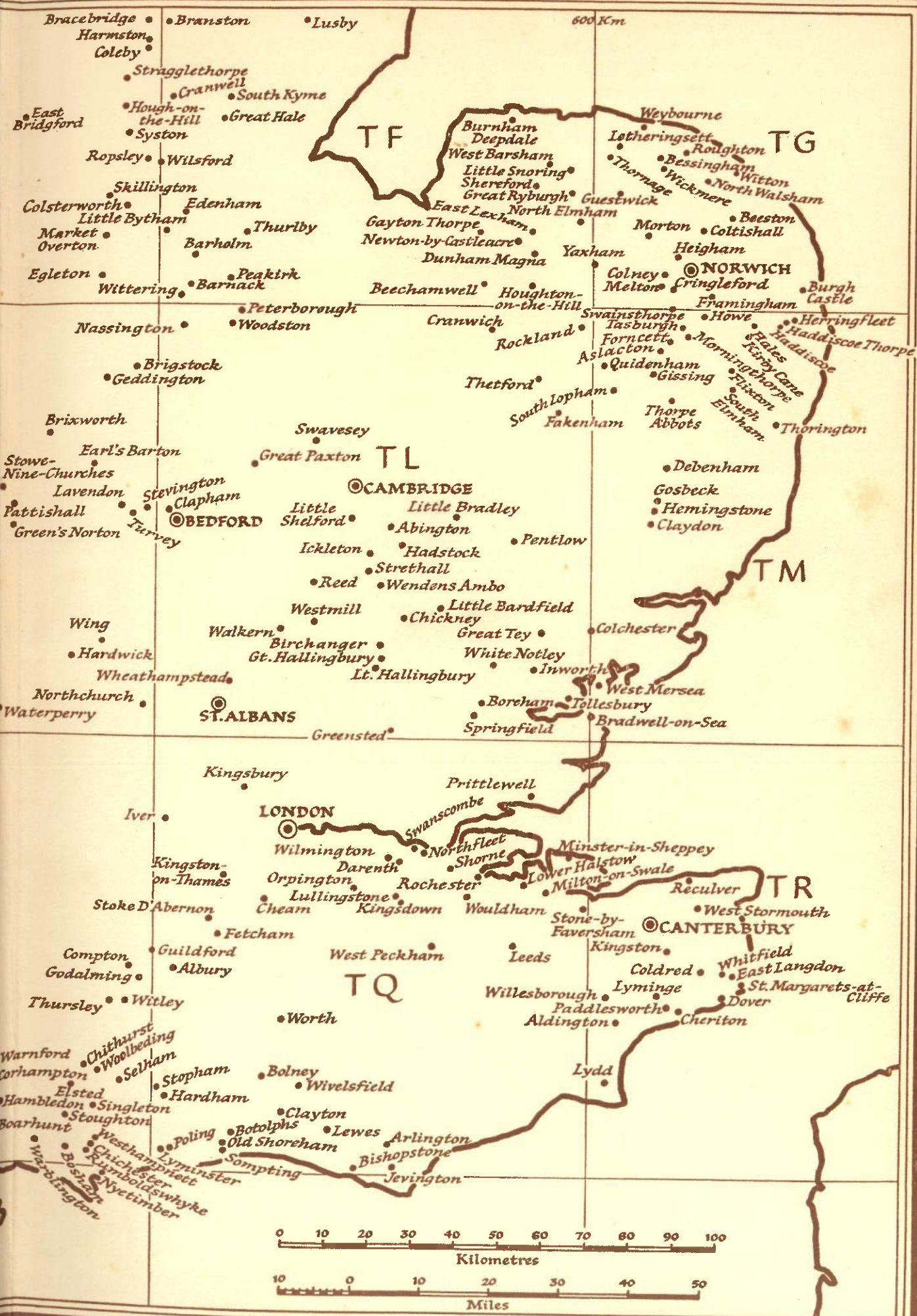
by H. M. TAYLOR, *Vice-Chancellor,
University of Keele, and*

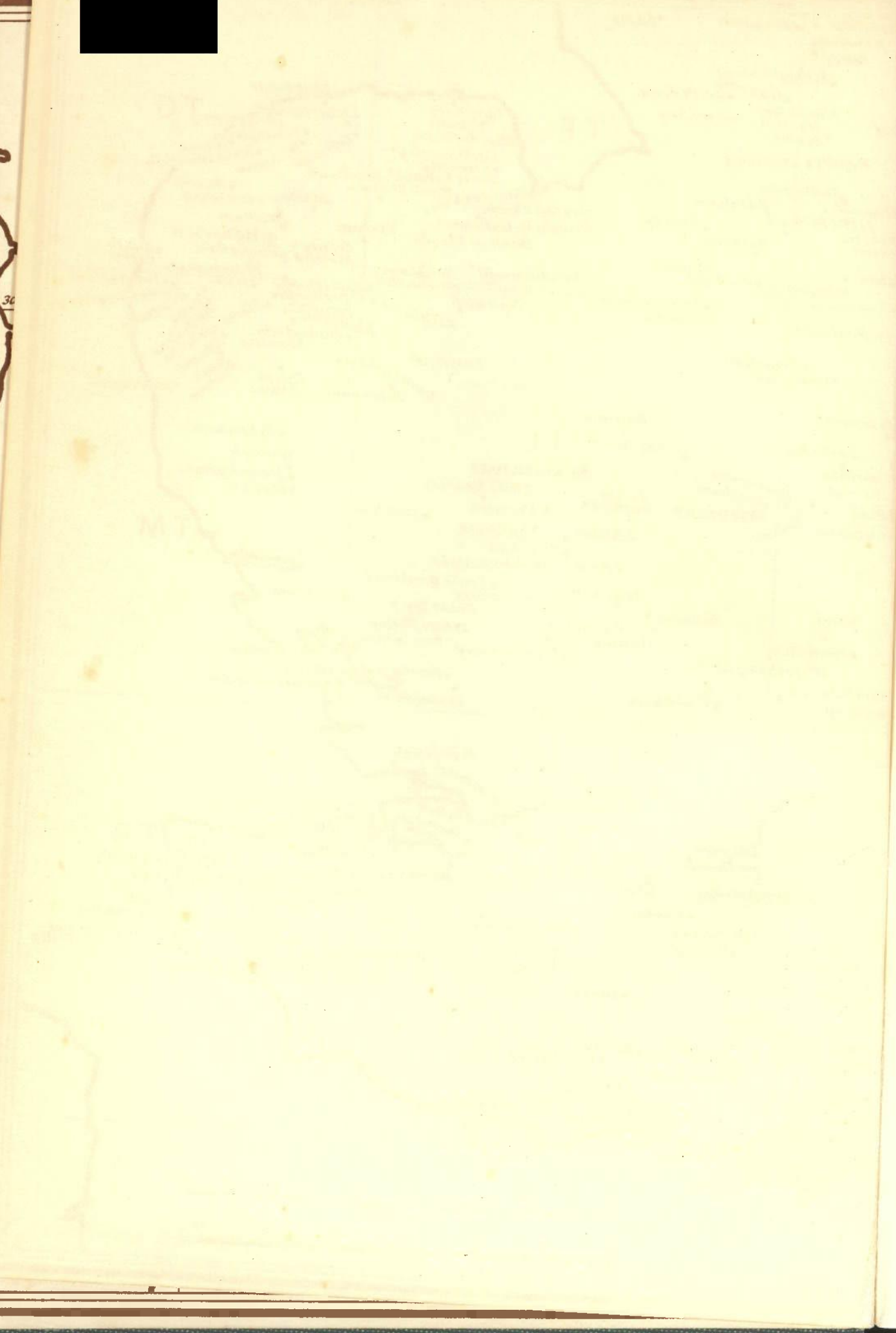
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Cambridge*

This work is a complete catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon fabric surviving in the churches of England. Part I, a short introduction, is a survey of pre-Conquest architectural features and the reasons for designating them as characteristically Anglo-Saxon. Part II is the catalogue. In it each church is described in turn, in alphabetical order of parish names. Each description is complete in itself, so that it is not necessary, when visiting a church, to turn to another part of the book. The descriptions are exhaustive and definitive, the completest possible inventory of surviving Anglo-Saxon features; and every feature in every church is described in the same detail. The descriptions are illuminated by 362 plans and diagrams, and there are 280 photographs. For convenience of handling the work has been divided into two volumes.

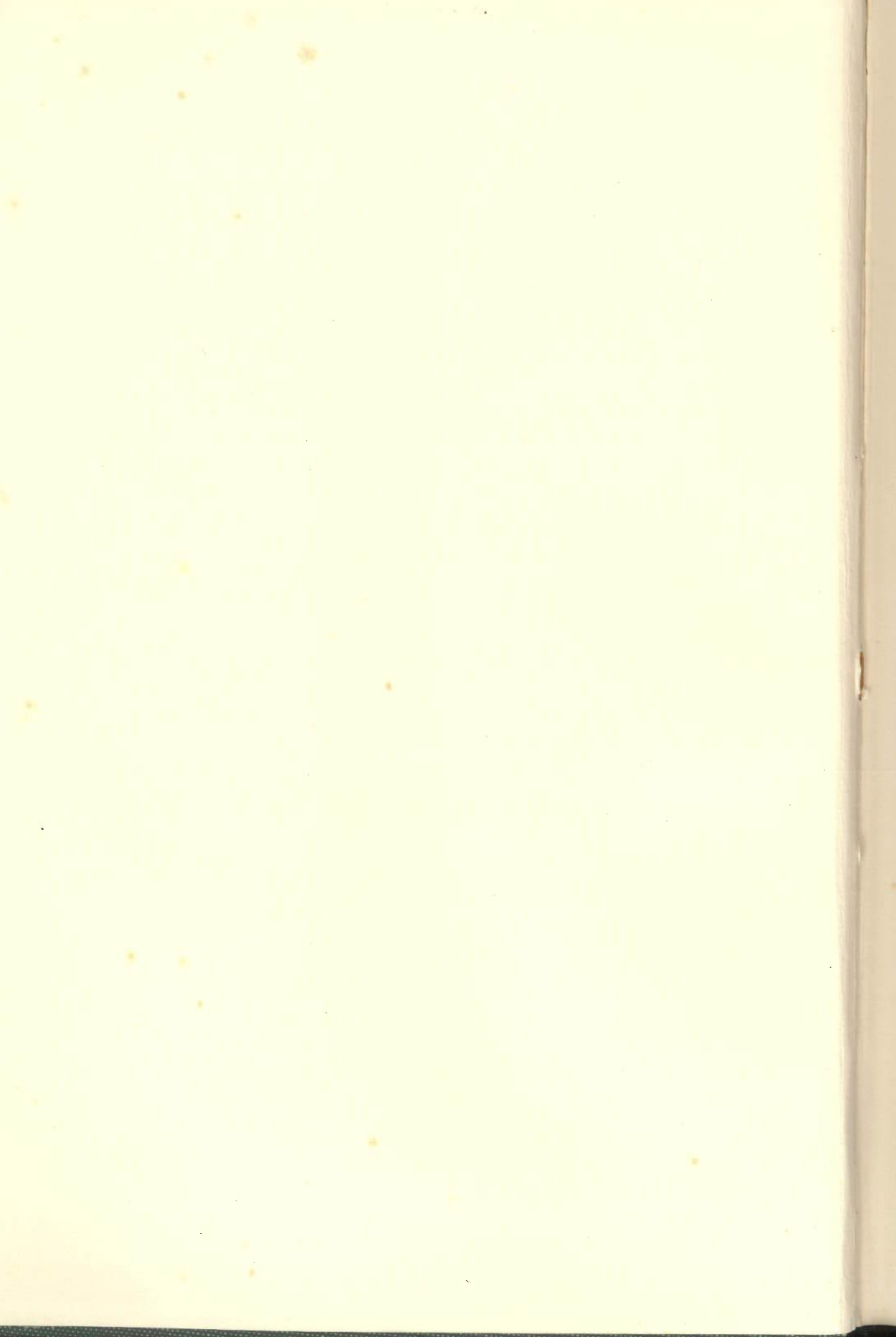
Dr and Mrs Taylor have devoted the leisure of thirty years to the compilation of this record. Their researches are naturally based on the fundamental work of Professor G. Baldwin Brown and Sir Alfred Clapham; but a great deal of new material has been discovered and much that was speculative has been resolved. This record is more accurate and more complete than any that has hitherto existed.







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ARCHITECTURE



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BY

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VOLUME I



CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1965

PUBLISHED BY
THE SYNDICS OF THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Bentley House, 200 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1
American Branch: 32 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022
West African Office: P.O. Box 33, Ibadan, Nigeria

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CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1965

*Printed in Great Britain at the University Printing House, Cambridge
(Brooke Crutchley, University Printer)*

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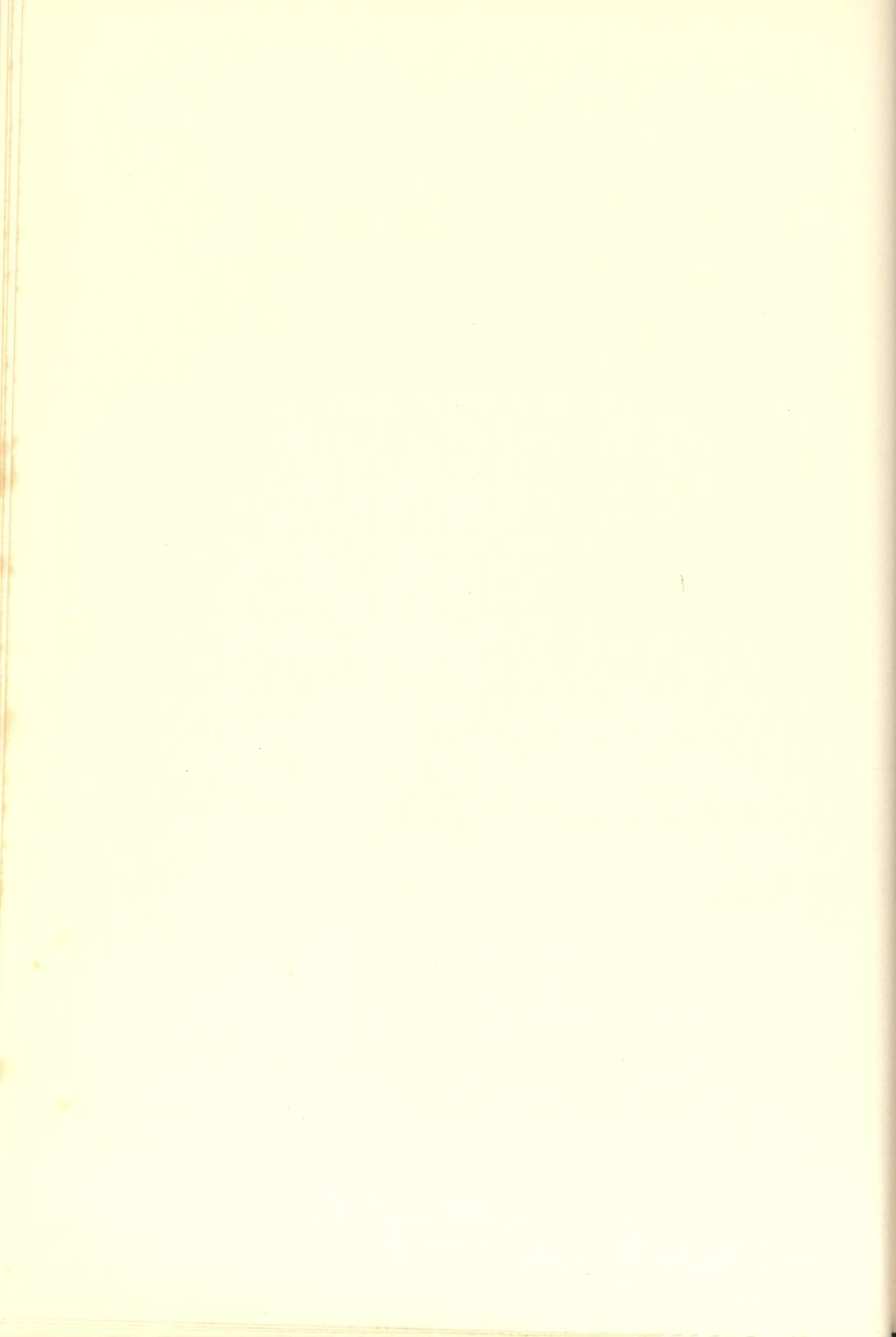
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TO THE ANGLO-SAXON SAINTS

who inspired the building of these churches, to the craftsmen who built them, and to all those who recorded their subsequent history, we humbly dedicate this book in the hope that in our generation it will widen the knowledge of their achievements and for the future will provide a more comprehensive and exact record than would otherwise be available.



PREFACE

It is now over thirty years since the publication of Sir Alfred Clapham's *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest* and five years longer since the second edition of Professor G. Baldwin Brown's *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*. In those years much new material has been discovered, and there is therefore a real need for a book which will give a comprehensive account of the present state of knowledge in this field.

Even apart from such fresh discoveries, we have felt that there was a need for a new book to fill two important gaps that were left by the pioneering works of Baldwin Brown and Clapham. In the first place, although Baldwin Brown's chapter xiv listed and gave brief descriptions of all the churches in which he believed that Anglo-Saxon masonry was still to be seen, yet both he and Clapham gave much more weight, in the main body of their historical and architectural discussion, to the evidence provided by some thirty or forty major surviving churches than to the supporting (or sometimes conflicting) evidence that was provided by the more fragmentary remains in the other churches, which then amounted to about two hundred in number. Although none of these had substantial remains such as were to be found in the major churches, the sum total of the evidence which they would provide, particularly now that they are well over three hundred in number, seemed to us an important contribution. In the second place, if a wider public were to be induced to take an active interest in this substantial heritage from before the Norman Conquest, it seemed that the material must be presented to them in a more accessible manner than had so far been achieved. To this end, we have arranged our book in separate volumes, of which the first two may be regarded as guide-books to the surviving pre-Conquest churches.

Pages 1 to 15 of this volume contain an account of the principal pre-Conquest architectural features and of our reasons for believing that they are indeed characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon period. Thereafter, in this and the next volume, each church is described in turn, in alphabetical order, each description being complete in itself, so that on a visit to any church there is no need to refer to another place in the book. For each church we have described each feature which we regard as of pre-Conquest character, and we have given the description in the same detail, whether the feature is the sole pre-Conquest survival in its church or whether it is one of many in an important pre-Conquest church. We have had two objects in mind in trying to present such an exhaustive account. First, since it is not possible without prohibitive cost to give illustrations of every feature, we have wished to give a complete picture in words and thus to remove doubts about the extent to which features that are illustrated are repeated elsewhere in the same building or in others. Secondly, we have had in mind the importance of placing on record the completest possible inventory of the pre-Conquest monuments in their present form.

For convenience of reference, line-drawings and plans are included in the text alongside the descriptions in words, and the half-tone illustrations are arranged at the end of Volume II in the same alphabetical order as the text. There is therefore no need for an index to these two volumes.

The maps at the front and back of each book show the position of all the churches. The key-letters in each 100 kilometre map-square are those of the National Grid, and they correspond with the map references given in the text for each church. It is therefore easy to locate each church on the map. Sites at which there are two or more churches are shown in capital letters.

It is our intention in a third volume to set out in detail the arguments by which it can be established that the great majority of these churches were built before the Norman Conquest, and to elaborate those arguments with the help of the much greater mass of evidence that is now available, and thus to build up a more precise system of dating than has hitherto been possible for pre-Conquest churches. We hope also to discuss the relation of architecture and sculpture; and the variation of architectural styles generally throughout the country, not only from time to time but also from district to district. Having described and illustrated the raw material in detail in these two volumes, we shall be able in the third volume to give more briefly than would otherwise be possible the detailed arguments for these and other more comprehensive comparative discussions. We hope that those arguments will run more smoothly since there will be no need to interrupt them to give descriptions of the architectural features, all of which will be accessible to readers in these first two volumes.

Lest our future programme be thought to imply that the present two volumes contain merely a list of observations, and that deductive reasoning has been postponed until a third volume not yet written, it is perhaps fair to point out that new interpretations of facts have indeed been made and recorded even in these two volumes. The major instances may be listed as follows: Bibury and Bitton (Roods over chancel-arches), Edenham (sculpture *in situ*), Hexham (separate eastern chapel), Jarrow (western gallery), Ledsham (complete re-interpretation of fabric), Walkern (south doorway), Wharram-le-Street and St Andrews (complete re-interpretation of evidence for dating). In addition we have recorded under Brixworth, Broughton, Hough-on-the-Hill, and North Elmham what we believe to be the first observations on the special character of pre-Conquest stone stairways.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE DESCRIPTIONS OF INDIVIDUAL CHURCHES

The descriptions of individual churches in these two volumes are arranged in alphabetical order of place-names throughout the country as a whole. Thus, each can be found immediately in the text in alphabetical order. On the other hand, it is often convenient to be able to group churches by districts, either for a study of local characteristics or for deciding which churches can be visited while staying at a particular centre; for this purpose we have provided in Appendix D a list of churches arranged alphabetically by counties, while at the beginning and end of the book there is a map of England showing the location of the churches that are listed in the book.

The descriptions of the individual churches are each prefixed by a summary in a standard form, thus:

Place-name

County

Map sheet number of the 1-inch Ordnance map. National grid reference.

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Reference to figures (particularly half-tone plates) that are not beside the text.

Dedication of church.

Brief specification of the parts of the church which are of pre-Conquest character.

Specification of date in terms of periods A, B, or C.

The items in this summary need little further explanation except perhaps the specification of date. Although the detailed discussion of the dating of pre-Conquest churches is being reserved for the third volume, it would clearly be inconvenient for readers if we gave no indications of date in the text. We have, therefore, given a provisional date for each church; or for each of its building periods, if we have reason to think that there is evidence that the church was built at more than one time. In the main we have followed Baldwin Brown's dating, except where we have given arguments to the contrary; but in many cases we have used the structural or historical evidence to assign a series of dates to separate parts of a church where he gave only a single date for the church as a whole. We believe that the fuller discussion that will be given in the third volume will lead to a number of changes in the dates now assigned to pre-Conquest churches and we accordingly emphasize the very provisional character of our dating at present. Broadly speaking, our use of periods A, B, and C is the same as Baldwin Brown's. Period A runs from the coming of Augustine to the onset of the major Viking raids about A.D. 800, period B covers the unsettled century and a half during the Viking invasions, and period C runs from 950 to 1100, thereby including the monastic revival under Dunstan and others, the great period of church-building early in the eleventh century, and also the period of Saxo-Norman overlap at the close of the century. If closer dating is possible than simply in terms of the three periods, we have followed Baldwin Brown in dividing each period into three sections, but we have assigned limits to those sections in accordance with the following table:

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|
| 600 | A 1 | 650 | A 2 | 700 | A 3 | 800 |
| 800 | B 1 | 850 | B 2 | 900 | B 3 | 950 |
| 950 | C 1 | 1000 | C 2 | 1050 | C 3 | 1100 |

In our present state of knowledge it is not as a rule possible to be precise in the dating of the churches; for many we have therefore simply assigned dates within periods A, B, or C; but for some we have attempted the greater refinement of the sub-periods specified in the table above. For a few we have not been able to settle any definite position within the pre-Conquest era, and for these we have used the formula 'period uncertain'. This does not mean that we have any doubt about the pre-Conquest character of the church concerned but only that we have been unable to decide whether it was built early or late in the pre-Conquest era. When we are uncertain about the pre-Conquest character of the church we have used the formula 'possibly pre-Norman'. For the few such churches which we have included in the main body of this book we think the evidence is, on the whole, in favour of a pre-Norman or Saxo-Norman date, but we do not regard the evidence as fully conclusive. In Appendix B we have listed a number of further churches of this borderline character for which we regard the evidence as not sufficiently good to justify our describing the churches in the body of the book.

For ease of reference, the main texts of the descriptions of the churches are also each arranged

according to a uniform pattern, although this is varied if necessary. Usually, an introductory paragraph gives the location of the church and a brief description of the principal component parts of its present-day fabric. If we know of any historical evidence that is relevant to the pre-Conquest fabric this is given next. The remainder of each account is then devoted to a description of the surviving pre-Conquest fabric in detail; and, as a rule, fabric of post-Conquest date is not mentioned unless evidence derived from it has a bearing on the dating of the pre-Conquest church. Usually the exterior of the church is described first and then the interior, but we have diverged from this system when it seemed desirable to do so. In our descriptions we have tried to be exhaustive, and to describe each feature in the same degree of detail whether it is the sole surviving feature or is one of many in a church which has survived almost intact from before the Conquest. We believe that only thus can proper account be taken of the evidence that is provided by the great many features which survive in minor churches and which have in the past been largely overlooked because attention has been concentrated, in the main, on the features of a relatively small number of churches of major importance.

Dimensions. An accurate knowledge of the dimensions of the plan and of the principal features of each church is essential for any comparative study of the architecture, but the descriptive accounts would be rendered tedious by constant reference to dimensions. We have therefore, as a rule, excluded dimensions from the text and have referred to particular features only in general descriptive terms such as large or small, tall or short, and thick or thin. On the other hand, we have given complete sets of dimensions for each church in a separate section at the end of the descriptive text. The dimensions there given are usually the result of direct measurement and are then given in feet and inches. A few dimensions have been derived by less accurate methods, sometimes by pacing, but often by measurement from photographs, and such dimensions are prefixed by the word 'about' and are given in feet alone. Since we consider dimensions to be of great importance, we have illustrated the body of the text with plans, elevations, and sections, all drawn to scale. We have tried to make these accurate, but if discrepancies are found between them and the text, it should be assumed that dimensions cited in the text are more reliable unless they are prefixed by the word 'about'.

Line-drawings. It is often important to know exactly how the stones of the fabric are jointed, and particularly whether the jambs and arches of openings are built of through-stones. We have therefore tried in all our drawings to show the stones exactly as they exist, and to avoid merely conventional indication of jointing.

References. Footnotes are used in the text where they are necessary to give authority to assertions about the historical evidence or to particular interpretations of the surviving fabric. The churches themselves are the evidence for our detailed descriptions of the fabric. At the end of each description we have listed, in smaller type, the published accounts which we have found useful in our study of the church concerned. We cannot hope that these lists of references are exhaustive, indeed we have deliberately excluded those which we regard as of minor importance. We hope, however, that these lists and the notes which accompany them will enable readers rapidly and easily to find evidence which has been recorded elsewhere about the churches which are described in this book. We have tried, moreover, by way of these lists of

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references, to give in a convenient form an outline of the way in which our present knowledge about each church has been built up. For this reason the references are arranged, in the main, in chronological sequence. We have also tried in these lists of references to indicate where there are good illustrations or plans which may be of value in supplementing those in this book.

As an exception to the general rule, we have not given references church by church to Baldwin Brown's *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (1925) or to Clapham's *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest* (1930). These two books are of such fundamental importance that the giving of routine references to them would have become burdensome both to the printer and also to the reader. We have assumed that the reader will wish to have them available for reference whenever possible, and we have accordingly given detailed references to them only when there is some special reason, particularly when there has subsequently been some ground for a change of opinion.

THE SCOPE OF THIS BOOK

Following Baldwin Brown, we have used the term 'Anglo-Saxon' for the style of architecture which prevailed before the Norman Conquest. We have fixed the scope of the book by the style rather than by date, and the book therefore includes all churches which are known to us to contain well-authenticated examples of the Anglo-Saxon style. Some of these are known to have been built after the Conquest, and for others there is probably no means of determining whether they were built before or after.

All the churches described in these volumes have been visited by us at least once, with sufficient time for photographing, measuring and sketching the salient features, and for making brief notes on the spot. As a rule those brief notes have been worked up soon afterwards into something like the account which appears in the book. Whenever possible that first record has been checked in detail on at least one subsequent visit to the church. It is, however, inconceivable that in a work of this magnitude we should have avoided all errors, and we should be grateful for notices that readers may care to send us of errors that they detect.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the preparation of this work our debt to earlier writers, particularly to Baldwin Brown, is very great. We began by visiting systematically the churches which he listed as Anglo-Saxon and we did not complete the last of those until 1958. But for many years we had been making lists from other sources, and visiting these whenever we were in the districts concerned. Many of the churches listed by others than Baldwin Brown as Anglo-Saxon have seemed to us to have no valid claim, and they are accordingly not included in our text. On the other hand, the list of churches included in our text is over 400 in number in place of Baldwin Brown's 237, and this increase is a measure of our debt to the other authorities listed in our references. If in places we venture fresh opinions or call in question some of the deductions made by the pioneers (Rickman, Micklethwaite, Brock, Hodges, Baldwin Brown, Clapham, and others) this is not intended to

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detract from proper appreciation of the great work they did in the light of knowledge then available. We have built on the foundations they laid so well, and we have had the help of the results of many other workers.

It is a great pleasure here to place on record our debt to the clergy and vergers of the churches which we have visited, whether or not the buildings have proved to contain Anglo-Saxon fabric. We are particularly indebted to the Reverend J. W. Burford and to the Reverend Hugh Maclean and Mrs Maclean for continued help in the interpretation of their outstanding churches at Brixworth and Deerhurst. The staff of the Cambridge University Library have given us unfailing help in our search for early records of the churches, and for this we are deeply grateful. To Dr E. A. Gee and Dr Edward Gilbert we owe much both for advice and for frank and friendly criticism, as well as for reports of some places not otherwise known to us.

It is also a great pleasure to acknowledge our debt to friends in Cambridge for help and encouragement, particularly to Professor Dorothy Whitelock, Professor Bruce Dickins, Mrs Nora Chadwick, Dr P. Clemoes and Mr P. Hunter Blair. Very special mention must be made of the continued and unfailing help that we have received from Professor Whitelock, who not only drew generously on her unrivalled knowledge of documentary evidence for our historical accounts but also advised us on detailed wording throughout a succession of typescripts and proofs. Without the generous advice and criticism of all these friends the book would not have reached anything like its present form. For its shortcomings we alone must accept responsibility. The line-drawings are our own work and this is also true of almost all the photographs; but the quality of the half-tones owes much to the skill with which the final prints from our negatives were prepared by Mr J. A. F. Fozzard in Cambridge and Mr F. Rowerth in Keele. For invaluable help in the preparation of typescript we owe a great debt of gratitude to the office staff of the General Board in Cambridge and to Miss D. J. Samuel in Keele.

Finally, it is with pleasure that we record our gratitude to the Nuffield Foundation for a generous grant which enabled us to defray the cost of intensive travel in the years 1957-60 when we visited or re-visited almost all the churches mentioned in this book.

H. M. TAYLOR
JOAN TAYLOR

Keele
October 1962

PART I

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used in the text are listed in Appendix E (Volume II, p. 731).

DATE-SHADES

Throughout the book, standard shades have been used to indicate dates on the plans and sections of churches. A chart showing these shades and their significance will be found facing page 17.

MAPS

With the exceptions listed below, the maps at the front and back of each volume show the positions of all the churches listed in the body of the text of both volumes. The key letters in the 100 kilometre squares of the maps correspond with the National Grid map references given for each church in the text.

The following churches have been omitted from the maps:

| | | |
|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------------|
| BARHAM | TM 137509 | No Anglo-Saxon fabric discernable |
| CAXTON | TL 300578 | Discovered too late for inclusion |
| CHEDDAR | ST 455526 | Discovered too late for inclusion |
| GREETWELL | TF 013714 | Discovered too late for inclusion |
| MASHAM | SE 226806 | Discovered too late for inclusion |
| POTTERNE | ST 995585 | Discovered too late for inclusion |
| SCOLE | TM 151790 | No Anglo-Saxon fabric discernable |

The following church is wrongly placed on the maps:

| | | |
|----------|-----------|--|
| WILSFORD | TF 006429 | Its correct position is about 10 km. further north, by the <i>e</i> of Hough-on-the-Hill |
|----------|-----------|--|

CHARACTERISTICS OF ANGLO-SAXON ARCHITECTURE

The purpose of this section is to give a brief account of the principal pre-Conquest architectural features and of our reasons for believing that they are characteristic of that period.

For the dating of post-Conquest churches the evidence is firmly established in written records, which enable large numbers of buildings to be dated with precision, since the features which survive can be identified in detail with features described in the records as having been built at specified post-Conquest dates, often even by named persons. There is, therefore, no doubt about the general accuracy of the commonly accepted scheme of assignment of the dates at which particular styles of building were current from the latter part of the eleventh century onward, although allowance must always be made for variations from place to place and also for conscious copying of earlier styles at a later date.

By contrast with the great volume of accurate information that is available for post-Conquest buildings, there is a great lack of similar historical evidence for the precise dating of Anglo-Saxon buildings. With the notable exception of St Augustine's abbey at Canterbury, there are hardly any buildings whose features can be identified in detail with those described in written history as having been built at a particular date, and we are therefore forced back on different methods for deducing that the buildings which we describe as pre-Conquest, or Anglo-Saxon, were in fact built before the Norman Conquest.

In this connexion it is important to keep in mind which of the buildings can be established on a secure basis from first principles as having been built before Norman times and which are merely regarded as pre-Norman by comparison with others that have been securely established. We shall use the expression 'primary dating' for the dating of a church in a fashion which does not call on a comparison with others like it, but which is based on historical or archaeological evidence relating to that church itself. By contrast, the 'secondary dating' of a church to the Anglo-Saxon period implies that the dating is based on no firmer ground than that the church possesses certain features which have been established on the evidence of other churches as being characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon period or of some part of it.

In order to avoid risk of circular argument it is clear that any declaration that a particular feature is characteristic of a particular period must itself be based on evidence that the feature in question appears in a church or churches that can be dated in primary fashion to the period in question. Moreover, if a feature is to be reliably regarded as characteristic of a particular period it should appear in several churches that are primarily dated and there should be a demonstrable absence of the feature from churches of any neighbouring period.

Before passing on to the primary evidence for the dating of certain churches as Anglo-Saxon, and to a description of features that may be regarded as characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon style for the purpose of secondary dating of other churches, it is important to mention a distinction between an Anglo-Saxon *style* and an Anglo-Saxon *date*. A style may correctly be called

Anglo-Saxon if it does not occur in any known example of a Norman building and if it occurs in buildings that can be shown on primary evidence to be pre-Norman. The possession of features of this style does not necessarily prove that a building was erected before the Conquest, for we have no evidence to prove that Anglo-Saxon styles of building were given up immediately and wholly throughout the country after the Conquest. In default of evidence to the contrary it is reasonable to believe that some of the surviving buildings in the styles characteristic of the later Anglo-Saxon periods were erected by Anglo-Saxon workmen in the manner to which they were accustomed, but after the Norman Conquest. For the later architectural styles, from the Norman period onward, the recorded history of surviving buildings provides clear evidence that there are considerable local variations in the dates at which the changes took place from one style to the next, and we have no reason to doubt that there were similar delays in certain parts of the country in the introduction of Norman methods. Moreover, it is also possible that, whereas the new Norman style was adopted quickly for the building of major abbeys and cathedrals, the native Anglo-Saxon style may have been used for smaller churches built by local workmen for some time later.

In attempting to construct a comprehensive collection of the surviving Anglo-Saxon features in English churches, we have included all that we have been able to find with clearly recognizable evidence of Anglo-Saxon style. For the great majority we have no precise evidence of the date at which they were built and we therefore make no comprehensive claim that the churches listed in the remainder of the book are necessarily of pre-Conquest date, although this is no doubt true of most of them.

EXAMPLES OF PRIMARY EVIDENCE FOR ANGLO-SAXON STYLE

The dating of architectural styles in England owes so much to the work of Thomas Rickman that we cannot do better than quote the argument which he advanced in 1817 in support of his belief that the lower part of the tower of St Peter's church at Barton-on-Humber is pre-Norman. In a slightly abbreviated form, his argument runs thus (see Fig. 1):

The topmost belfry is like an early type of Norman workmanship. The whole of the lower part of the tower, including the lower belfry, is quite different in workmanship and has many features that are

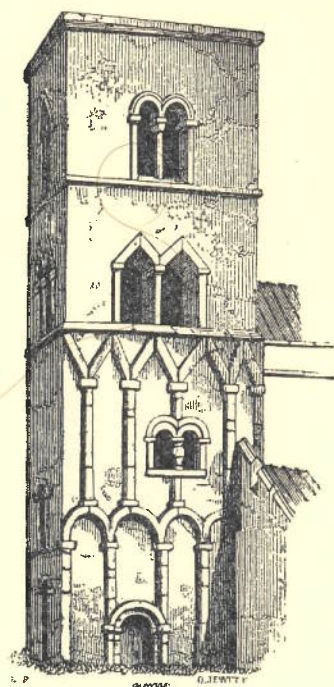


FIG. 1. THE TOWER OF ST PETER'S CHURCH, BARTON-ON-HUMBER

This figure is a copy of Jewitt's engraving, as published in the fifth edition of Rickman's *Styles of Architecture in England* (London, 1848). It will be noticed that Jewitt drew the tower alone and omitted the western annexe. This indicates that it is dangerous to place too great reliance on the detailed accuracy of illustrative drawings.

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unknown in any Norman church. The lower part was therefore built at a separate time from the upper stage, by workmen trained in different techniques. This must have been a pre-Norman time because the later belfry built on top of the earlier work is at latest early Norman in character.

This example shows in its simplest form the archaeological method of deducing primary evidence for the dating of a church from the way in which different parts of its fabric are related. As will be seen in our detailed description of St Peter's church, we believe (on secondary evidence) that the upper belfry is of late Anglo-Saxon rather than early Norman style, and we accordingly use Rickman's argument to ascribe the lower part of the tower to an earlier Anglo-Saxon period, but this is a refinement which in no way affects the validity of Rickman's original argument for asserting with confidence that the lower part of the tower is pre-Norman.

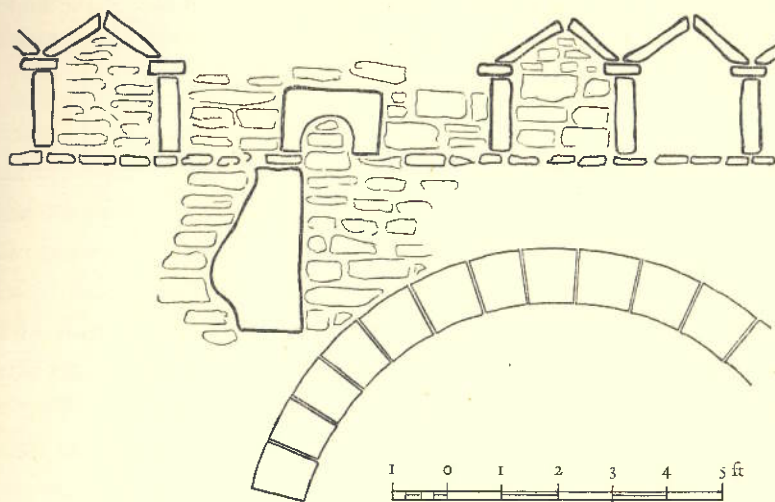


FIG. 2. THE EXTERIOR FACE OF THE NORTH WALL AT GEDDINGTON

The Norman arch cuts away the western jamb of the single-splayed window which has itself at some earlier date destroyed two bays of the triangular-headed blind arcading.

It is sometimes possible to find evidence in a single church of two different pre-Conquest styles that are so related as to prove by a similar archaeological method that one was prior in date to the other. A simple example is to be seen at Geddington, Northamptonshire, where a blocked single-splayed window in the north wall of the nave is clearly shown to be pre-Norman because it is partially cut away by the round arch of the Norman north arcade, and where it may be seen in the outer face of the wall that this pre-Norman window was itself almost certainly an insertion in an even earlier wall, because its head rudely disturbs an elaborate ornamental arcade which otherwise runs along the whole length of the wall (see Fig. 2).

A list is given in Appendix C of the churches which we believe to give primary evidence for the existence of an Anglo-Saxon style. A number of these give evidence for several separate building periods within the Anglo-Saxon or pre-Norman era, and thereby help to build up a list of features which are not only characteristic of an Anglo-Saxon style but which also serve to distinguish between the earlier and the later phases of Anglo-Saxon building.

FEATURES THAT ARE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE ANGLO-SAXON STYLE

In introducing a list of characteristic Anglo-Saxon features, we again cannot do better than begin by referring to Rickman's deductions from the tower of St Peter's church at Barton-on-Humber. By their appearance in that tower and by his observation that they were absent from the many Norman buildings which he knew, Rickman listed the following features which he tentatively regarded as characteristic of a pre-Norman style:

- (a) Double belfry windows with a mid-wall shaft supporting a through-stone slab, see Fig. 3 (b).
- (b) Triangular-headed doorways or windows.
- (c) Strip-work panelling of wall surfaces.
- (d) Long-and-short quoins, that is to say the construction of the angles of the building with large stones laid in such a way that tall upright pillar-stones alternate with broad flat stones that serve to bond the uprights firmly into the wall.

In connexion with the double belfry windows it should be noted that the Normans also used double windows, but of quite a different type. The mid-wall shaft in the Norman window supported a pair of arches which in turn carried a thin section of wall above the heads of the two arches and below the single semicircular arch which spanned the whole window. By contrast, in the Anglo-Saxon window the mid-wall shaft supported a flat stone slab which ran through the full thickness of the wall and so allowed the round heads of the two individual lights of the window to carry the main wall, without any further arch above them. This contrast is typical of a number of similar distinctions between the Anglo-Saxon style and all later styles; whereas the later styles developed windows and doorways in a series of orders that were recessed one behind the other, the Anglo-Saxon workmen tended to make their openings pass through the wall in a single order, often faced with stones which themselves passed through the full thickness of the wall. The two types of belfry windows are contrasted in Fig. 3.

Having indicated how the acceptance of features as being characteristic of an Anglo-Saxon style should be based, as Rickman based it, upon their appearance in churches that have been dated on primary evidence as Anglo-Saxon and upon their absence from churches that are known to be Norman or later, we think it will be convenient next to give, without detailed argument, a fairly comprehensive list of the features that have come to be regarded as characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon style. In our third volume we shall give a full discussion of the justification for regarding each of these features as characteristic, of the degree of reliability to be attached to each feature as a criterion, and of the extent to which certain features can give reliable evidence of early or late date within the Anglo-Saxon era. Here we give only a brief note with each feature.

The double belfry window with a mid-wall shaft supporting a through-stone slab. This can be regarded as giving reliable evidence of Anglo-Saxon date, in the later part of the era. These windows are so common a feature of the later pre-Conquest towers that they have mistakenly come to be regarded as the only type of belfry window that was used by the Anglo-Saxons. There are, however, instances of single belfry windows in pre-Conquest towers, for example, Bardsey, Barnack, Wickham, Wootton Wawen.

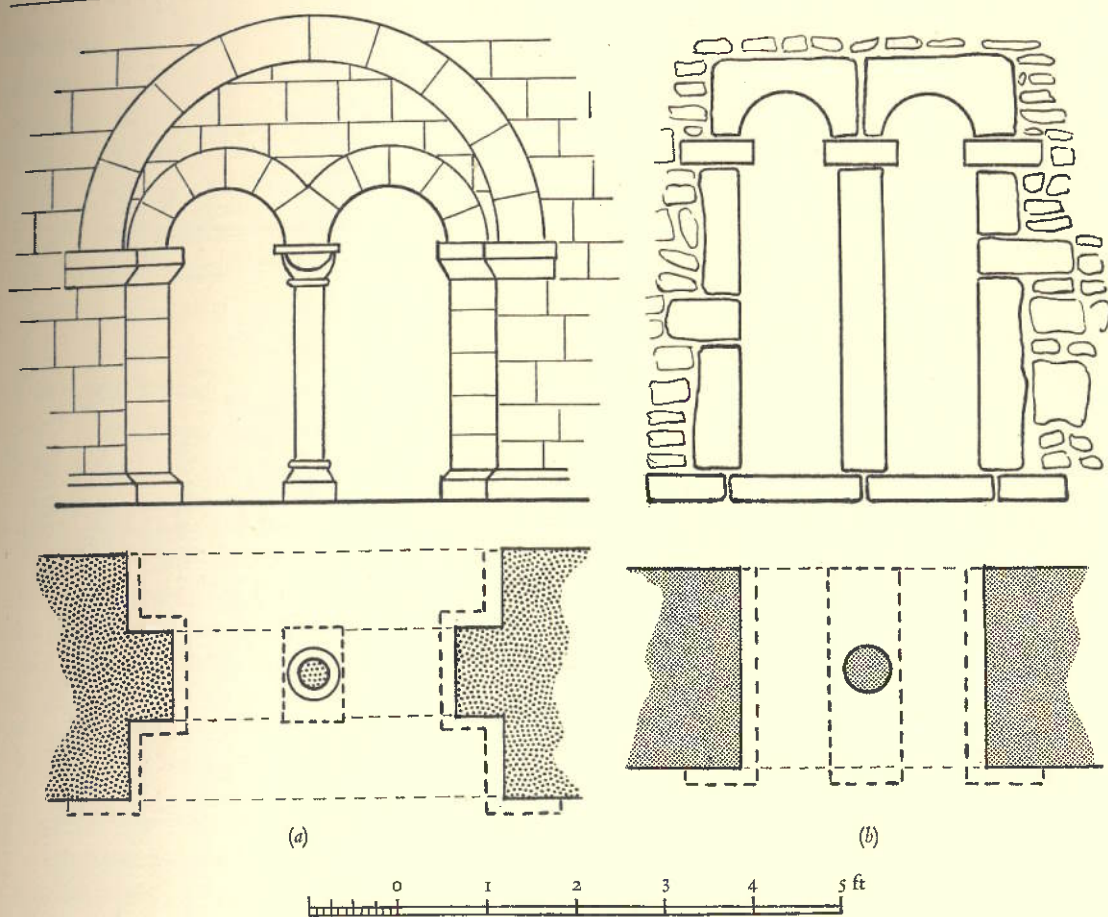


FIG. 3. CONTRASTING TYPES OF DOUBLE WINDOWS

- (a) The Norman type in which the individual lights are recessed behind the main wall.
- (b) The Anglo-Saxon type in which each light extends through the full thickness of the wall. The illustration shows the simplest and probably earliest type, in which the round heads of the individual lights are of pseudo-arched construction, that is to say are cut in single blocks of stone. Arched heads constructed of separate voussoirs are also found in the Anglo-Saxon type of double window; but, however the head is constructed, the distinctive feature is that it runs through the full thickness of the wall.

The triangular-headed opening. Doorways or windows with triangular heads can be regarded as giving an indication of Anglo-Saxon date. The indication becomes much more reliable if the heads are formed of pairs of large stones which pass through the full thickness of the wall. Good examples are to be seen at Barton-on-Humber, Figs. 1 and 379.

Strip-work panelling of wall surfaces. This panelling, usually standing two or three inches forward from the main face of the wall, can be regarded as giving reliable evidence of Anglo-Saxon date. It should be noted that the pilaster-strips are usually of plain square section, less than a foot in breadth, sometimes even as little as six inches, and that they are often formed of very long stones. Usually the stones have been carefully chosen or worked so as to be of precisely the correct width, but sometimes wider stones are used and the part which is of excessive width is then cut back so as to be flush with the face of the wall. Sometimes the tall upright stones of the strip-work alternate with shorter stones in a fashion like that of long-and-short quoining.

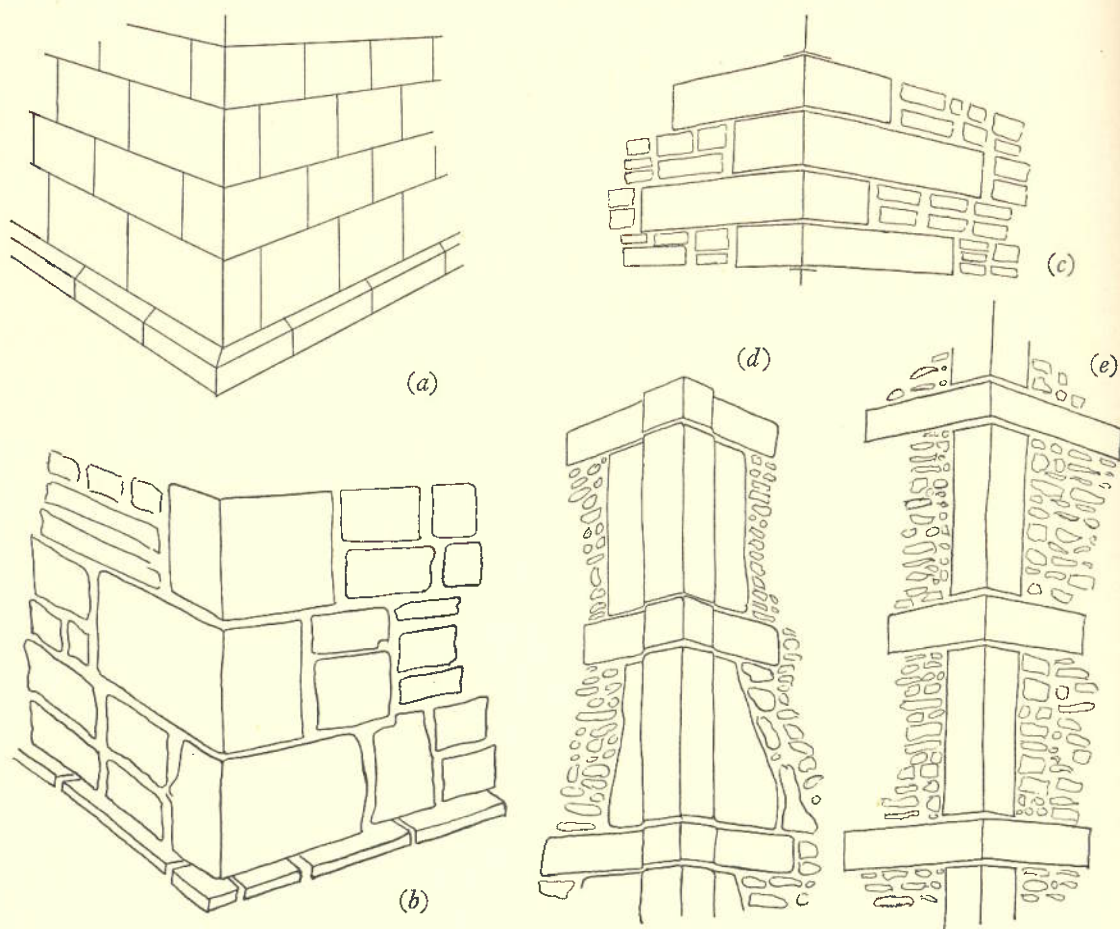


FIG. 4. QUOINING

(a) Coursed ashlar walling of Norman date, with side-alternate quoins which are set in the same courses as the walling. The chamfered plinth is also of ashlar fabric.

(b) Roughly coursed rubble walling of early Anglo-Saxon character. The megalithic side-alternate quoins are of a size such that one stone occupies two or even three courses of the walling. The plinth is of plain square section.

(c) Roughly coursed rubble walling with megalithic face-alternate quoins. Quoining of this type occurs on the tower at Warden, Northumberland. By contrast with example (b), the quoin-stones are laid on their faces instead of being set up on their sides.

(d) and (e). Long-and-short quoining. In (d) the upright pillar stones are of somewhat random shape but both uprights and clasping stones have been cut back along a line about a foot away from the salient angle. In (e) the stones are set flush with the main face of the wall and the uprights are square in plan.

It should be noted that, whereas this strip-work panelling flourished in the south, it is not found north of the Humber.

Long-and-short quoining. This is often regarded as the most reliable evidence of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, indeed almost a necessary feature of an Anglo-Saxon building. It is indeed a reliable criterion, but its use seems to have been confined to certain parts of the country and to certain periods. The absence of this type of quoining is, therefore, not to be taken as evidence against Anglo-Saxon date. Two typical examples are shown in Fig. 4 (d) and (e).

Certain other unusual forms of quoining. Norman buildings usually have quoins of dressed stones which are set on their sides and laid with their longer faces along alternate walls, a type of

quoining for which Gilbert used the convenient name 'side-alternate'.¹ If the building is of ashlar, the Norman side-alternate quoins are usually in the same courses as the masonry of the main fabric; if the building is of rubble fabric, the Norman side-alternate quoins are usually of fairly small stones of much the same size as their usual ashlar masonry, not more than a foot in height, so as to be of convenient size for one man to handle. By contrast, Anglo-Saxon buildings rarely have side-alternate quoining of small stones, and indications of Anglo-Saxon date may therefore be accepted from quoining of the following forms:

(a) *Side-alternate quoins of large stones, the so-called 'megalithic side-alternate quoining'.* In a building whose walls are of coursed masonry there will be a fairly reliable indication of Anglo-Saxon date if the quoin-stones are very large, or are much taller than the courses of the main fabric. When the main fabric is of rubble, this criterion cannot so easily be applied, and the distinction between Anglo-Saxon and later side-alternate quoining is much harder to make.

(b) *Quoins of very large stones laid without any regular formation, the so-called 'random megalithic quoining'.* This fashion of quoining can be regarded as alien to the Normans' methodical habits and as giving an indication of pre-Norman date. An example is at St Mildred's, Canterbury, see Fig. 5.

(c) *Quoins constructed without the use of dressed stone.* In a building whose main fabric is of rubble, whether flint or stone, the angles are liable to failure unless strengthened with dressed stone. This seems to have been fully appreciated by the Normans, who normally used dressed stone laid in side-alternate fashion for all salient angles. By contrast, the Anglo-Saxons seem to have had the secret of a more durable cement, which justified their faith in their ability to construct angles in the same rubble fabric as the walls themselves. Anglo-Saxon quoins are, therefore, sometimes wholly of the same flint or stone rubble as the main walling, but sometimes the corners are strengthened by the use of bigger stones, or by occasional bonding courses of tiles. But neatly built quoining, wholly of tiles, is to be found in Norman buildings, e.g. Copford.

Minor facings constructed of rubble. In addition to the main salient angles described above, there are minor but nevertheless important angles at the edges of doorways and windows, and at any projections from the wall, such as pilasters or buttresses. As a protection against decay in such vulnerable places, Norman and later buildings almost invariably have dressed stone facings even in districts where dressed stone was very difficult to obtain. By contrast, the Anglo-Saxons seem to have been content to use rubble facings, and even to introduce unnecessary salient angles by forming decorative arcading or pilasters in the fabric of a rubble wall. Remarkable

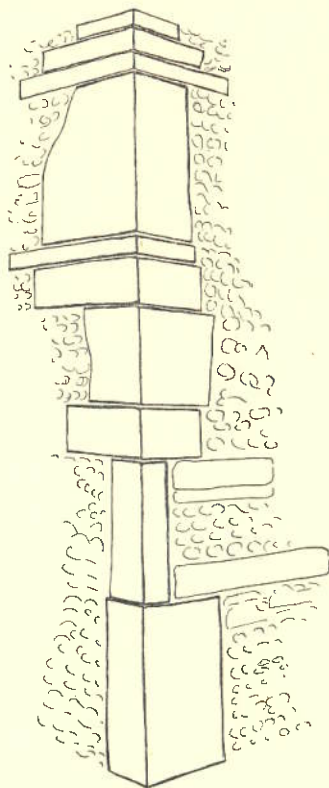


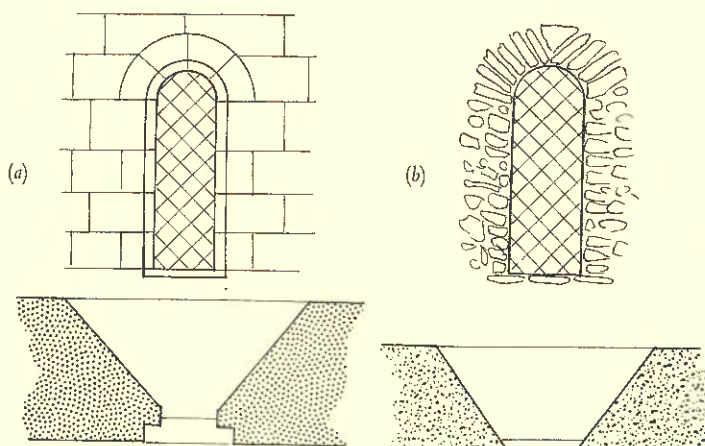
FIG. 5. RANDOM MEGALITHIC QUOINING

The drawing shows the south-west quoin of St Mildred's, Canterbury, roughly to scale. The four lowest stones in the picture occupy a total height of over 10 ft, and are respectively 46, 35, 14, and 28 in. in height. The south-east quoin is of similar megalithic character.

¹ E. Gilbert, *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., 24 (1946), 159-62. Examples of side-alternate quoining are shown in Fig. 4 (a) and (b), and an example of face-alternate quoining in Fig. 4 (c).

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(a), (b) Single-splayed windows



(c) A double-splayed window

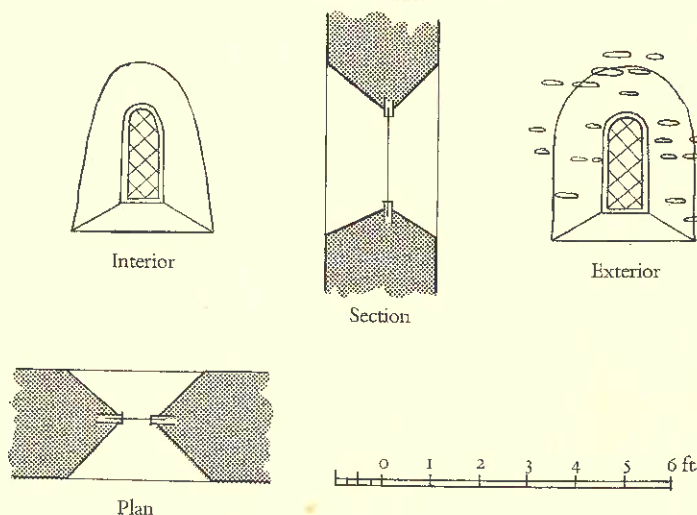


FIG. 6. CONTRASTING TYPES OF WINDOWS

- (a) A Norman window with neatly arched head, and jambs of coursed ashlar.
 (b) An Anglo-Saxon single-splayed window with roughly arched head and jambs of rough rubble.
 (c) The double-splayed late pre-Conquest window at Chickney, Essex. The wall is plastered internally. Externally the dark flints show through the light mortar in which they are set, and it may clearly be seen how the head is constructed without any use of radial voussoirs. The glass is held in an oak window-frame which is set in the middle of the thickness of the wall. For a photograph of this window see Fig. 425.

instances of such 'unnecessary' salient angles may be noted on the round towers of East Anglia. The following features, therefore, give fairly reliable indications of Anglo-Saxon workmanship:

(a) *Windows.* Both jambs and round heads of Anglo-Saxon windows are often of rubble in the districts where good building stone was scarce. Sometimes the round heads are not arched but are simply laid like any other part of the wall, thereby showing that the builders had complete faith in their cement.

(b) *Doorways.* Most main doorways were faced in dressed stone even by the Anglo-Saxons, but minor doorways, particularly in upper chambers, were sometimes wholly of rubble, usually with round heads but sometimes even with triangular heads of rubble.

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(c) *Panelling or arcading.* In several places in East Anglia the surface of Anglo-Saxon walls is decorated with panelling or arcading constructed of flint or stone rubble, and raised three or four inches from the main surface.

Windows. In order to provide better interior lighting while yet restricting the area of the actual aperture in order to economize in the use of glass, it was usual in the Norman and Early English periods to recess the aperture a few inches behind the outer face of the wall and to splay the sill, jambs, and head of the window widely towards the interior of the church. Much the same internally splayed technique was used in pre-Norman times, and it is often difficult to discriminate with any certainty between Norman and pre-Norman windows of single-splayed (internally splayed) type. There are, however, certain criteria which give good indications of pre-Norman date even in single-splayed windows, and as is mentioned below the double-splayed type of window, with the aperture in the middle of the thickness of the wall, is a very reliable indication that the building was erected in the later part of the pre-Norman era.

(a) *Single-splayed windows.* Since these were used both by the Anglo-Saxons and also in Norman and later times, any discrimination must rest on finer details. Norman and later builders usually recessed the glass behind the face of the wall, whereas the Anglo-Saxon window was often constructed with the splay carried through the full thickness of the wall so as to produce a sharp salient angle at the outer face of the wall. In some early windows there is a groove in the thickness of the wall to carry a window-frame; in other windows there is no evidence of any early frame. Many smaller single-splayed windows seem to have been of the same character both before and after the Conquest, but large round-headed windows with the splay not very acute and carried through the full thickness of the wall give an indication of pre-Conquest date. The early Anglian churches of Northumbria have a well-defined type of single-splayed window in which the external head is constructed of a single square stone that is hollowed out below to the round shape of the top of the window; internally the head may be formed of another, but larger, rectangular stone hollowed out to form the splayed head, or it may be arched in *voussoirs* that run through the full interior thickness of the wall to join the exterior window-head. Often, too, the jambs of these early Northumbrian windows are formed in characteristically Anglo-Saxon fashion with stones that run through the full thickness of the wall; sometimes these are laid flat and sometimes in the manner commonly called, after Baldwin Brown, 'Escomb fashion' in which the stones are laid alternately upright and flat. In other parts of England a feature that seems to give fairly reliable evidence of pre-Conquest date is the cutting of a shallow rebate, an inch or less in depth, round the exterior face of a single-splayed window, possibly as a housing for a hinged wooden shutter or a fixed wooden window-frame. In the districts where dressed stone was difficult to obtain, the jambs and even the heads of single-splayed windows were often constructed of rubble or tile, and this may give an indication of pre-Conquest date.

(b) *Double-splayed windows.* This name denotes a type of window in which the aperture is placed about the middle of the thickness of the wall, and the sills, jambs, and head are splayed to produce openings which widen both towards the interior and also towards the exterior of the wall. It seems likely that this type of window was developed as a logical method of constructing splayed windows more economically in a rubble wall without the use of dressed stone facings, for when the aperture is placed in the exterior face of the wall the widening of the splayed opening requires the construction of an arched head of considerable size, an operation which calls for considerable effort if the work is to be done without the use of dressed stone. On the other hand if an aperture of the same size is placed in the middle of the wall and if the reveals are splayed outward and inward at the same angles as before, the arched heads are much smaller in span and are each only half the thickness of the wall; so that very much smaller and lighter supports are required to carry the wall while the wet mortar is setting. Although

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double-splayed windows were probably developed in this organic or functional manner in districts where dressed stone was difficult to obtain, there are some examples also in churches that are built of dressed stone, thus showing that the style became accepted as a fashion even when its use was not functionally necessary. It should, however, be noted that present-day survivals indicate that the use of double-splayed windows of ashlar as distinct from rubble was confined to the south-west of England, with the single exception of Jarrow-on-Tyne. There are instances of double-splayed windows that can be shown to be later pre-Norman insertions in earlier Anglo-Saxon buildings and we know of no instances in England that can be reliably shown to be Norman or to be original parts of buildings erected early in the Anglo-Saxon era. In England, the double-splayed window can therefore be accepted as a reliable guide to a building erected in the later part of the Anglo-Saxon period.

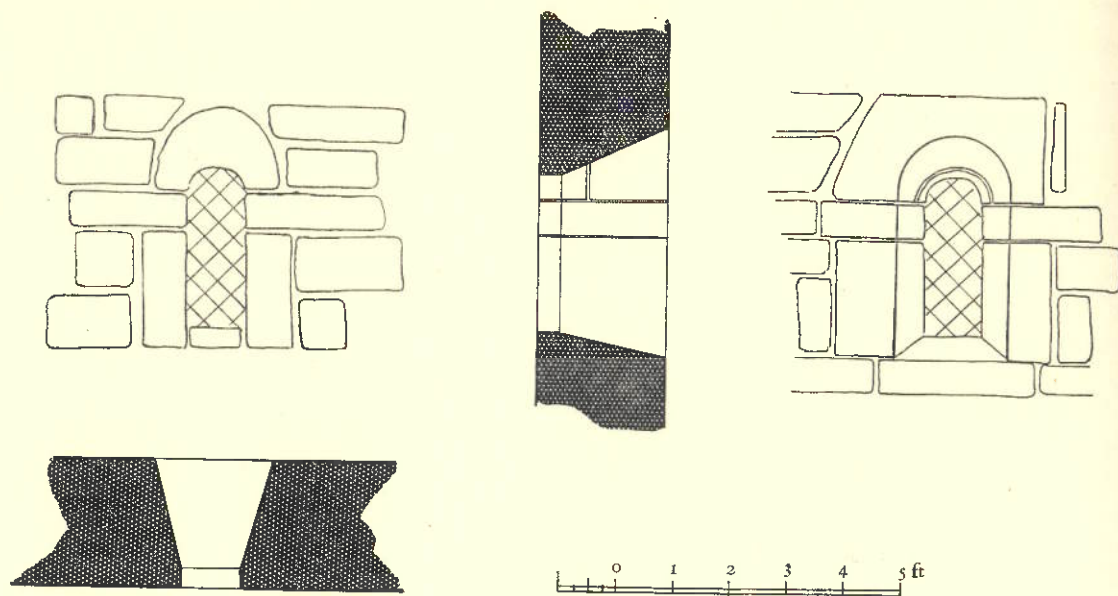


FIG. 7. A TYPICAL EARLY NORTHUMBRIAN ANGLO-SAXON SINGLE-SPLAYED WINDOW
Note the through-stone jambs laid in 'Escomb fashion' and the pseudo-arched head constructed of two parallel stones.

Doorways. Anglo-Saxon doorways were usually taller and narrower in proportions than their Norman or later counterparts. In shape they were most often round-headed; but flat and triangular heads are also to be found, and there are some examples with round-headed exterior faces and square-headed interiors. In Norman and later styles the exterior face was usually recessed in several separate orders, each supported on separate shafts, and the interior face was usually rebated for the hanging of a door. By contrast, the Anglo-Saxon doorway was most often cut straight through the wall, with no ornamental recessing externally and no internal rebate for the door, which was therefore simply hung on the interior face of the wall. It is, however, by no means true to say that Anglo-Saxon doorways were never rebated for the hanging of a door, since rebates seem to have been common in the earlier doorways such as those at Monkwearmouth and Escomb in the north and at Canterbury in the south. The cutting of a doorway straight through the wall can, however, be accepted as good evidence of pre-Conquest date, and this

evidence is very greatly strengthened if the jambs are built of through-stones, particularly when these are laid alternately upright and flat in the manner which Baldwin Brown named 'Escomb fashion', or if the voussoirs of the arch are wholly or predominantly of through-stones.

Greater arches. In Norman and later times the greater arches, whether of arcades opening to aisles or single arches from the nave to the tower or chancel, were usually constructed of several recessed orders. By contrast, the Anglo-Saxon arches were almost always of a single order which was square in section and semi-circular in elevation. A round-headed arch of plain square section is not, however, by itself a reliable guide to Anglo-Saxon workmanship because the earliest Norman arches were sometimes of this form. The detail of the arch and its jambs must therefore be studied, and the following features may be accepted as reliable indications of Anglo-Saxon workmanship:

(a) *Jambs of through-stones laid in 'Escomb fashion'.* The Anglo-Saxon love of through-stones for the lining of openings is well indicated by the large number of tower-arches and chancel-arches that have survived with jambs built of large through-stones laid alternately upright and flat like those in the chancel-arch at Escomb after which Baldwin Brown named this style.

(b) *Arches constructed of through-stones.* The construction of the arch of through-stones is a very reliable indication of pre-Conquest workmanship, but the absence of through-stones does not prove that the arch is Norman.

(c) *Strip-work round the opening.* A hood-moulding of plain square section carried round the head of the arch is a good indication of pre-Conquest workmanship, particularly if it is also carried down in the form of pilaster-strips beside the jambs.

(d) *Non-radial setting of voussoirs.* As a rule, in Norman and later medieval arches, the voussoirs or individual stones of the arch were of dressed stone, of a size that a man could conveniently handle, and were carefully cut so that they could be laid with joints which radiated correctly from the centre of the arch. By contrast, many Anglo-Saxon arches are formed of voussoirs whose joints do not radiate from the centre; indeed in some arches the voussoirs are laid at an almost constant inclination so that the lowest voussoirs on either side are tilted up sharply from the faces of their imposts, while between the uppermost voussoirs there is a large V-shaped gap which is filled by a wedge-shaped stone or a large mass of mortar. This non-radial setting is perhaps even more characteristic of the smaller Anglo-Saxon arches, but it is found also in greater arches, as in those of the arcades at Brixworth where the lowest voussoirs are sharply tilted but where there is no V-shaped gap at the top. A notable example of non-radial setting of voussoirs over the windows at Tredington caused Baldwin Brown to introduce the name 'Tredington fashion' for this feature, see Fig. 316.

(e) *Irregular shaping of voussoirs.* As a rule Norman and later voussoirs are of regular size and shape, of roughly the same dimensions radially and circumferentially. By contrast, the Anglo-Saxon voussoirs are often of very varying size even in one arch, and are often much longer radially than along the circumference. There are, however, examples as at Wootton Wawen where Anglo-Saxon voussoirs are very much longer along the circumference than radially. It is therefore difficult without great experience to get any reliable indication from this feature, but irregular size and shape of voussoir should be regarded as a feature which justifies a closer inspection of the arch in order to see if there is any other evidence that would give a reliable indication.

Imposts. Since Anglo-Saxon doorways and arches are generally cut straight through the walls, the imposts are generally of plain square outline in plan, like the jambs and arches themselves. In elevation too, the imposts are most often of plain square section and, since this is not usual in Norman buildings, it gives a good indication of pre-Conquest workmanship. Another dis-

tinctively pre-Conquest profile is of stepped section, sometimes formed by over-sailing courses of stone or tile but sometimes formed by dressing the face of a large flat stone slab. More elaborate profiles are also found, but generally of very simple geometrical forms compounded from simple steps or quarter-round or bulbous mouldings. Plain square imposts chamfered on the lower angle are a common feature in Norman churches but are also found in the Anglo-Saxon period; moreover it sometimes happens, as at Barrow, Shropshire, that imposts which were originally of plain square section have been chamfered in modern times.

String-courses. Just as the faces of Anglo-Saxon walls were sometimes divided by vertical pilaster-strips so also they were sometimes divided horizontally by string-courses. Whereas the pilasters were almost without exception of plain square section, there is more variety in the string-courses, although a plain square section is by far the most common. Since a plain square section was not often used in Norman times it gives a good indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship and so also does a stepped profile or a profile composed of steps and quarter-round mouldings. A chamfered profile does not give a reliable indication since examples are found in both Norman and pre-Norman buildings. It is clear from survivals at Breedon (Leicestershire), Hexham (Northumberland), Jarrow (County Durham), Peterborough (Northamptonshire) and Ripon (Yorkshire) that elaborately sculptured string-courses were used in Anglo-Saxon buildings; but we know examples *in situ* only at Masham, Monkwearmouth, and perhaps Lastingham.

Walls. It is not in general possible to say simply by inspection of a piece of walling that it is of pre-Conquest workmanship, and indications based upon the walling alone without supporting evidence from openings or other features should always be treated with reserve. But certain features have commonly been regarded as particularly important in deciding between Anglo-Saxon and later workmanship:

(a) *Thickness.* Pre-Conquest walls are seldom as much as 3 ft in thickness, and are more often nearer 2 ft 6 in.; whereas Norman walls are seldom less than 3 ft thick. There are notable exceptions: such as the undoubted pre-Conquest walls at Brixworth, which are nearly 4 ft thick; and those of the Norman church at Kilpeck, which vary from 2 ft 4 in. to 2 ft 9 in., or of the Norman church at Weaverthorpe, which are uniformly 2 ft 6 in.; but, as a rule, a Norman arcade in a wall much less than 3 ft thick is a fairly reliable indication that the arcade has been cut through a pre-existing Anglo-Saxon wall. Even if thin walls alone are not a reliable guide they should be taken to indicate that the church deserves closer inspection to see if there are any supporting features.¹

(b) *Fabric.* The Anglo-Saxons seem to have relied to a great extent on such materials as came readily to hand. Thus in Northumbria their churches are very largely of re-used stone from Roman buildings. Re-used Roman brick or tile is also a common feature throughout England. Flint and other materials that came readily to hand were commonly used, and the use of large flints often indicates a pre-Conquest wall, particularly if the flints are quite uncut. Without great experience it is, however, very difficult to distinguish the dates of walls by their fabric alone, without independent evidence; and, even with the greatest experience, such indications are unreliable.

(c) *Herring-bone fabric.* The laying of thin stones in diagonal courses is a convenient method of producing a wall with courses of constant height even when the stones are of varying thickness; and, if the courses are laid alternately in opposite directions, an interesting decorative pattern is also produced. This herring-bone fabric was at one time regarded as a reliable criterion of Anglo-Saxon date; but Baldwin

¹ In the thirteenth century and later, walls were again often as thin as 2 ft 6 in. but this was unusual in the Norman period from the Conquest to the end of the twelfth century.

Brown claimed that it was an almost infallible indication to the contrary, and his view has been widely accepted for almost half a century. We believe that neither view is correct; and that herring-bone technique was used by Romans, Anglo-Saxons, Normans and later masons, so that this technique by itself gives no reliable evidence of date. Our evidence in refutation of Baldwin Brown's view is set out fully under Diddlebury.

(d) *Buttresses*. Except for a few early churches in Kent and South Essex, there is a complete absence of buttresses in the pre-Norman churches, but the absence of buttresses cannot be taken as clear evidence of Anglo-Saxon date for there are many Norman churches whose naves and towers are built without buttresses.

Plinths. A plinth of plain square section may be accepted as giving a good indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, particularly if it be constructed of large flat stones. But by no means all Anglo-Saxon walls have any plinth, and quite a number have chamfered plinths, sometimes of more than one order.

Plans. The plan alone can seldom be used to give a good indication of date, but there are two notable exceptions to this rule, namely the small, early Kentish type of church with side-chapels or *porticus* opening from the eastern part of the nave, and the larger transeptal churches which differed fundamentally from those of post-Conquest date by the way in which their towers or central compartments were wider than any of the four arms of the church. By far the greatest number of surviving pre-Conquest churches seem to have been simple two-cell buildings consisting of a rectangular nave and a small chancel. The majority of the chancels are roughly square in plan, whereas the naves tend to be longer in proportion to their width than was usual after the Conquest. In only two instances (Bradford-on-Avon and Heysham) has an east wall survived without later alteration, and in both cases the wall is solid, without any east window. Curved apsidal east ends were the rule in the early Kentish churches and are found elsewhere in England, and at later dates; but the square east end seems to have become established as the norm quite early. There are very few surviving examples of an aisled pre-Conquest church, and only one (Great Paxton) where the arcades are borne on light piers of clustered shafts. All other surviving Anglo-Saxon arcades are borne on great rectangular piers of masonry which in fact form sections of the wall and divide the aisle effectively from the main body of the church. Indeed there is reason to doubt whether some of the aisles were originally continuous passages, and to think that they were instead divided by transverse walls into a number of separate side-chapels. By contrast with these somewhat indecisive features there remain the two distinctive features to which reference has already been made:

(a) *Lateral chapels or 'porticus'*. The classic example of the flanking *porticus* is the church of St Peter and St Paul in St Augustine's abbey at Canterbury. Since burial within the body of the church was forbidden, small chambers were provided on either side of the nave, near its east, for the burials of the archbishops in the northern chamber and the royal family in the southern one. The purpose is set out in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (Bk. II, ch. 3) and is confirmed by the survival of the tombs of three of the archbishops in the north *porticus* and by the discovery in 1925 of the coffins of four of the kings in the south *porticus*. Bede also makes it clear that services were held in the north *porticus*, which was dedicated to St Gregory. The excavation of the church of St Peter and St Paul has shown that the simple flanking *porticus* were later extended westward so as to flank the whole of the nave and form a western porch of entry. A closely similar development is shown by the ruins of Reculver church, and the simple flanking

porticus are to be seen in several Kentish churches, notably at St Pancras and St Martin in Canterbury, and at Lyminge; as well as in the churches of Kentish type at Bradwell in Essex, and at Bishopstone in Sussex. Multiple *porticus* were also built as far west as Deerhurst in Gloucestershire.

(b) *Transeptal churches.* In Norman and later times the arrangement of a transeptal church can best be visualized by thinking of the crossing of a long aisled nave and chancel of uniform width by a transeptal structure of exactly the same width. The square chamber which forms the crossing is exactly the same size as one of the compartments of the nave or chancel but usually has heavier piers in order to carry a tower. By contrast with this arrangement, the surviving Anglo-Saxon transeptal churches are best visualized as a square central compartment with solid walls through which relatively small arches are cut to open to the four arms of the church, all four of which are appreciably narrower than the sides of the central square, so that all four quoins of the central space can be seen externally in the angles between the arms of the church.

Multiple churches. A curious and somewhat puzzling feature, but one which seems nevertheless to have been characteristic of the early Anglo-Saxon abbeys, is the provision of a number of separate churches all fairly close together and arranged in a straight line. The classic example is at St Augustine's abbey in Canterbury where there were no less than four separate churches, but other examples have been established at Glastonbury, Jarrow, and Hexham, and it is clear that there were at least two churches and an oratory at Monkwearmouth, although there is now no reliable evidence of their position except for the single surviving church.

Multi-storeyed churches. Another somewhat puzzling feature is the substantial body of literary and structural evidence that has accumulated to show that from early times parts of the churches and their adjuncts were often of more than one storey. There is no very straightforward evidence to settle the uses to which the galleries or upper chambers were put, but it seems likely that some of them served as separate chapels, and that this applied also to some upper chambers in towers.

INSERTION OF FEATURES INTO EARLIER WALLS

For a proper appreciation of the way in which Anglo-Saxon churches have been modified by the insertion of later features it is important to understand clearly the great skill which medieval craftsmen showed in building an arch in the fabric of an existing wall without disturbing any of the wall above the new arch. This method of insertion of new features into an existing wall, whether of dressed stone or of rubble, is sufficiently unfamiliar in modern practice to justify a description of it in more detail lest doubt should otherwise be felt about the reasonableness of our assertions that certain features were inserted in later times, whether before or after the Norman Conquest, in walls which were already standing. It should at once be said that the skill of the masons was such that it is often impossible to decide with certainty that a feature is an insertion in an earlier wall unless it cuts away some part of an earlier feature, of which the remainder has been left *in situ* in a way which now serves to show beyond doubt that the original arrangement has been disturbed.

The most usual example of the modification of an early wall was associated with the provision of an aisle for a nave which had formerly been aisleless. It seems to have been common practice in such cases to mark out the lines of the projected new piers and arches on the face of the existing wall, to cut away small portions of the existing wall, to insert the new fabric stone by stone in

these small cavities, and to make good the wall above the new work as the work proceeded. In this way, the existing wall below the new arch served throughout the operation to support each individual stone of the new arch; and the lower section of wall was not disturbed until after the new arch had been completed, and the small gaps between it and the wall above had all been made good. Without actual examples it would be difficult to appreciate how small these gaps needed to be between the newly inserted masonry and the old work above; but fortunately there are examples which prove the point conclusively. At Ledsham, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, a later north arcade has been inserted in the Anglo-Saxon north wall, and the greater parts of the Anglo-Saxon north windows have remained *in situ* above the new work; in one of these windows, one jamb may be seen touching the upper face of the new voussoir which was inserted below it, see Fig. 172.

When insertions have been made in this way into a wall whose fabric is rubble it is often very difficult to distinguish the new feature as an insertion unless it cuts away some part of an earlier feature. If, however, the new feature has been inserted into a wall of dressed-stone fabric it is sometimes possible to secure confirmation of its character as a later insertion by noticing minor details of the jointing of the masonry. For example, the imposts of a doorway which had been built from the first in a wall of coursed masonry would almost certainly form parts of one of the courses of the wall; by contrast, the imposts of a doorway which had been inserted later into the same wall might well be placed without relation to the courses of the wall. Moreover the cut stones which adjoin the arched head of the doorway would normally be of much the same size as other stones of the walling if the doorway was an original feature; whereas the stones adjoining the arched head of a doorway which was a later insertion might well comprise one or more cut stones of trivial size, as indications of the need to fill gaps between the new masonry and the undisturbed masonry beside it. Figure 334 shows an example of the later insertion of a great western arch in the west wall of the tower of St Regulus's chapel at St Andrews. Whereas the original fabric is of carefully coursed ashlar, the jambs of this great inserted arch are not set in the main courses of the wall. Moreover, it will be noted how the head of the arch cuts away part of an ornamental string-course which runs across the face of the tower.

Another indication of later insertion is sometimes given if the stone that is used for the facings of the inserted feature is different from the stone that is used in the main fabric of the wall; such an indication is, of course, greatly strengthened if original openings still exist in the wall, and if their facings are of the same stone as the main fabric.

PART II

INDICATION OF DATES IN THE PLANS AND SECTIONS

Throughout the book we have used standard shades to indicate dates on the plans and sections of churches. The shades which we have used, and their significance in dating are:



Earliest Anglo-Saxon, Period A



Intermediate, but early



Intermediate



Intermediate, but late



Latest Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman, Period C



Norman



Post-Norman or modern

As a rule the plans of churches show in detail only those parts which we regard as Anglo-Saxon, and the remainder of the plan is shown in outline only.

DETAILED DESCRIPTIONS OF INDIVIDUAL CHURCHES

For convenience of reference, the following summary is repeated here from the preface, in order to explain the meanings of the terms which we use to give an indication of the approximate dates of the churches. If it is possible to give only a rough indication of date, this is done by reference to the following three periods:

| Period | Approximate range of dates |
|--------|-------------------------------|
| A | A.D. 600-800 |
| B | A.D. 800-950 |
| C | A.D. 950-1100 |

If it is possible to give a closer indication of date, this is done by dividing each period into three sub-periods, thus:

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|
| 600 | A 1 | 650 | A 2 | 700 | A 3 | 800 |
| 800 | B 1 | 850 | B 2 | 900 | B 3 | 950 |
| 950 | C 1 | 1000 | C 2 | 1050 | C 3 | 1100 |

If we are confident of the pre-Conquest character of a church, but are, nevertheless, uncertain about its date within the pre-Conquest era, we use the phrase 'period uncertain'. If, on the other hand, we are uncertain about the evidence for assigning pre-Conquest character to a church, but nevertheless regard the church as being worthy of further investigation, we use the phrase 'possibly pre-Conquest' for churches which we think might fall into any part of the pre-Conquest era, or the phrase 'possibly Saxo-Norman' for churches which we think might fall into the period of Saxo-Norman overlap.

We wish to emphasize the provisional nature of all the assignments of dates until we have reconsidered all the evidence during the preparation of the third volume of this work.

ABINGTON, LITTLE

Cambridgeshire

Map sheet 148, reference TL 529492

ST MARY THE VIRGIN

Nave: Saxo-Norman

About 8 miles south-east of Cambridge, the church of Little Abington is pleasantly sheltered by trees and separated by open fields from the busy traffic on the two near-by roads from London to Newmarket and from Cambridge to Colchester. The first of these, about a mile west of the church, still follows the course of a Roman road, while the second, now less than a quarter of a mile to the north of the church, has moved southward from the line of another Roman road in order to pass through the medieval villages.

The church consists of a Perpendicular west tower, an aisleless nave with south porch and

north transept, and an aisleless chancel. The fabric of the earlier parts is of uncut flints, with dressed stone at the angles and for the facings of doorways and windows. The nave is the earliest part of the church, for its two surviving doorways and blocked north window all probably date from close to the Conquest. The south-east quoin of the nave is also original, of a form which has a distinct tendency towards long-and-short technique and is also megalithic in character.

The eastern quoins of the chancel are in face-alternate form for the greater part of their height, with some larger upright stones near the top. We see no reason to doubt that the whole of the chancel is of the Early English period that is suggested by the lancet windows in its north wall, and we consequently regard the large stones in the upper parts of the eastern quoins as re-used material from the earlier chancel which was replaced by the present building.

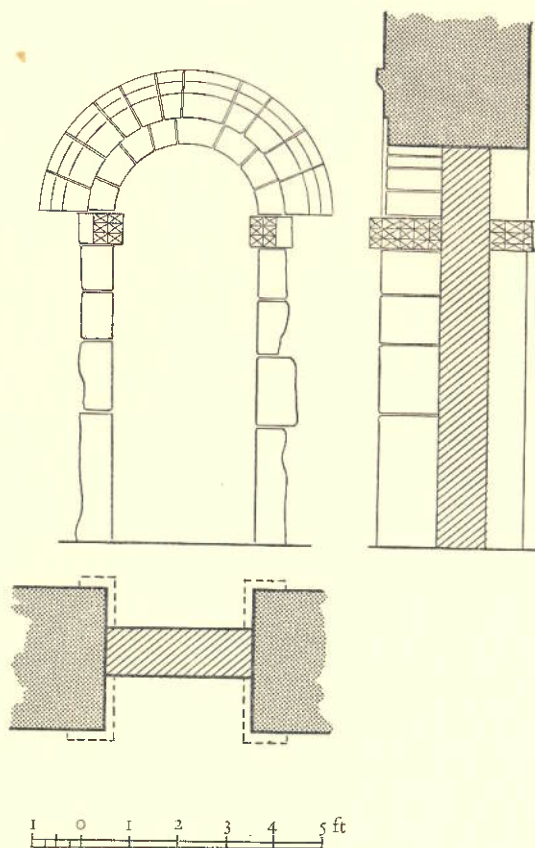


FIG. 8. LITTLE ABINGTON, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

The doorway in the north wall of the nave. The section shows how the imposts projected both externally and internally, in a way which would have been most inconvenient for the hanging of a door.

The two doorways of the nave, placed opposite each other about the middle of the side walls, are plain, round-headed openings, cut straight through the wall, without any rebate for the hanging of a door. Neither has 'Escomb fashion' jambs nor any use of through-stones in its jambs or arch, but, in a district so devoid of good building stone, this is perhaps no valid argument against Saxon workmanship. The south doorway has chamfered bases and imposts, which are returned along the outer face of the wall. The north doorway has similar chamfered bases but its imposts are of an unusual form, of plain rectangular plan and section, returned along both inner and outer faces of the wall. These imposts, about 8 in. in height, carry an ornament of simple diaper, in three rows, well preserved on the soffit and outer faces, and faintly traceable on the inner face

towards the nave, where the imposts have been almost wholly cut away, no doubt to facilitate the hanging of a door at some later period. The fact that, in its original state, this doorway must have been without a door, has made us wonder whether it was the entrance to a *porticus*. It would be interesting to see if any foundations had survived in the area north of the nave.

In the north wall of the nave, and visible only outside, in the angle between the nave and the north transept, there may be seen about half of the monolithic head and the whole of the western monolithic jamb of a round-headed window, which seems to have been blocked and partially destroyed at the time of building of this transept. Both jamb and head have a shallow exterior rebate, as if for the housing of a shutter, and the head is ornamented with the same diaper pattern as is used on the imposts of the doorway.

The whole of the church, including nave, chancel, and much later transept, rests on a plain square plinth of flint, which has no dressed stone upper facings.

It is clearly not possible to be dogmatic about the date of this church. We have tentatively placed it as Saxo-Norman, mainly on the evidence of the doorways. If it could be shown that the north doorway had opened to a *porticus* this would give further confirmation of Saxon character.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 35 ft 6 in. long internally and 20 ft 2 in. wide, with side walls 3 ft thick and about 16 ft high. The floor is now one step below the outside level. The south doorway is 3 ft 2 in. wide and 7 ft 6 in. high, when measured from its sill at the level of the porch. The north doorway is 3 ft wide and 8 ft 6 in. high, when measured from its sill, 6 in. above the floor of the church. The fragmentary north window seems to have been over 1 ft wide and about 3 ft tall, with its sill about 11 ft above the ground.

REFERENCE

E. A. FREEMAN, *History of Architecture* (London, 1849), 210. Impost with star ornament noted as an early feature.

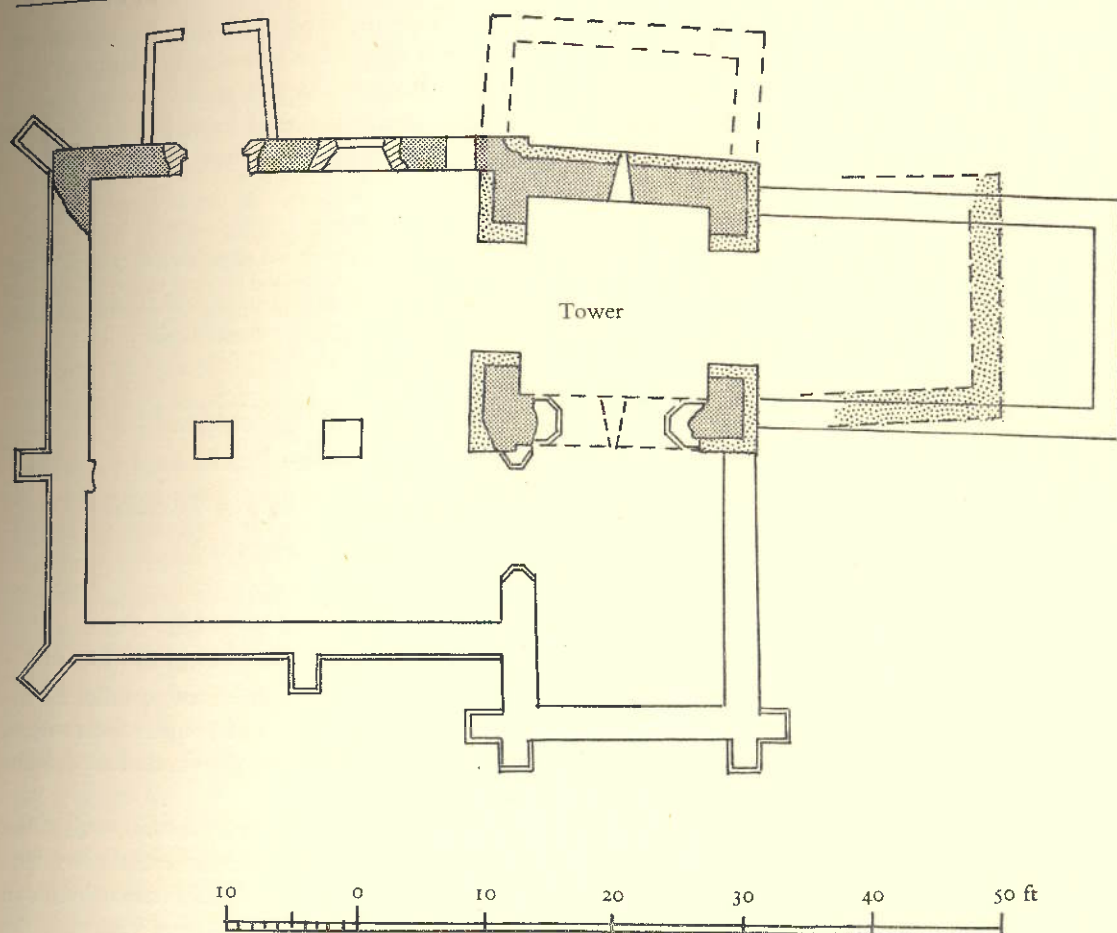


FIG. 9. ALBURY, SURREY

Plan of the old church in the grounds of Albury Park. The plan shows how irregularly the tower was laid out. It also illustrates P. M. Johnston's theory that the tower was originally the chancel of a pre-Conquest church and that the walls were later thickened about 1140 to carry the Norman tower. The ground-plan of the destroyed Norman chancel is also shown.

ALBURY

Surrey

Map sheet 170, reference TQ 063478

ST PETER AND ST PAUL

Nave and chancel, the latter now forming part of the Norman tower: possibly period C3

The old church of the small village of Albury, about 4 miles east of Guildford, was replaced in the middle of the nineteenth century by a new and larger church more conveniently situated within the village. The old church in the grounds

of Albury Park was then abandoned and allowed to fall into decay, until it was carefully repaired in 1920 for use as a private chapel.

The church now consists of a ruined chancel, a tower with Lady Chapel on its south, and a nave with south aisle and timbered north porch. Mr P. M. Johnston, who directed the repairs in 1920, claimed that the nave and the core of the tower were the nave and chancel of the original Saxon church, which he described as having been enlarged in Norman times by the thickening of the chancel walls, the erection on them of the Norman tower, and the building of a new chancel to the east.¹

¹ *Surrey Arch. C.* 34 (1921), 52-94.

There is no doubt about the Norman date of the exterior of the tower and, if clear proof were available that the walls of the lower stage had been formed by building an outer skin round an earlier fabric of the same type as that of the nave, it would follow without reasonable doubt that the nave and the base of the tower were the Saxon nave and chancel as claimed by Johnston. Moreover the surviving north wall of the nave is thin, and tall for the size of the nave, and this would support the claim of a pre-Conquest date for the nave. But in his otherwise full and detailed account of his discoveries during the repairs, Johnston does not give explicitly any evidence for his assertion that a thin-walled chancel was encased by the Normans to form the ground stage of their tower; and in a short visit in 1959 we were unable to see any evidence which would establish this as a fact. The simple, round-headed, single-splayed windows in the north and south walls of this lower stage of the tower are clearly Norman externally, as described by Johnston; but their inner faces have no distinctively Saxon character, nor is there visible from the floor any evidence that the outer faces of the windows have been built separately from the inner.

The walls of the nave are of rubble, laid with much use of herring-bone technique, and on this account would have been declared Norman by Baldwin Brown or Clapham, but we believe that herring-bone masonry gives no reliable evidence of date. The walls of the tower, by contrast, are of coursed masonry; but, while this indicates a separate building period, it does not by itself prove Johnston's theory.

We therefore do not accept Albury as having been proved to be pre-Conquest, but we have included it here and have described it in some detail because Johnston was an accurate and reliable observer who may have seen evidence which, although not recorded in his published account, yet served to establish beyond doubt the later thickening of the tower walls.

DIMENSIONS

The original nave was 32 ft long internally by 19 ft wide, with walls 2 ft 7 in. thick. The interior

of the tower, perhaps originally the chancel, is about 15 ft square but is irregularly laid out in a way which gives support to its having been a Saxon chancel rather than having been designed from the first as a Norman tower.

REFERENCE

P. M. JOHNSTON, 'Albury old church', *Surrey Arch. C.* 34 (1921), 52-94. A detailed account of the church and of the discoveries made during its restoration; with accurate plan and many illustrations.

ALDBROUGH

Yorkshire, East Riding

Map sheet 99, reference TA 244387

Figure 363

ST BARTHOLOMEW

South wall of nave, containing sundial: period C

The church at Aldbrough, about 12 miles north-east of Hull, now consists of a square west tower, an aisled nave with south porch, and an aisleless chancel.

Built into the south face of the south wall of the nave, in the spandrel between the central two arches of the south arcade is a remarkable sundial with an incised inscription in Anglo-Saxon.¹ Most of the inscription is clear and the generally accepted reading is

+ULF LET ARABRAN CYRICE FOR HANUM 7
FOR GUNVARA SAULA
+ Ulf had this church built for himself and
for Gunwara's soul

The sundial itself is a simple circular disc 1 ft 4 in. in diameter, projecting forward 2 in. from the face of the wall. Its face has a small central hole for the gnomon, and eight radial lines dividing it into equal octants. The inscription runs clockwise round the face, near its outer edge, in capital letters about 1½ in. tall, and the word ULF is placed at the end of the radius which runs downward diagonally to the right of the centre. In the octant immediately to the left of the downward vertical is a symbol composed of six crossing lines of which three are ruled more or less horizontally and three vertically.

¹ J. C. Brooke, *Arch.* 6 (1782), 39-53.

In his description of the sundial in 1928 A. R. Green claimed that it would not originally have been set in its present position but in a position that would be obtained by rotating it through an angle of 45° in a clockwise direction so that the symbol composed of six crossing lines would have been in the octant next below the left-hand horizontal radius, where it would have been correctly placed to serve as a marker of *daeg mael* or 7.30 a.m.¹ We have recently been allowed to remove the plaster which formerly covered the whole face of the wall, and this has shown that the circular face of the sundial has been carved in relief on a large rectangular block of stone which is set horizontally in the fabric of the wall. It therefore follows that the dial could not conveniently have been set in the orientation suggested by Green and that the six-line symbol must always have marked 10.30 a.m.

Several descriptions of the church and of the sundial have been written since Brooke's first report in 1782, and most writers have tended to follow a later theory that the sundial originally came from an earlier church that stood further east, on land that has now been eaten away by the sea.² An account of the church in 1920 claimed that part of the chancel might be a survival of Ulf's church but that the nave had been destroyed in a restoration in 1870.³ We had been led to doubt this claim by the fact that the sundial is placed above a circular pier in exactly the same position as is illustrated in Brooke's drawing of 1782 and that there is still an inverted chevron of dressed stone strip-work on the wall beneath the sundial exactly as in Brooke's drawing. It was for this reason that we sought permission to remove the modern plaster from the wall in order to see whether the fabric beneath could be ancient, in spite of the modern tooling of the square capital of the circular pier and in spite of the substantial changes that were made to the arcades in 1870. It seemed to us to be a possibility that the inverted chevron might have survived from the head of a strip-work hood-moulding of a triangular-

headed south doorway and that the sundial might be still in its original setting above. Unfortunately, the removal of the plaster showed that the walling both below and to the sides of the chevron is disturbed and contains much re-used material. It is, therefore, not possible to claim that either the chevron or the sundial is *in situ*; and if Twycross-Raines was correct in saying that the nave was demolished in 1870 the present identity of their positions with those shown in Brooke's drawing seems most likely to be the result of conscious copying of the original arrangement by the restorers of 1870. It should, however, be noted that this does not prove that the sundial came from a different site.

Built into the south wall of the chancel above a later medieval window is a monolithic window-head of late-Saxon character. The outer face of this stone is carved to show an animal in relief, not unlike that at Barnetby-le-Wold, Lincolnshire.

DIMENSIONS

The present nave is about 51 ft long internally and 16 ft 3 in. wide. Its south wall is 2 ft thick. The sundial is 1 ft 4 in. in diameter and is placed about 11 ft above the floor.

ALDINGTON

Kent

Map sheets 173 and 184, reference TR 074362

ST MARTIN

North walls of nave and chancel: period C3

The fine church of the small village of Aldington stands on a ridge of high land on the northern boundary of the Romney Marsh, looking northward away from the Marsh, over the wide valley of the River Stour. Close beside the church, on the south, is the line of the Roman road from Lympne to Ashford, 6 miles away to the north-west.

Although now of some considerable size, the

¹ A. R. Green, *Ant. J.* 8 (1928), 511-12. See also D. H. Haigh, *Yorks. Arch. J.* 5 (1877-8), 151-4.

² G. Poulson, *History of Holderness* (Hull, 1841), 6.

³ G. F. Twycross-Raines, *T. E. Riding Ant. S.* 23 (1920),

28. This article contains a reproduction of a drawing of the interior of the nave in 1868 when the eastern parts of the arcades were different from their present form and the chancel-arch was much narrower.

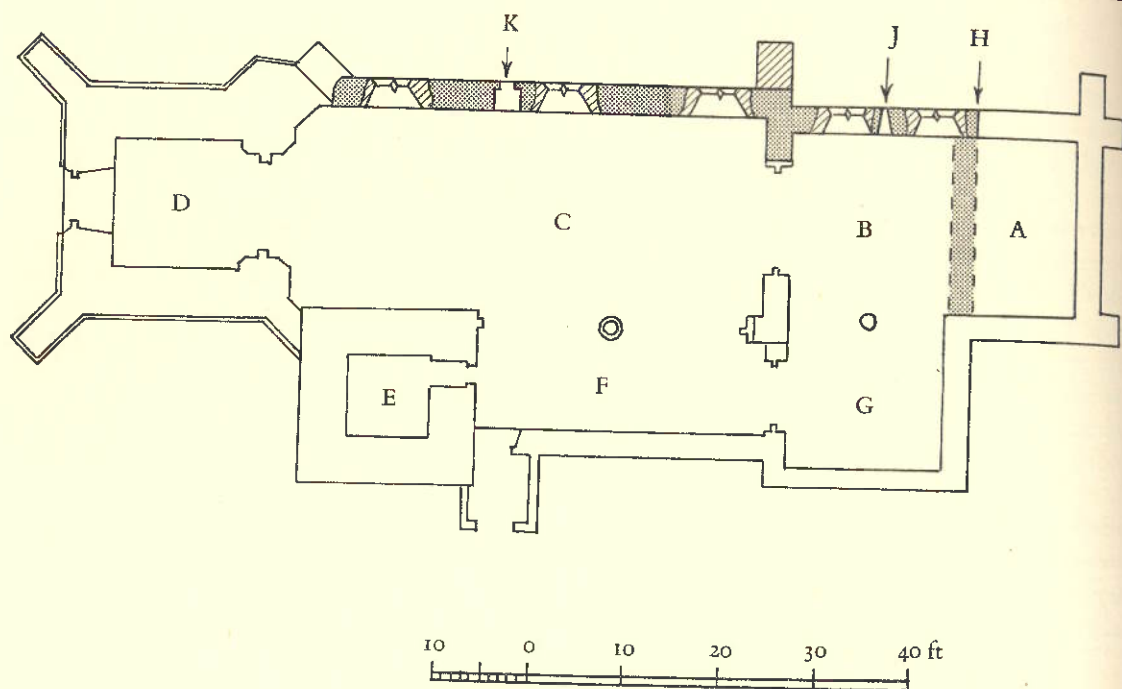


FIG. 10. ALDINGTON, KENT

A, thirteenth-century addition to chancel; B, original chancel; C, original nave; D, sixteenth-century tower; E, twelfth-century tower; F, thirteenth-century south aisle; G, thirteenth-century south chapel; H, straight joint marking original quoin of chancel; J, blocked original narrow window; K, blocked original doorway.

church may be seen to have developed from a small, aisleless nave and chancel. To this there was first added a south aisle, with a south-west tower which has subsequently vanished; later an Early English south aisle was added to the chancel, and the chancel itself extended eastward; and finally, in the sixteenth century, the present tall Perpendicular west tower was built.

The early features which survive in the north wall are a blocked window in the chancel and a tall, narrow, blocked, round-headed doorway in the nave. There are also vestiges of two windows in the nave, but these have lost all their facings and so give little indication of date. The chancel window is of narrow, round-headed, single-splayed form, with its aperture, about 9 in. wide and 2 ft high, in the outer face of the wall. Its jambs and arched head are of rough blocks of rubble. The north doorway, 2 ft 3 in. wide and 9 ft high, has jambs of small roughly squared stones, resting on square bases which not only project on the soffit but also stand out boldly from the wall-face like corbels. The imposts are

shallow stones of plain square section which project on the soffit only; and the arch, which is set back a little behind the line of the jambs, is formed of neatly cut and accurately laid voussoirs. The walls, of flint and rubble, are 35 in. thick.

The indications are far from definite, but the window and doorway justify the inclusion of the church in the period of the Saxo-Norman overlap.

DIMENSIONS

As defined by the surviving original north walls and by the later south arcades, the original nave must have been about 40 ft long internally, and about 20 ft wide, while the chancel was about 17 ft square.

REFERENCE

F. C. E. ERWOOD, 'Some notes on the architecture of Aldington Church, Kent', *Arch. Cant.* 41 (1929), 143-51. A careful architectural description with pictures and accurate plan. Erwood places the earliest building after the Conquest.

ALKBOROUGH

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 98, reference SE 882219

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

Lower part of west tower, and probably parts of side walls of nave: period C3

The village of Alkborough and its church stand on cliffs overlooking the wide alluvial flats in which the Ouse and the Trent join to form the Humber. The church consists of an Anglo-Saxon west tower, with Perpendicular upper storey and battlements; an aisled nave, mainly of Early English date; and an aisleless chancel which was rebuilt in the nineteenth century.

The tower is of four stages, of which the lowest three are built of roughly coursed rubble and are probably all of the same late-Saxon date. Dressed stone quoins are visible at all four angles of the tower and at the north-west of the nave beside a heavy, later buttress. These quoins are all of small stones laid in the side-alternate fashion which is normal in the late-Saxon or Saxon-Norman towers of Lincolnshire and which by itself does not serve to discriminate between Anglo-Saxon or Norman workmanship. The Anglo-Saxon character of the lower part of the tower is, however, indicated by the round-headed western doorway, with a key-hole window high above it in the lowest stage, by the plain string-courses above the first and second stages, and most clearly by the double belfry windows in the west and north faces of the second stage.

These double belfry windows are clearly late in character, for, although the chamfered impost and the plain rectangular through-stone slabs project boldly from the wall-face, yet the plain cylindrical mid-wall shafts have cushion capitals of distinctly Norman form. Moreover, the heads of the individual openings are arched with well-laid stones which are not of plain square profile but have a roll moulding on the salient angle. The square jambs are not of through-stones but of dressed stones of about the same size as those of

the quoining. In the south face beneath the clock is a blocked window originally of the same form as the other two, and over the head of the west window is a boldly projecting stone similar to the beasts' heads at Barnack and Deerhurst.

The windows of the third stage are of a debased medieval type; but the triangular heads in the north and south and the round head in the west make it reasonable to assume that they replace original Anglo-Saxon windows, particularly when taken in conjunction with the uniform fabric of the three lower stages. The fourth stage, of quite different fabric, is a later medieval addition.

Internally, the semi-circular tower-arch and its jambs are square in section; the imposts and bases of the jambs are of re-used Roman stones with mouldings returned round both faces of the walls; but the construction of the jambs and arch is not of through-stones. An Anglo-Saxon carved stone may be seen by lifting a trap-door at the foot of the north jamb.

The side walls of the present nave, above the pointed Early English arches, and up to the off-set about 19 ft from the floor, are probably the original side walls of the aisleless Anglo-Saxon nave, for clearly defined gable-lines may be seen on the east face of the tower, marking the position of the earlier and lower roof which ran steeply up from the tops of the original walls, that is to say from the position now marked by the off-set. Moreover, the east face of the tower, as seen within the nave, has quoins which are carried down to meet these gable-lines, thus indicating that the tower originally stood free above that level and that its east wall was only later enclosed within the nave when the side walls of the nave were raised. This raising of the walls may also be seen outside the west end of the church, where the surviving north-west quoin of the original nave is in line with the present north arcade and where it is also possible to see a change in texture of walling as an indication of the original west gable of the nave.

According to the annals of Peterborough and the Spalding records as quoted by Dugdale,¹ Alkborough church belonged to Spalding priory. The details of its west tower as described above would

¹ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 2 (London, 1661), 871 (or 3 (London, 1821), 206 and 215).

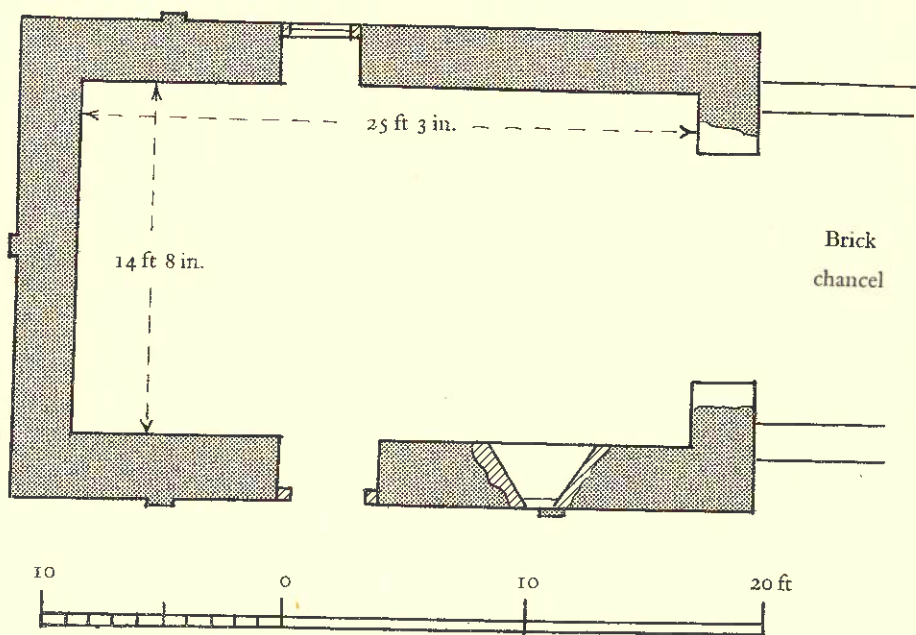


FIG. II. ALTON BARNES, WILTSHIRE
Plan of the nave. The plan shows the four surviving pilaster-strips.

be consistent with its having been built by Thorold of Buckenale who founded the priory shortly before the Conquest. Evidence for the existence of a church here before or very soon after the Conquest is also given by Hugh Candidus who states that the church was given to Peterborough by Abbot Brand (1066-70).¹

DIMENSIONS

The tower is 12 ft 8 in. square internally with outer walls 2 ft 7 in. thick. It was originally about 48 ft high before the addition of the fourth stage. The nave is 19 ft 6 in. wide internally and about 45 ft long, with side walls 2 ft 8 in. thick and originally about 19 ft high to the present off-set. The tower-arch is 5 ft 11 in. wide and 12 ft 4 in. high in a wall 2 ft 4 in. thick.

REFERENCE

J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, 'Something about Saxon church building', *Arch. J.* 53 (1896), 293-351. Alkborough described, 337-9 [the reference to a doorway high up in the east wall of the tower is incorrect].

ALTON BARNES

Wiltshire

Map sheet 167, reference SU 107620

Figure 364

ST MARY THE VIRGIN

Nave: period C

About 4 miles east of Devizes, at the foot of the chalk hills which bound the Vale of Pewsey on the north, the small villages of Alton Barnes and Alton Priors have two churches close together, separated only by a field and a tiny stream which forms one of the sources of the Wiltshire Avon. The small aisleless nave and chancel of Alton Barnes church, approached from the nearby road through a spacious farmyard, are scarcely visible from the road. The chancel has been rebuilt in brick in the eighteenth century, but the nave seems to be substantially a pre-Conquest fabric, although nothing has survived to show the original form of its windows.

¹ *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W. T. Mellows (London, 1949), 72, or in the English

translation by C. and W. T. Mellows (Peterborough, 1941), 35.

The positions of the original north and south doorways are marked by a later window in a blocked north doorway, and by the present south entrance, which seems to have been made by enlarging a doorway similar to that on the north. The walls are plastered outside and in, so that no details of their construction can now be seen, but the quoins and pilaster-strips, which serve to date the building, have fortunately remained visible.

All four quoins of the nave have survived, of markedly megalithic character, with here and there a slight sense of long-and-short technique, particularly in the south-west quoin, where an upright 50 in. in height is followed by a bonding stone only 20 in. tall but running 30 in. along the south face of the wall. Four pilasters are now visible; two on the south and one on the north are all of about the same height, whereas a shorter fragment is on the west wall. All four are about 11 in. in width, now flush with the plastered wall-face, and all are built of stones varying between 10 in. and 30 in. in height. Whereas the original quoins have survived almost to the top of the present walls, the pilaster-strips do not extend above 7 ft, and three end at about this height, thus giving an impression that they may perhaps never have continued to the top of the wall but may have ended against a horizontal string-course of which one section may have survived as part of the sill of the Georgian south window.

The bells hang in a twin opening of modern construction in the west gable; and in the east gable of the nave, visible over the roof of the chancel, is another twin rectangular opening which, although now blocked and very heavily restored, yet has stones of early appearance for its sill and for the bases of its jambs and central shaft. This interesting survival may therefore indicate either an early double window lighting the upper part of the nave, or else the original position of the bells before the provision of the modern recesses in the west gable.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 25 ft 3 in. long internally and 14 ft 8 in. wide, with walls 2 ft 7 in. thick and about 12 ft high.

REFERENCE

F. R. HEATH, *Wiltshire* (Methuen's Little Guides), 6th ed. (London, 1931), 50.

AMPNEY CRUCIS

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 157, reference SP 065019

HOLY ROOD

North door of nave: period C3

The village of Ampney Crucis, about 3 miles east of Cirencester on the road to Lechlade, has a spacious church of aisleless cruciform plan with a buttressed west tower.

The side walls of the nave are of ragstone fabric with west quoins of mixed ragstone and larger rubble, against which the square eastern buttresses of the tower have been built, with a straight vertical joint. Against the centre of the north wall a modern heating chamber has been built in a position which completely obscures the north doorway of the Cotswold type on the basis of which Baldwin Brown accepted this wall as of late-Saxon date.¹ Higher up in the wall and not obscured by the heating chamber are two round-headed single-splayed windows of early Norman character, one on either side of the doorway.

Within the church it is still possible to see most of the details of the doorway although the outer part of the aperture is blocked. Its inner face is a square-headed opening of tall, narrow shape, with jambs which seem to be of through-stones, and a flat head which is formed of two massive lintels laid side by side. The jambs are laid in 'Escomb fashion' and, since the opening is 6 in. wider on the interior than on the exterior, it follows that they

¹ Illustrations of the doorway are given by Baldwin Brown (1925), 395; and by C. E. Keyser, *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 20 (1914), fig. 15.

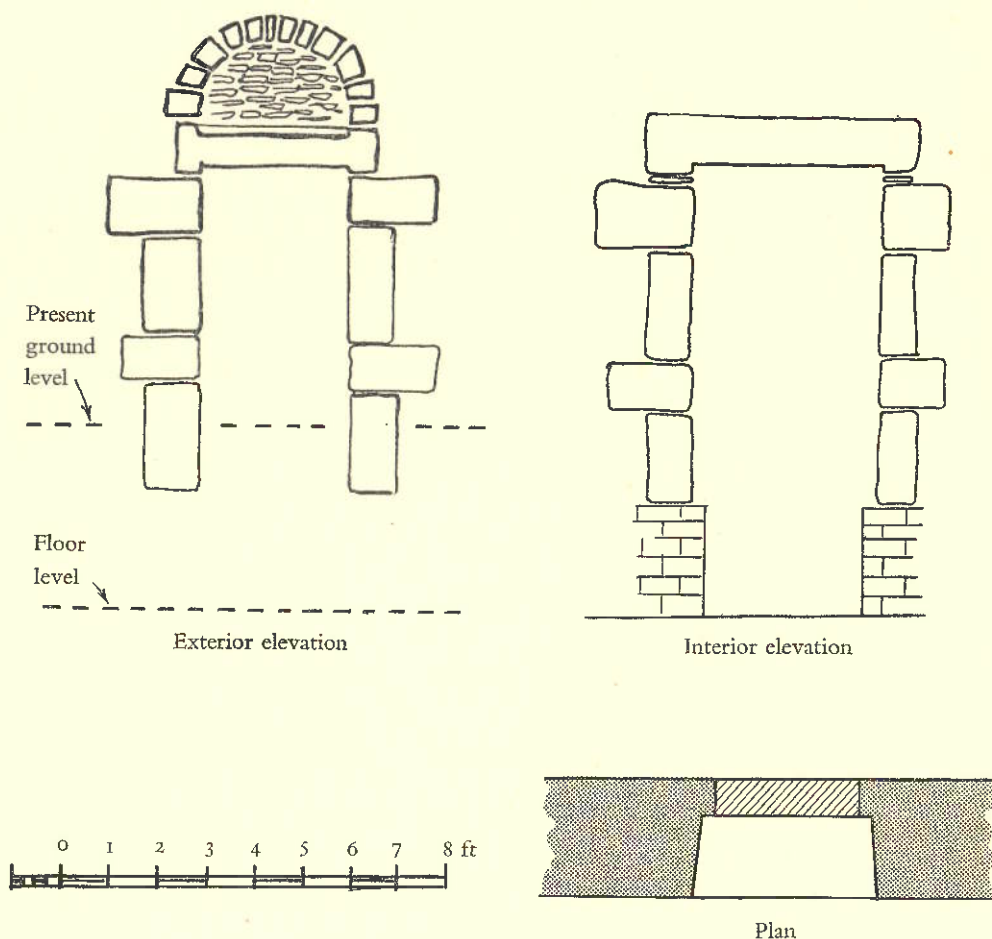


FIG. 12. AMPNEY CRUCIS, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Details of the blocked doorway in the north wall of the nave. The outer face of the doorway is now obscured by a modern heating chamber.

were rebated for the hanging of a door. It is not possible to say with certainty that all the stones of the jambs extend through the full thickness of the wall but, since the jointing on the exterior face corresponds very closely with that on the interior, it seems likely that they do. The exterior face can be seen within the heating chamber, where it is still possible to see that above the flat lintel there is an arch of well-laid voussoirs, enclosing a semi-circular area of ragstone walling which is recessed slightly behind the main face of the wall.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 63 ft long internally and about 18 ft wide. The side walls vary between

2 ft 3 in. and 2 ft 6 in. in thickness. They are now 20 ft 6 in. high internally, but the upper courses of about 2 ft in height are probably later additions, since they are of squared stone, while the remainder is of ragstone. The ground externally is about 4 ft above the level of the floor. The north doorway is 3 ft wide externally and 3 ft 6 in. internally. Its inner face is 9 ft 4 in. tall, but the lower parts of the jambs for a height of 2 ft 6 in. from the floor have been rebuilt in brick and only the upper part of just less than 7 ft in extent is in its original state, consisting in each jamb of two upright and two long flat stones, laid so that the uprights alternate with the flat bonding stones.

REFERENCE

C. E. KEYSER, 'Notes on the churches of Ampney Crucis...', *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 20 (1914), 1-14, especially figs. 2, 11 and 15, and p. 11.

AMPNEY ST PETER

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 157, reference SP 082015

ST PETER

Nave: period C3

The church of Ampney St Peter, about 4 miles east of Cirencester, close beside the main road to Lechlade, consists of an aisleless chancel, a nave to which a north aisle was added in 1877, and a low western tower whose gabled roof is only a few feet higher than that of the nave.

The nave may be accepted as of late-Saxon construction on the evidence of its thin walls and the peculiar treatment of its simple, round-headed tower-arch in which the jointing between individual stones is non-radial to a degree that could scarcely be attributed to Norman craftsmen and is exceptional even when judged by Anglo-Saxon standards. The arch, in a wall only 2 ft thick, rests on plain, chamfered impost, and is wholly built of through-stones.

There are no other distinctively Anglo-Saxon features, and it is unusual that the tower-arch is the full width of the interior of the later tower.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 38 ft long internally, by 14 ft 4 in. wide, with side walls about 2 ft 6 in. thick and about 18 ft high. The tower-arch is 8 ft 4 in. wide and 12 ft 1 in. high, in a wall 2 ft thick. The tower is about 8 ft square internally, with walls 2 ft 3 in. thick.

REFERENCE

C. E. KEYSER, 'Notes on the churches of... Ampney St Peter's', *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 20 (1914), 1-14 and 81-90, especially figs. 29 and 33, and pp. 89-90.

APPLEBY

Westmorland

Map sheet 83, reference NY 688199

ST MICHAEL, BONGATE

*Lower parts of north and west walls of nave:
period doubtful*

The old church of St Michael, Bongate, is now some distance from the centre of Appleby, beside the road to Brough and Barnard Castle; but the town has perhaps moved northward through the centuries in order to cluster round the bridge, thus leaving the castle and the old church on the southern outskirts, connected by a ford which is now seldom used.

The structure of the church has been much altered and rebuilt at various dates, but now consists of a nave, with narrow south aisle and south porch; transepts, of which that to the north houses the organ and carries a low tower; and an aisleless chancel. The fabric is of fairly large, roughly squared blocks of reddish sandstone.

The west and north walls of the nave rest on a plain square plinth, above which the three lowest courses are of very massive stones that are much bigger than those of the remainder of the wall. A small, blocked, early Norman doorway near the west of the north wall has as its lintel a re-used Anglo-Saxon hogback, almost undecipherable externally but still fairly well preserved internally, where the carving shows as a horizontal panel of plait-work on the side, with a roof of tiles or scales. The early Norman doorway seems to us to be contemporary with the main fabric of the north wall in which it stands, and it is for this reason that we think the lower part of the north and west wall are probably pre-Norman because they are of so different a character.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 59½ ft long internally and 20¼ ft wide.

REFERENCE

R.C.H.M., *Westmorland* (London, 1936), 6-7. Fabric dated to the twelfth century and later, except for the re-used hogback.

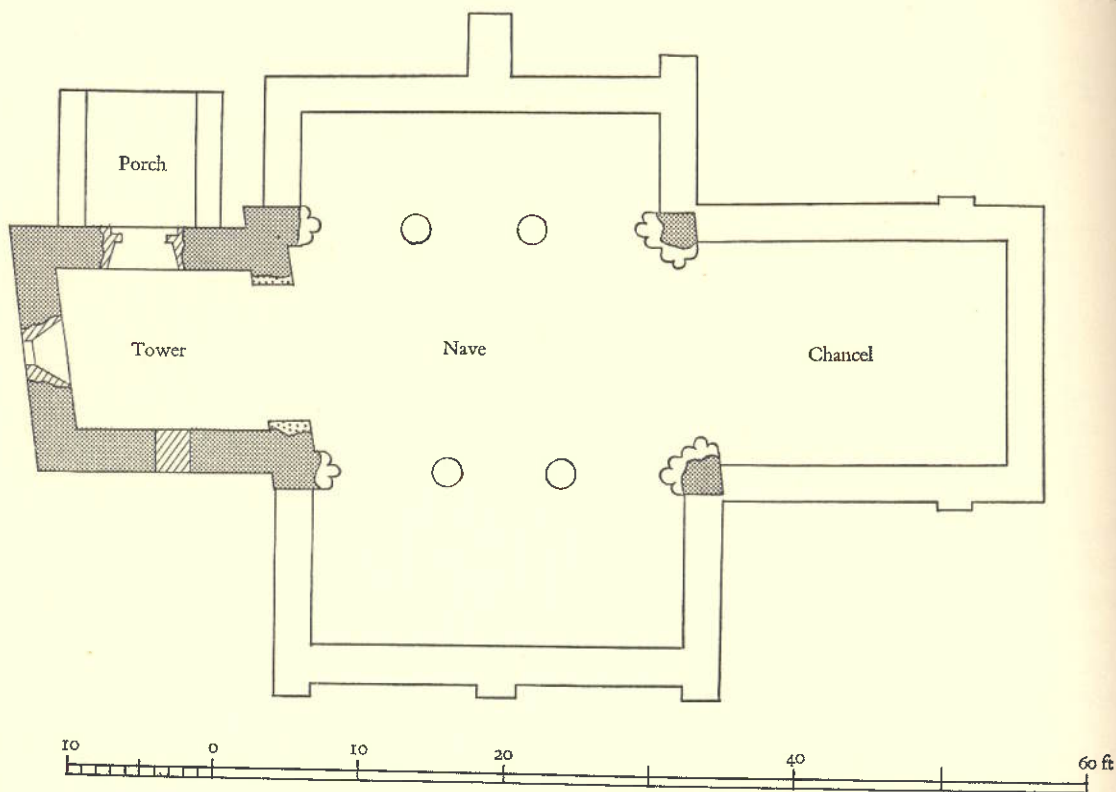


FIG. 13. APPLETON-LE-STREET, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)

The plan shows the very irregular setting out of the tower and nave. The west window of the tower is shown as an insertion in the earlier wall. It is an insertion in a surviving doorway which may be either original or itself an insertion in earlier walling.

APPLETON-LE-STREET

Yorkshire, North Riding

Map sheet 92, reference SE 733736

Figure 365

ALL SAINTS

*West tower, and nave walls above later arcades:
periods C1 and C2*

There is now hardly any village of Appleton-le-Street, but the church of All Saints, on high ground beside the main road from Malton to Hovingham, preserves in its west tower a fine example of late-Saxon workmanship. The aisles of the nave are Early English additions but the walls of the original Anglo-Saxon nave probably still remain above the later arcades, since their western quoins, of the same character as those of the tower, may be seen projecting about a foot on

either side of the tower, and in line with the arcades of the nave.

The tower is built of roughly dressed stone of light grey colour, with side-alternate quoin-stones which, except in the uppermost stage, are of markedly larger size than the stones of the walling. It is divided by two plain square string-courses into three stages, of which the lowest occupies rather more than half the total height.

The lowest stage is now much plainer than those above, but at ground level there are signs of a blocked square-headed door in the south face, while the round-headed window in the west face has been formed by partially blocking a tall, narrow doorway which was probably the original principal entrance until it was replaced by the present late-Norman north door. Still in the lowest stage, but at the level of the first floor, in the north, west, and south faces are blocked,

square-headed, windows; and in the east face at the same level, above the present roof but below the line of an earlier gable, is a circular window cut through a single stone.

Above the first string-course, the second and most impressive stage of the tower has four very large double belfry windows. These have plain cylindrical mid-wall shafts and plain rectangular through-stones as imposts, both on the shafts and on the square jambs. The heads of the double windows are formed from pairs of large stone lintels, each hollowed out below to form the round head of one of the windows of the pair. The jambs are formed of stones larger than those of the walling, and in general going right through the thickness of the wall.

The third and uppermost stage of the tower, above the second square string-course, is similar to the second but less tall, and its four double belfry windows are markedly smaller than those below. Moreover, the quoin-stones and the stones of the jambs of the windows are coursed with the walling, in marked contrast to the megalithic quoins of the lower belfry. This contrast seems to us to indicate clearly that the upper belfry is a later addition, in a style more closely approximating to the coursed ashlar of the Norman era. On the other hand, the treatment of the upper belfry windows has no other affinity to Norman workmanship, and we have accordingly assigned this upper stage to period C2 and the two lower stages to period C1.

The mid-wall shafts of the upper belfry are square in section except for a curved outer face, which in the north and south windows is ornamented with chevrons and in the west window with a spiral or screw-like pattern. The tower ends with a projecting course, about a foot in height, and has a flattish roof with a weather vane.

Internally it may be seen that both the tower and the nave are far from rectangular in plan, and the skew effect is emphasized by the way in which the tower-arch is out of alignment with the axis of the church. The tower-arch is almost certainly a Norman insertion; for, although both arch and jambs are of simple square section, neither is built of through-stones, and the imposts have a hollow chamfer with double quirks.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 27 ft long internally, by about 15 ft wide, with walls 2 ft 4 in. thick. The tower is about 14 ft from east to west and about 12 ft from north to south. Its walls in the ground stage vary from 2 ft 6 in. to 2 ft 9 in. in thickness, and its total height is about 45 ft.

REFERENCES

- C. C. HODGES, 'The pre-Conquest churches of Northumbria', *Reliquary*, 8, n.s. (1894), 200-1. Brief architectural description, and picture from south-west.
 V.C.H., *Yorkshire, North Riding*, I (London, 1914), 469. Plan, history, description and pictures.

ARLINGTON

Sussex

Map sheet 183, reference TQ 543075

ST PANCRAS

Nave: period C3

The small village of Arlington, beside the River Cuckmere, shortly before it cuts its way through the South Downs to the sea near Beachy Head, has a small church consisting of an aisleless chancel with north chapel, a nave with north aisle and south porch, and a low west tower capped by an octagonal shingled spire.

Evidence of the Anglo-Saxon character of the nave is provided by the vestiges of long-and-short quoining at three of its angles, and by the double-splayed window high up in the south wall.

Only parts of the original quoins have survived; that at the north-west now shows two pairs of stones laid in well defined long-and-short technique, that at the south-west shows four, and that at the south-east two. The quoin-stones are large, but not exceptionally so.

The double-splayed window is built mainly of the same rough rubble as the walls themselves, and its head is turned in tiles laid in characteristically late-Saxon non-radial fashion, the lowest tile on each side being tilted at a considerable angle, the others on that side then being laid roughly parallel to it, and the resulting V-shaped gap at the

ARLINGTON

head being closed with broken tiles and rubble. When the church was restored in 1892, this window was opened out and the groove for the original wooden window-frame was found in the middle of the wall.

Internally there are no other distinctively Anglo-Saxon features, although the comparative thinness of the walls and their considerable height are in accord with Anglo-Saxon workmanship.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 54 ft long internally, by about 22 ft wide, with walls 2 ft 7 in. thick and about 24 ft high.

REFERENCE

C. E. POWELL, 'Notes on Arlington church, Sussex', *Sussex Arch. C.* 38 (1892), 184-8. Historical plan and brief architectural description.

ARRETON

Isle of Wight

Map sheet 180, reference SZ 535867

Figure 366

ST GEORGE

Nave walls: period C

Roughly in the middle of the Isle of Wight, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of Newport, the church of the small village of Arreton stands on rising ground beside a fine manor house. It now consists of a heavily buttressed west tower, a spacious nave with wide aisles included under the main roof, a stone-vaulted south porch, and an aisleless chancel which opens to a south chapel through a very delicate Early English arcade.

Of the pre-Conquest church there remain the west wall of the nave and its side walls above the later arcades. The west wall is shown beyond doubt to be of pre-Conquest workmanship by its west doorway and interesting window high above, while the side walls are clearly earlier than the arcades cut through them, and the considerable lengths of walling which remain at either end of each side wall are of the same thin construction as the west wall.

In the side walls of the nave, high up near the roof-plate, over the Transitional Norman or Early

English arches of the north and south arcades, there are in each wall three circular windows now containing quatrefoil tracery. Baldwin Brown (p. 337) compares these circular windows to those at Avebury and (p. 442) asserts that the quatrefoil tracery is a later insertion, but we are inclined to think that the original Anglo-Saxon walling ends at the off-set a few feet below the windows, which therefore represent a medieval clear-storey added later to the pre-Conquest nave; and still later included below its roof, no doubt when the much larger windows were inserted in the aisle walls.

The west doorway is a distinctively pre-Conquest feature, even though its round head is not of through-stones. The jambs and arched head are cut straight through the wall without rebates, and the jambs are built in 'Escomb fashion' with alternate upright and flat stones, of which all the flat bonding stones and roughly half the uprights are through-stones. The jambs now have no bases; but their lower parts for about a foot in height have been hidden beneath steps leading to the tower. The chamfered imposts are thin slabs which pass through the full thickness of the wall and project on the soffit only.

The single-splayed, round-headed window in the west wall, above the doorway, is of considerable interest. Its jambs are each of four through-stones laid in horizontal courses, and its head is formed of three separate sections in the thickness of the wall; the round head in the inner wall-face is arched with eleven well-laid voussoirs, the middle section is of two quadrant-shaped stones, and the outer face is of three voussoirs.

The north wall of the chancel, about 32 in. in thickness, has a small narrow window of Saxo-Norman type. Internally this opening is widely splayed and has an arched round head.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 49 ft long internally, by 23 ft 2 in. wide, with side walls 2 ft 3 in. thick and about 18 ft high to the off-set below the round windows, or 23 ft to the roof-plate.

The doorway at the west is 3 ft 6 in. wide and 8 ft 9 in. tall, as measured from the floor of the nave. The west wall of the nave is 2 ft 3 in. thick.

The sill of the west window is about 18½ ft above the floor of the nave, and its aperture in

the west face of the wall is about 3 ft tall and about 1 ft 6 in. wide, but narrowing a little towards the top. Internally it is widely splayed towards the nave, so as to give an opening about 5 ft tall and about 3 ft 6 in. wide.

The Norman or Saxo-Norman window in the north wall of the chancel has an aperture about 3 ft tall, by 8 in. wide, in the outer face of the wall, with its sill about 9 ft above the ground.

REFERENCES

Editorial, *Arch. J.* 59 (1902), 378. Visit of the Archaeological Institute to Arreton in 1902. Church briefly described.

J. C. Cox, *The Isle of Wight* (London, 1911), 28.

V.C.H., *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, 5 (London, 1912), 148-50. Architectural description, plan, exterior and interior views.

ASLACTON

Norfolk

Map sheet 137, reference TM 156910

Figure 367

ST MICHAEL

Round west tower: period C3

This church, about 12 miles south-south-west of Norwich and about 2 miles west of the Roman road from Norwich to Ipswich, is one of a considerable group with round west towers in the vicinity of that road. The church now consists of the tower, an aisleless chancel, and a nave with south aisle, south porch, and north vestry.

The only definite indication of date is provided by the four double belfry windows, with twin triangular heads, plain rectangular through-stone slabs which project boldly from the wall-face, and simple, circular, monolithic mid-wall shafts without any bases or capitals. The jambs of the windows and their triangular heads, all cut straight through the wall, are formed of the same flint fabric as the walls themselves, so that the only use of large pieces of stone in the whole fabric of the tower is in the through-stone slabs, the imposts, and the tall mid-wall shafts, all of which are entirely plain except for a simple chamfer on the imposts.

When we visited the church in October 1958

repairs were in progress, and it appeared that the twin triangular heads of the belfry windows were being reinforced with supporting slabs of concrete, a feature which may later be misleading and for which there seems to be little justification.

There are no other early external openings; and internally the tower-arch is pointed, though its simple square jambs and plain chamfered imposts may represent survivals of the original work.

REFERENCE

J. C. Cox, *Norfolk*, 2 (London, 1911), 80.

ATCHAM

Shropshire

Map sheet 118, reference SJ 541092

ST EATA

Side walls of nave: possibly period A

About 4 miles east-south-east of Shrewsbury, the busy main road to Wellington and London now crosses the Severn by a wide, modern bridge; and Atcham church stands picturesquely on the east bank of the river, close to the old bridge. The tower at the west is late-Norman or Transitional; the aisleless nave is certainly earlier, and has commonly been regarded as Norman; and the aisleless chancel is a later addition. The church is of considerable interest, both in itself, and also as the place where the historian Ordericus Vitalis was baptized in 1075.

The lower parts of the walls of the nave are of exceptionally large stones, laid in courses over 2 ft in height. The western quoins are also of very large stones, laid in careful side-alternate fashion. The north wall rests on a well-laid square plinth of stone, which is neatly turned southward at the west, where it supports the north-west quoin. No corresponding plinth is visible on the south. The eastern quoins have either been removed, or are covered by the heavy buttresses which have been added later at the junction between the early nave and the later chancel.

Not far from the east of the north wall of the nave is a small window, high up in the wall. Its exterior face is round-headed and slightly

chamfered, on which evidence Cranage rejected a pre-Conquest date for the church.¹ The exterior details of the window are, however, of little validity in assessing the date of the church, for it seems likely that the outer face is a later modification. Internally, the window has a triangular head which is formed of two sloping stones that pass through the full thickness of the wall except for the round-headed outer facing.

The church is entered from the south, down two steps, and at the south-west corner an interior plinth is to be seen, similar to the plinth that has been noted externally.

On balance, we are inclined to accept the evidence of the triangular-headed window and of the tall, thin walls, as justifying a pre-Conquest date for the main fabric of the nave. The very massive re-used stones of the north wall probably come, like those in the neighbouring church of Wroxeter, from the ruins of Roman Viroconium, and, since neither church shows any late-Saxon features, we think they can both tentatively be placed in the early period.

DIMENSIONS

The walls vary in thickness from 2 ft 8 in. to 2 ft 10 in., and are about 20 ft high. The nave is 54 ft long internally and 23 ft 4 in. wide.

The small north window, 12 ft from the east of the nave, is 1 ft wide externally, and 2 ft 6 in. tall, with its sill 11 ft above the ground. Internally, the triangular-headed opening is 2 ft 4 in. wide and 4 ft 10 in. tall.

AVEBURY

Wiltshire

Map sheet 157, reference SU 100699

ST JAMES

Nave walls, pierced by later arcades: period C1

The small village of Avebury, about 6 miles west of Marlborough and 1 mile north of the Great West Road, itself formerly a Roman road, is

built partly within and partly outside one of the greatest stone circles in England. The church of St James, standing just outside the circle, is at first sight a typical Gothic structure, heavily restored in the nineteenth century; yet it has, through many vicissitudes, retained much of the fabric of its original Anglo-Saxon nave. In the early twelfth century the nave walls were pierced to give access to Norman aisles; in the fifteenth century a west tower was built; in 1828 the Norman arcades were themselves replaced by the present tall arches in imitation of those at Calne; while in 1878 the chancel was rebuilt and a clear-storey added to the nave.

Externally, the only surviving evidence of Anglo-Saxon date is the north-west quoin of the nave, in the angle between the tower and the west wall of the north aisle. This quoin has been said to be of long-and-short type;² but, although there is one tall stone extending 30 in. up the wall, the quoin is really of good side-alternate construction with stones of fairly uniform height of about 18 in.

Internally, the Anglo-Saxon construction is shown clearly by the tall, thin walls, by the three circular windows high up in the north wall, by the two round-headed single-splayed windows lower in the side walls at the west of the later arcades, and by the square string-course, chamfered below, which runs along the whole of the north wall and may now be seen within the north aisle, close to the later roof.

The pre-Norman character of the lower, round-headed, windows follows not only from their construction in large stones but also from the way in which they have been partly cut away by the Norman arches. In each of these windows the line of the internal splay goes straight through the wall save for a small square rebate cut at the outer face of the wall, no doubt for the housing of a wooden shutter. The whole thickness of the wall is lined with stone, the outer face of each window being framed in four stones, a head, a sill, and two tall jamb-stones, while the inner splay also has a single large stone for the head but has jambs built up of four stones laid horizontally.

¹ D. H. S. Cranage, *Churches of Shropshire*, 2 (Wellington, 1912), 556.

² C. E. Ponting, *Wilts. A.N.H. Mag.* 21 (1883-4), 191.

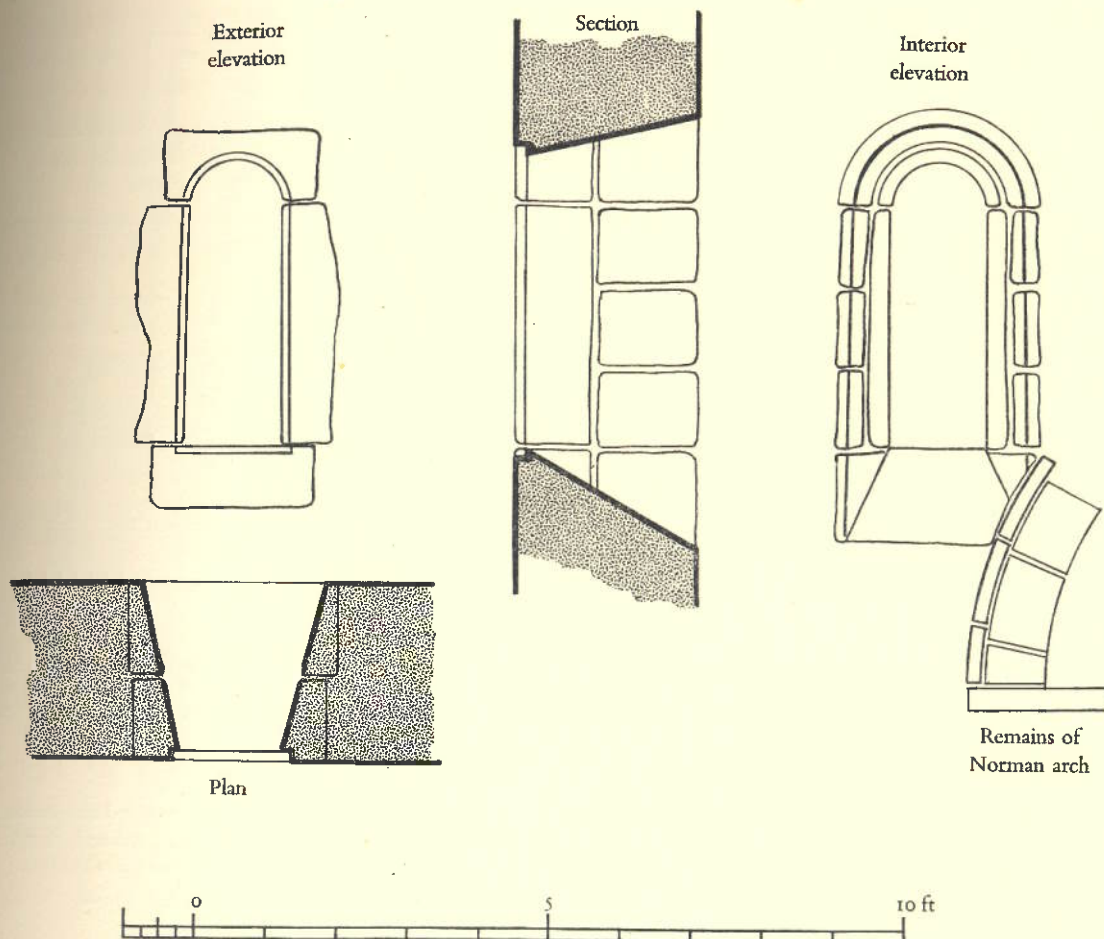


FIG. 14. AVEBURY, WILTSHIRE

Details of the round-headed lower window in the north wall, showing how the bottom corner of the interior of the window was cut away by the insertion of a Norman arch.

In the upper, circular, windows of the north wall, the inner splays were, by contrast, of plaster, and the outer faces were each cut in a single square stone about a foot in thickness through which the circular apertures were cut with a splay both inward and outward. Three of these stones are still in their original places, although all but one had been removed during the addition of the clear-storey in 1878 and would have been lost but for the intervention of Mr Ponting, who first interpreted their significance in 1880 and subsequently directed the restoration of the north wall to its present state. Unfortunately the place of one of the four circular windows had already been occupied by one of the new clear-storey windows, and the wall therefore

now contains only three in place of its original four Anglo-Saxon windows. Round the inner splay of the stone outer faces of these upper windows may still be seen the series of holes drilled in the stones to carry sticks which formed a framework for a conical structure of wattle round which the rubble masonry of the wall was built and within which the plaster internal face of the window was formed. This interpretation of the use of the outer stone faces and their circle of holes was made by Mr Ponting when he discovered two of the stones from the three destroyed windows amongst the builders' rubbish. His brilliant theory was verified when he was able to find the fourth window still *in situ*, but blocked and hidden beneath plaster.

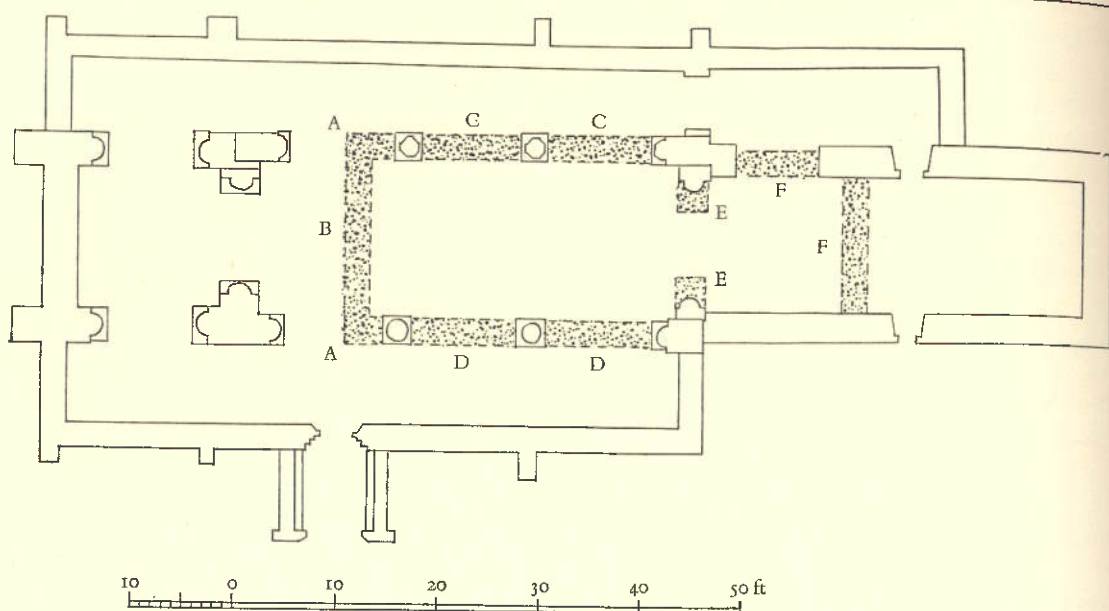


FIG. 15. AYCLIFFE, COUNTY DURHAM

A, western quoins of original nave, *in situ* above later arches; B, western wall of original nave: this wall was demolished in the twelfth century, but its position is determined by the quoins A; C, original north wall, *in situ* above later arches; D, original south wall, *in situ* above later arches; E, conjectural position of original chancel-arch; F, conjectural position of walls of original chancel.

During the rebuilding of the chancel in 1878, the foundations of a square-ended Anglo-Saxon chancel were found, and the original floor-level was also discovered, about 2 ft below the present floor.

(1883-4), 188-93. Accurate plan, good architectural description with detailed drawings and an interesting account of the discovery of the round windows.

BRYAN KING, 'St James, Aycliffe', *ibid.* 396-8.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 36 ft long internally, by 17 ft wide, with walls 2 ft 7 in. thick and 24 ft 6 in. high to the top of the original work as measured from the present floor, and therefore originally 26 ft 6 in. high.

The lower, round-headed, windows have apertures about 4 ft tall externally, tapering from 1 ft 4 in. at the sill to 1 ft 3 in. at the springing of the heads; their sills are about 9 ft above the present floor; and internally the windows are splayed to be about 2 ft 6 in. wide and 6 ft tall.

The upper, circular, windows have their centre-line about 23 ft above the present floor; their apertures are about 7 in. in diameter, and they are splayed to give openings about 3 ft in diameter in the inner face of the wall.

REFERENCES

C. E. PONTING, 'A description of the Saxon work in the church of St James, Abury', *Wilt. A.N.H. Mag.* 21

AYCLIFFE

County Durham

Map sheet 85, reference NZ 283221

ST ANDREW

Part of nave walls, over later arcade: period C

The village of Aycliffe stands on a hill astride the Great North Road, about 4 miles north of Darlington. The church stands west of the road and north of extensive quarries, but in spite of these modern neighbours the churchyard has retained much of its ancient tranquillity. The church is mainly of the Early English period and now consists of a west tower, a nave with aisles carried westward to flank the tower, and an aisleless chancel. The eastern parts of the nave walls above the later arcades date from before the Conquest.

Externally, there is no sign of Anglo-Saxon workmanship; but internally, the outer walls of the aisleless Anglo-Saxon nave are visible within the present aisles, where vestiges of the original west quoins may be seen, just to the east of the apex of the western arch of each of the arcades, thus proving that the original nave was extended westward either before or at the same time as the

the end of the tenth century.¹ A round-headed gravestone found during the restoration in 1881 was for a time held by the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge but is now also in the church.

DIMENSIONS

Measuring from the original western quoins to the chancel-arch, the nave is 31 ft by 16 ft 2 in. internally, and the walls are about 20 ft high and 2 ft 8 in. thick.

REFERENCES

- J. H. HODGSON, 'Aycliffe church', *T. Durham Northd. A.A.S.* 3 (1890), 49-74. Historical account, with architectural description prior to discovery of Saxon work.
- J. H. HODGSON, 'Aycliffe church revisited', *ibid.* 6 (1912), 1-12. Plan and architectural drawings to show Saxon work.
- C. C. HODGES, 'The pre-Conquest churches of Northumbria', *Reliquary*, 8, n.s. (1894), 72-3. First account of discovery of Saxon work during restoration in 1881-2.

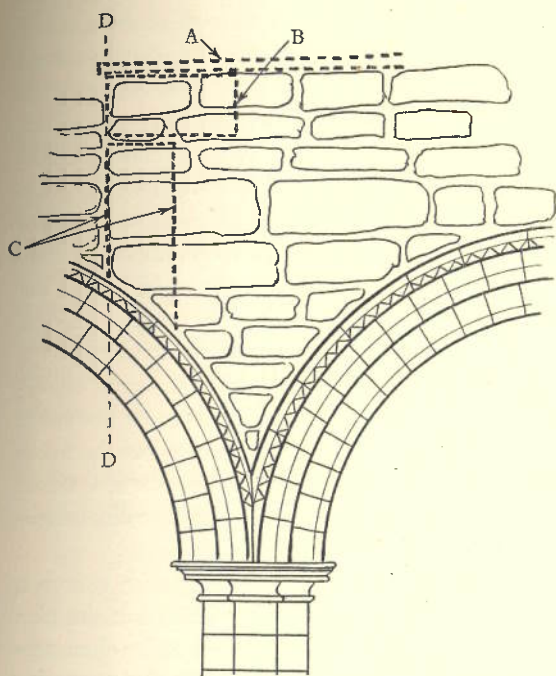


FIG. 16. AYCLIFFE, COUNTY DURHAM

Interior face of the north wall of the nave, showing a straight vertical join on the line D-D. The dotted lines show the positions of great stones which are visible on the exterior face of the wall. A, represents a projecting string-course of plain square section. B and C represent large quoin-stones, possibly of long-and-short character, since B seems to be a flat section while C is tall and narrow.

round arches of the Norman north arcade were built. Only two stones survive in each quoin; and, although the quoins have usually been described as long-and-short, it seems to us possible that they are of megalithic side-alternate construction.

In the western parts of the aisles there are now a number of Anglo-Saxon carved stones and two Anglo-Saxon cross-shafts which formerly stood in the churchyard. These are fully described by Collingwood who assigns them to a date towards

AYLESTONE

Leicestershire

Map sheet 121, reference SK 572010

ST ANDREW

Triangular-headed window in wall blocking north arch of tower. Possibly a pre-Conquest window re-used in later fabric

Aylestone is now a southern suburb of Leicester, and its church, on the eastern side of the River Soar, has been closely hemmed in by later buildings. At first sight no part of the fabric would be suspected of having survived from before the Conquest, but closer inspection shows that an early, triangular-headed window has been re-used in the medieval wall which blocks a fourteenth-century arch in the north wall of the thirteenth-century tower. In recent years a modern vestry has been built on the north of the tower, and a square-headed doorway has been cut through the medieval wall.

¹ W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses* (London, 1927), 79, 101 and 133.

The inner face of the triangular-headed window is visible within the tower, but it has no distinctive features except its shape; and its jambs are probably no older than the date of its insertion in this wall, probably in the fourteenth century. The outer face of the window is now difficult to see, above the roof of the modern vestry; but it can be seen, with the help of a ladder, either from the churchyard or else from the vestry, through the domed window in the roof. The outer face is of distinctively pre-Conquest character, not only in the two massive stones which are sloped together to form the head, but also in the construction of the jambs in 'Escomb fashion', with large stones laid alternately upright and flat.

DIMENSIONS

The outer face of the window is 3 ft 6 in. tall and 1 ft 4 in. wide, with its sill about 10 ft above the ground.

REFERENCES

- M. P. DARE, *Aylestone Manor and Church* (Leicester, 1924), 39. Brief description, and good photograph, before building of modern vestry.
V.C.H., Leicestershire, 4 (London, 1958), 419.

BAKEWELL

Derbyshire

Map sheet III, reference SK 215684

ALL SAINTS

Western parts of side walls of nave: period uncertain

Bakewell is noted twice in historical records from the first half of the tenth century. The first of these, relating to the year 920, is a record in the 'A' version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that King Edward [the Elder] went to Bakewell and ordered a borough to be built and manned.¹ The

second mention is in a grant by King Eadred in 949 of an estate at Bakewell to the *dux et miles Uhtred*.² The wording of the charter suggests that the monastery referred to in it was not a new foundation but that previous charters were known to be in existence.

All Saints church is pleasantly situated on high land to the west of the busy main road through Bakewell, from Matlock to Buxton. The importance of the site in pre-Conquest times is made clear by the great number of Anglo-Saxon carved stones, most of which were found in 1841 beneath the foundations of the north transept and of the piers of the tower, when these were reconstructed.³ The most important of these carved stones is the great cross-shaft, which, although broken and reset, still stands in its original, very massive, stone base, in the angle between the chancel and the south transept. A smaller, but more complete, cross-shaft stands beside the path which leads to the south porch of the nave.⁴ Part of the great collection of carved stones, found in 1841, is housed in the south porch and in the west end of the north aisle. It seems that many other carved stones were re-used in the fabric during the nineteenth-century restoration.

The present fabric of this fine parish church is mainly of Norman and later dates, but the plan preserves a feature which seems to be characteristic of Anglo-Saxon design, namely a crossing which is wider than the main body of any of the four arms of the church. This feature is foreign to Norman practice but is found in several churches that were developed by the Normans around an Anglo-Saxon core.⁵

Until 1852, the north and south arcades of the nave each consisted of three simple, round-headed arches, which rested on solid piers of masonry, of plain rectangular section. The western arch of these primitive arcades has survived on each side of the nave, but in 1852 the eastern part

¹ D. Whitelock, *E.H.D.* (1955), 199. The date is given as 923 in the 'A' version. An important meeting followed at Bakewell when the Scots, Northumbrians, and Strathclyde Welsh 'chose Edward as father and lord'.

² W. de G. Birch, *C.S.* no. 884. Birch wrongly identifies the place, *Badecanwelle*, as Bucknall, Staffordshire; cf. E. Ekwall, *English Place-Names*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1960), 23.

³ F. C. Plumpton, *Arch. J.* 4 (1847), 37-58; particularly 38, 44 and 46.

⁴ The great cross is of the eighth century; A. W. Clapham (1930), 67. The smaller one is later and was moved here recently from Two Dales; *Arch. J.* 94 (1937), 36-8.

⁵ For example at Repton, Derbyshire; Stow, Lincolnshire; Norton, County Durham; and Sherborne, Dorset.

of each arcade was swept away and replaced by the present pointed arches. In this reconstruction two simple round-headed, single-splayed windows which had until then survived on each side of the nave were either blocked or demolished. These windows had opened into the aisles, and they were oddly placed over the piers, in a way which would be difficult to explain unless the windows had been part of an aisleless Anglo-Saxon church, through whose walls the later arcade had been cut by the Normans without reference to the spacing of the windows.¹

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 24 ft wide internally and about 65 ft long, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick, and over 30 ft tall, excluding the later clear-storey. From the early drawings it seems that the windows were about 1 ft wide and about 5 ft tall, and that their sills were about 20 to 25 ft above the floor.

REFERENCES

- F. C. PLUMPTRE, 'The parish church of Bakewell in Derbyshire', *Arch. J.* 4 (1847), 37-58. Good account of architectural history. Details of finding of pre-Conquest carved stones during rebuilding of tower and transepts in 1841.
- H. C. BROOKE-TAYLOR, *All Saints, Bakewell* (Gloucester, undated).
- J. THOMPSON, 'Bakewell Church', *Arch. J.* 118 (1961), 218-19. Brief account, and dated plan.

BARDFIELD, LITTLE

Essex

Map sheet 148, reference TL 656307

Figure 368

ST KATHERINE

West tower and nave: period C3

The church stands beside a by-road about 3 miles east of Thaxted in the grounds of Little Bardfield Hall. It is wholly built of flint rubble, and consists of an Anglo-Saxon west tower and aisleless nave, with a modern chancel flanked by a vestry on the north and an organ chamber on the south.

The tower is of late-Saxon workmanship almost to the top, and is one of the few examples of square Anglo-Saxon towers built of flint without dressed stone at the angles or the window openings. It is also unusual in having string-courses which are formed of flint rubble rather than dressed stone, no doubt as a consequence of the absence of building stone in this district. A square plinth, also built of flint, projects beneath the north wall of the nave and the north and west walls of the tower; but nothing similar is visible on the south, where the ground is somewhat higher. The western quoins of the nave are visible on either side of the tower, also built wholly of flint, and showing some appreciable evidence of the use of larger and flatter stones in the quoins in order to provide better bonding.

The tower may be regarded as being divided into three principal stages by the two horizontal string-courses of square section; and the upper and lower of these principal stages are then further divided into subsidiary stages by small off-sets which are also formed without any use of dressed stone.

The lowest principal stage of the tower occupies about half the total height and has a modern window in its west face. Below this there are signs of a blocked west door. Otherwise the lowest stage is quite plain except for the small off-set at about the height of the eaves of the nave. The second principal stage, much the smallest in height, has two round-headed windows in each face except the east, so placed as to divide each face into three roughly equal parts. In the lower part of the third stage there is a double window in each face, formed by placing two narrow round-headed windows close together, so that they are separated only by a thin pier of flint rubble masonry. The upper part of this stage, above the small off-set, has two narrow round-headed windows in each face, these windows being more widely spaced than those of the central stage. In the north face there is also a wide, round-headed window which has been inserted near the top in modern times.

Closer inspection of the tower windows shows

¹ Although the windows are no longer visible, the details are shown in drawings. Interior view: H. C.

Brooke-Taylor, *All Saints, Bakewell* (Gloucester, undated), facing p. 13. Exterior view: F. C. Plumtre, *loc. cit.* 40.

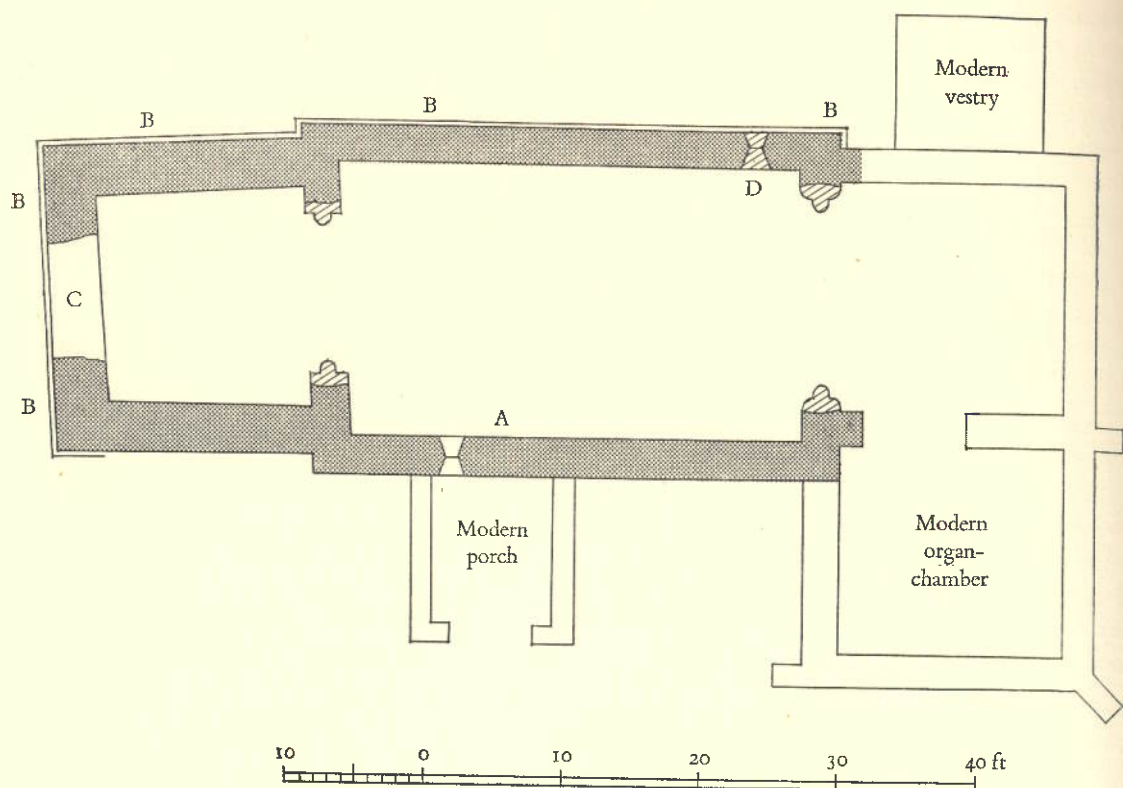


FIG. 17. LITTLE BARDFIELD, ESSEX

A, position of later doorway (not shown in plan) slightly to the east of the Anglo-Saxon window; B, plain square plinth of flints, round the north and west walls of the nave and tower; C, west wall of tower cut away for insertion of later medieval window; D, blocked Anglo-Saxon window, visible externally but covered by plaster internally.

that all the jambs and arched heads, formed of flint rubble, are cut straight through the wall, and that the diameter of the heads is rather greater than the space between the jambs, so that a small off-set is formed at the top of each jamb, no doubt to support the wooden arching which was used for building the rubble heads of the windows.

Two round-headed, double-splayed windows have survived in the walls of the nave, one near the east of the north wall, now blocked but still visible externally, and one slightly west of the fifteenth-century door in the south wall.

Inside the church the only Anglo-Saxon features are this double-splayed window in the south wall of the nave, and the very peculiar plan of the tower, which narrows appreciably from east to west. The tower-arch appears to have been rebuilt in the fifteenth century.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 33 ft 6 in. long internally by 20 ft wide, with walls 3 ft thick and about 18 ft high. Each of the internal walls of the tower is about 15 ft in length, but at the east, by the tower-arch, the side walls are over 16 ft apart. The tower walls are about 3 ft 6 in. in thickness and the tower is about 50 ft in height.

The aperture of the double-splayed south window, about 3 ft high and 1 ft wide, is placed roughly in the middle of the wall, and the openings in the inner and outer wall-faces measure about 4 ft by 2 ft, with the sill-line about 12 ft above the ground.

REFERENCE

R.C.H.M., Essex, I (London, 1916), 170-1.

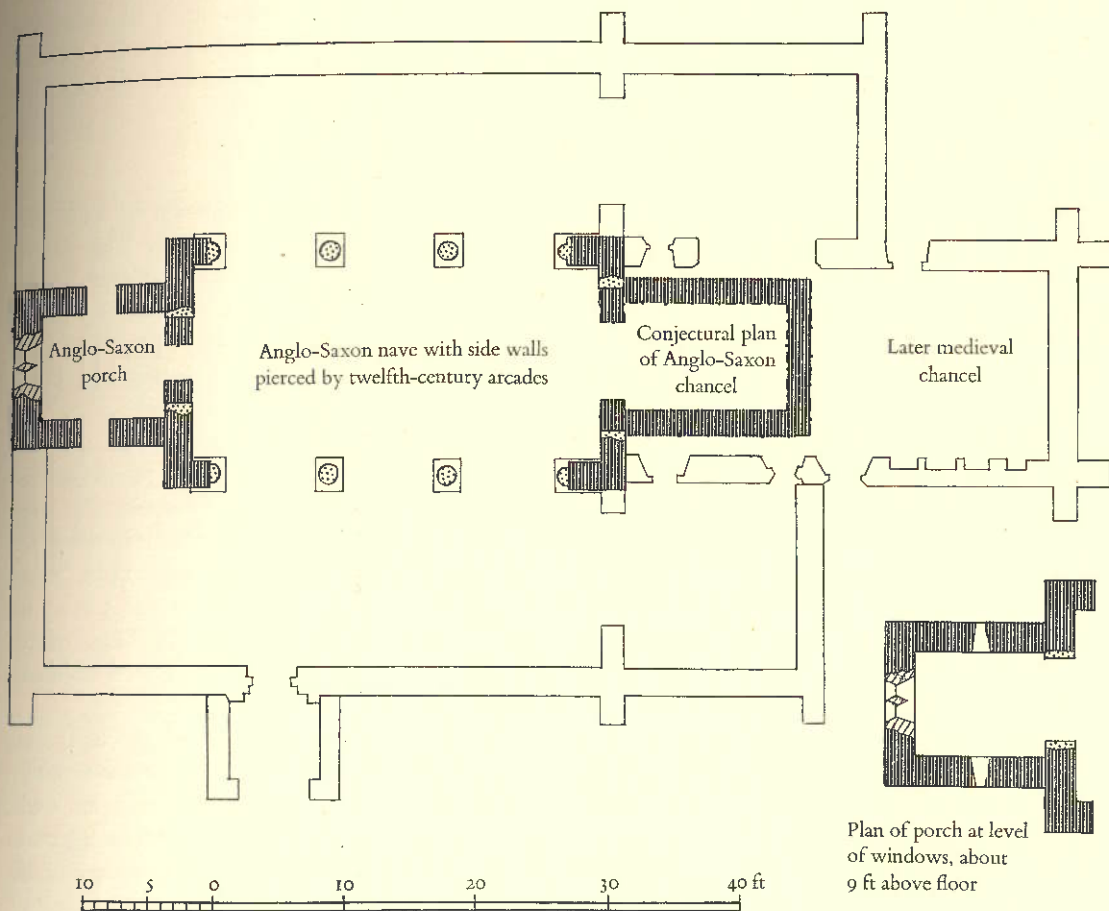


FIG. 18. BARDSEY, YORKSHIRE (W.R.)

The inset shows a plan of the west porch at a higher level in order to show the two single-splayed windows, while the main plan shows the two doorways.

BARDSEY

Yorkshire, West Riding

Map sheet 96, reference SE 366432

Figure 369

ALL HALLOWS

*West porch, and nave walls above later arcades:
period B*

West tower above porch: period C

The formerly quiet village of Bardsey, about 8 miles north-east from Leeds, is now in some danger of becoming a suburb of that city. The church of All Hallows, standing a little to the west of the Leeds-Wetherby main road, now con-

sists of a late-Saxon tower on an earlier western porch; an Anglo-Saxon nave through which arcades were cut in Norman times to form narrow aisles which were later widened and carried west to flank the tower; and a chancel dating from the fourteenth century with a chapel on the north and a vestry on the south. The whole church is built of undressed, roughly squared stone.

Externally the aisles hide the lower parts of the north and south faces of the tower, but the evidence for the two dates of Anglo-Saxon building may nevertheless be clearly seen by viewing the tower from the south-west; in the western face there is first to be seen the line of the original gabled end of the porch like an inverted V above the square-headed sixteenth-century

window,¹ and secondly there is even more convincing evidence in the complete contrast between the very large side-alternate quoin-stones of the original porch and the much smaller stones of the quoining of the later tower.

The windows in the west and north faces all appear to be later insertions; but the late-Saxon date of the tower is clearly shown in the second and third stages of the south face by the two double belfry windows with mid-wall shafts and through-stone slabs. The round heads of these windows are arched in stones of about the same size as those of the walling, but the jambs are built of through-stones. The mid-wall shafts are slightly bulbous and have well-formed bases, but no capitals.

A particularly interesting feature of this tower is the use in its east face of single windows by contrast with the double windows just described in the south. These eastern single windows are placed at the same levels as the two double southern windows and, like them, have square jambs cut straight through the wall and built mainly of through-stones; but the round head of each is formed of a single rectangular lintel hollowed out beneath.

Internally the lower stages of the original west porch may be seen from the later aisles. Low round-headed doorways are cut straight through the north and south walls of the porch, and above each of them is a small round-headed Anglo-Saxon window slightly splayed towards the interior of the porch. It would be tempting to assume that there had originally been a similar Anglo-Saxon doorway and window to the west, later destroyed by the insertion of the medieval window; but there is no evidence for this in the stonework of the west wall.

The western quoins of the Anglo-Saxon nave are of similar megalithic side-alternate character to those of the porch, and may be seen within the western extensions of the aisles, projecting about 3 ft on either side of the porch, while the south-eastern quoin may be seen in the vestry to the south of the chancel.

The tower-arch is difficult to date, but is prob-

ably contemporary with the north arcade of the nave. The Norman north arcade and Transitional south arcade of the nave were cut through the Anglo-Saxon walls.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 31 ft long internally, by 15 ft 3 in. wide, with walls only 2 ft thick. The tower, about 50 ft in height excluding the later battlements, also has walls only 2 ft thick, and is markedly longer from east to west than from north to south, its internal dimensions being 10 ft 2 in. by 8 ft 2 in.

The north doorway of the porch is 2 ft 7 in. wide and 5 ft 7 in. high, with pseudo-arched head and jambs formed of exceptionally large stones. The windows in the side walls of the porch have apertures 2 ft 7 in. tall and 11 in. wide, splayed internally to 3 ft 9 in. by 1 ft 5 in., with sills 8 ft 9 in. above the floor. The heads of the windows are arched with well-jointed voussoirs which are not through-stones.

The eastern single windows of the belfry are 3 ft 6 in. tall and 11 in. wide, while the southern double windows are 4 ft 4 in. tall by 34 in. wide, with mid-wall shafts which bulge from 5½ in. in diameter at top and bottom to 7 in. in the middle.

REFERENCES

- D. H. HAIGH, 'Notes relating to Wearmouth and Jarrow', *Trans. Brit. Arch. Ass. Winchester, 1845* (London, 1846), 428-43. Haigh describes on p. 428 how he and two friends first recognized Bardsey as Anglo-Saxon in June 1846.
- G. E. KIRK, *All Hallows' Church, Bardsey* (Leeds, 1937). Plan, pictures, history and good architectural description.

BARHAM

Suffolk

Map sheet 150, reference TM 137509

ST MARY

At this church, pleasantly situated on rising ground about 5 miles north of Ipswich, on the east side of the road to Norwich, Baldwin Brown

¹ This line of the original gable was much less clearly visible when we revisited the church in 1958 than it had been on our first visit in 1937.

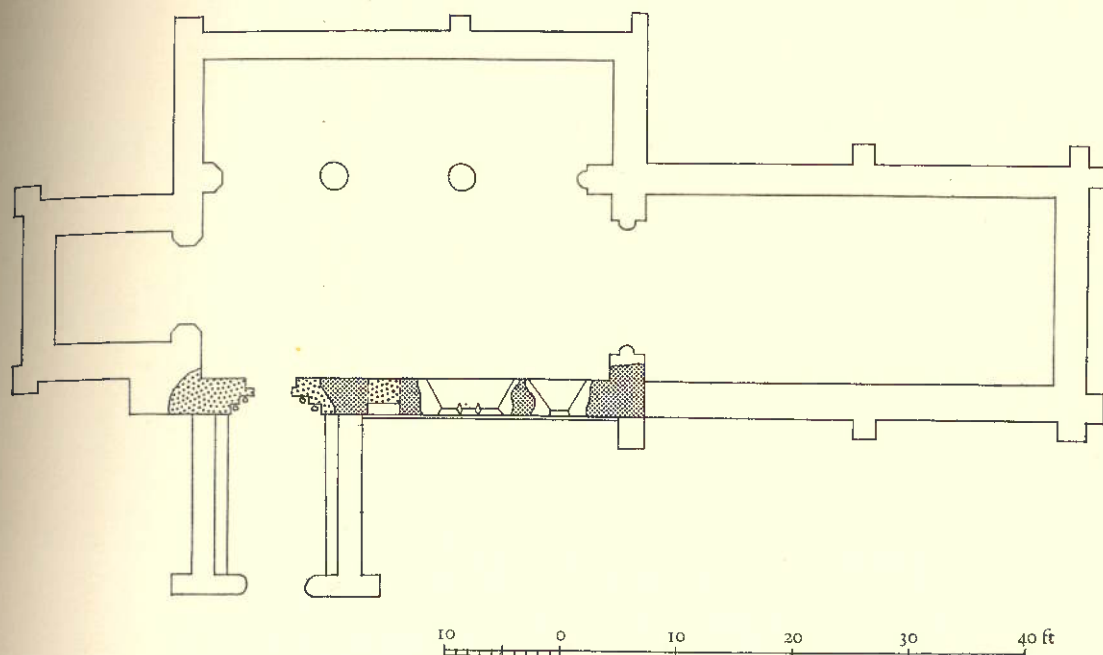


FIG. 19. BARHOLM, LINCOLNSHIRE

The plan shows the blocked Anglo-Saxon doorway close beside the existing Norman doorway which replaced it. The interior face of the wall is plastered and it is therefore impossible to be certain whether the Anglo-Saxon doorway was cut straight through the wall, as is shown by dotted lines on the plan, or whether it was rebated internally.

recorded the remains of long-and-short work on the quoins; but we could find none when we visited the church in 1955.

BARHOLM

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 123, reference TF 090110

Figure 370

ST MARTIN

Part of south wall of nave: period C3

The village of Barholm is about 4 miles by road, roughly westward, from Market Deeping, and about 1 mile west of the Roman road known as King Street. The church now consists of a modern west tower on Early English foundations, a nave with north aisle and massive Norman arcade, and an aisleless chancel, mainly of Early English date.

Anglo-Saxon walling has, however, survived in the south wall of the nave, for a length of about

25 ft eastward of the south porch, as far as the first buttress, and extending from the ground to within a few feet of the eaves. The principal feature is on the east side of the south porch; namely a blocked, round-headed doorway, with elaborate superficial ornament. The opening is cut straight through the thickness of the wall; but the outer arris or salient angle, both of the arch and of the jambs, is worked into a roll-moulding, which on the arch continues to the imposts, but on the jambs fades diagonally both at top and bottom into the square angle of the jamb. The imposts are flush with the outer face of the wall but their soffit faces within the doorway project boldly and are chamfered below. Both the vertical and the chamfered faces are elaborately decorated with designs which include interlace, checker-pattern with alternate squares raised and sunk, upright and inverted triangles alternately raised and sunk, a form of zig-zag, and a form of upright leaves often referred to as palmette ornament. The stones forming the arched head of the doorway are very irregular in length and have characteristically non-radial joints. The jambs of the doorway

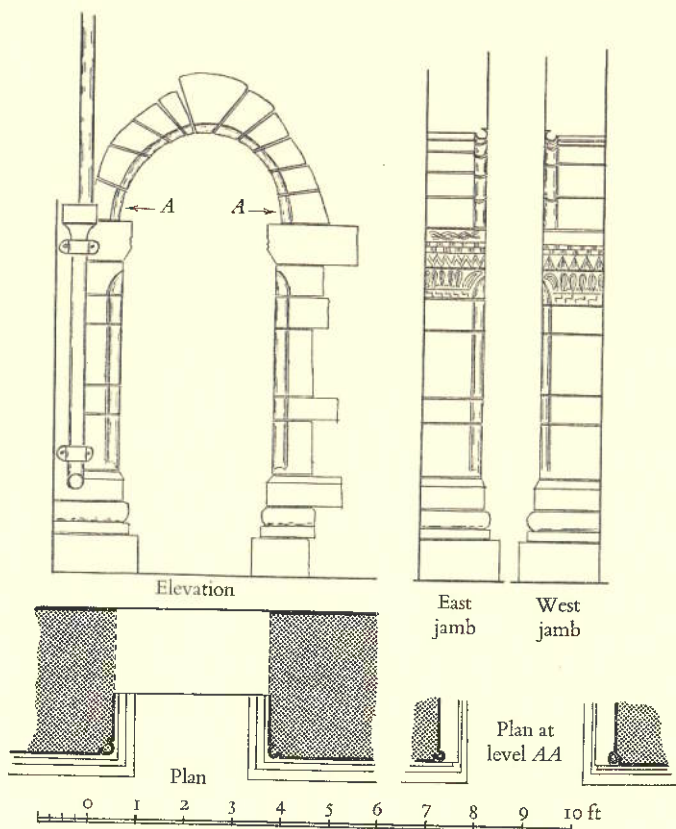


FIG. 20. BARHOLM, LINCOLNSHIRE
Details of the blocked south doorway.

are roughly of 'Escomb fashion', and have most elaborate bases which are returned along the outer face of the wall somewhat in the form of a triple plinth; the lower order is of simple square section, the next has a roll on its angle, and the upper order is steeply chamfered.

About 2 ft above the head of the doorway a broad pilaster-strip springs from the wall, without any corbel or other support, and runs for about 4 ft up the wall to join a horizontal string-course. The original line of this string-course can be traced along a considerable stretch of the wall; but only a few feet now project forward from the wall, so that the horizontal and vertical strips form a large T on the face of the wall.

Internally the doorway is hidden by plaster, and there are no traces of Anglo-Saxon workmanship.

The plinth may be compared with that of the openings to the transept at Hadstock, in Essex;

while the palmette ornament on the impostos may be compared with that at Hadstock and also more closely with that at a number of Lincolnshire churches, particularly Coleby, Glentworth and Stow.

DIMENSIONS

The wall containing the doorway is about 3 ft thick, about 19 ft high, and about 28 ft in length. The doorway is 3 ft 2 in. wide and 8 ft 6 in. high. The top of the string-course is about 15 ft above the ground, and the vertical pilaster is about 10 in. wide and 4 ft high.

REFERENCES

- J. T. IRVINE, 'Barholm church, Lincolnshire', *J.B.A.A.* 47 (1891), 308-12. Very good drawings of architectural detail.
G. M. LIVETT, 'Notes on Barholm church, Lincolnshire', *A.A.S.R.* 32 (1913), 341-50. Plan and good architectural description.

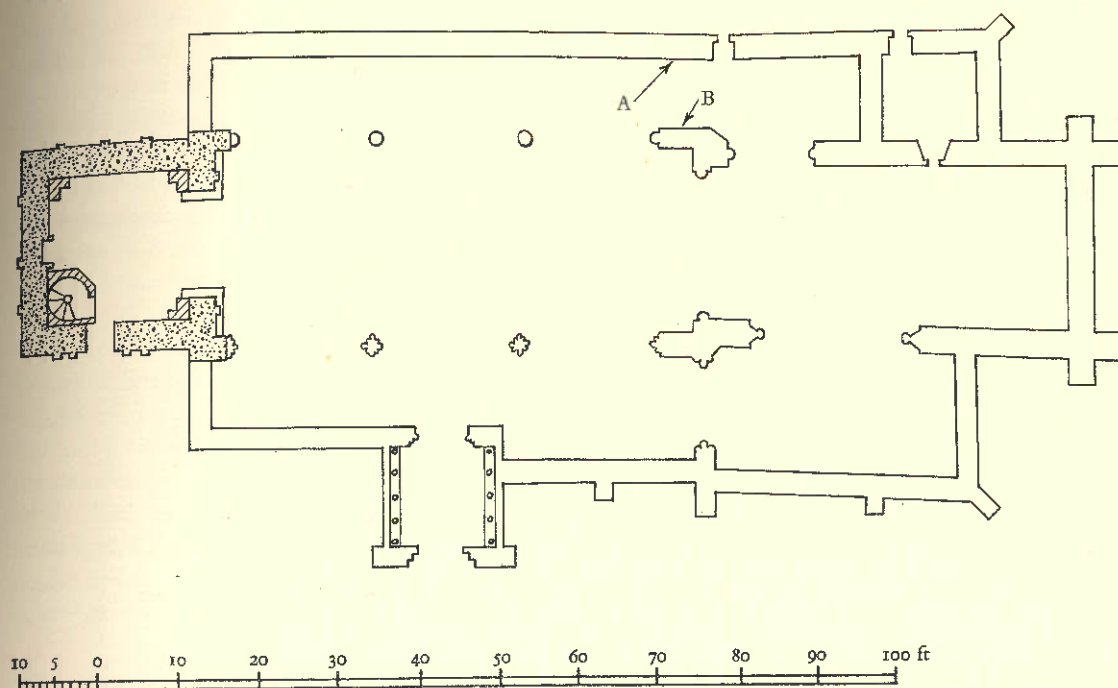


FIG. 21. BARNACK, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

A, position of early sculpture now set in the north wall of the aisle; B, position of vestige of round arch (Fig. 23), possibly defining an area of pre-Conquest walling.

BARNACK

Northamptonshire

Map sheet 123, reference TF 079050

Figures 371-3

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

West tower of two stages, and western angles of nave: period C1

The village of Barnack lies about 3 miles south-east of Stamford, and about 2 miles east of the Great North Road. Its quarries have been famous as a source of building stone since Roman days; and many important buildings in East Anglia and elsewhere have been built of Barnack stone, which was conveniently dispatched along the Welland from a quay not far to the north of the village.

The church of St John the Baptist is of exceptional interest. The Anglo-Saxon period is represented by the western angles of the nave and by the lower two stages of the tower, to which a

third stage and an octagonal stone spire were added in the thirteenth century. The very fine north and south arcades of the nave are respectively of late-Norman and Early English workmanship, and the beautiful south porch is Early English. The chancel is of the Decorated period, with Perpendicular chapels along part of its north and south sides.

The fabric of the Anglo-Saxon tower is of roughly squared small blocks of Barnack stone, with larger pieces of the same stone, more carefully dressed, for quoins and facings. The quoining is very irregular in the western angles of the lower stage, but in the upper stage all four angles are of carefully laid long-and-short work. In restorations between 1935 and 1937 the tower was strengthened internally, and iron bands formerly encircling it were removed. At the same time some blocked windows and doors in the upper stage were opened out and restored.

Each of the two stages of the Anglo-Saxon tower ends above in an elaborate cornice, and each face of each stage is divided into four panels

by vertical pilaster-strips which begin below on corbels and end above on the cornice without any capitals. The pilaster-strips vary in width between 8 and 11 in. and are formed of alternate long and short stones.

The tower is exceptionally rich in ornament, and in windows and other openings, of which the most notable are as follows:

- (a) A round-headed south door, framed with strip-work.
- (b) Round-headed north and south windows, with elaborate frames.
- (c) A sundial over the south window.
- (d) A triangular-headed west window framed with strip-work.
- (e) A projecting beast's head over the west window.
- (f) Three stone slabs on south, west, and north, above the first cornice, with rich carving, in high relief, of birds, vines, and acanthus leaves, see Baldwin Brown's Fig. 115.
- (g) Triangular-headed north and south belfry openings with elaborately carved *transemae*, i.e. open-work mid-wall slabs, see our Fig. 22.
- (h) Triangular-headed east and west belfry openings with mid-wall slabs carved with four slots, see our Fig. 22.

The two western angles of the Anglo-Saxon nave are visible between the tower and the later aisle walls, and are of carefully laid long-and-short work.

SOUTH FACE OF TOWER (FIG. 371)

In the lower stage of the south face of the tower, the principal feature is a round-headed doorway, cut straight through the wall, and built entirely of through-stones. Its jambs are built in the characteristic 'Escomb fashion' and the whole feature is outlined with strip-work which is carried up the sides, stopped on the impost, and begun again as a hood-mould, which rises from boldly projecting square corbels above the impost. Over the head of this hood-mould, a further similar corbel serves to support one of the pilaster-strips of the south face. The whole doorway is a strong and impressive work, of a distinctly barbaric type.

In the panel to the right of the south door and somewhat above its head, a round-headed, internally splayed window serves to light the ground floor. The stones of its sill, jambs and head project externally to form an unusual frame: each jamb is of two stones, laid 'Escomb fashion', one upright and one flat; the round head is of

a single rectangular stone which is hollowed out to a semi-circle below and carved in high relief on its outer face to show two birds in the spandrel spaces, within a roll moulding which is carried right round the outline of the stone.

A few feet above the window a circular stone about 2 ft in diameter, projecting about the same distance as the strip-work, is carved in its upper half with leaf ornament and in its lower half with the lines of a sundial.

The second stage of the tower is set back about 6 in. from the face of the first stage and is divided from it by a bold cornice about 2 ft in height, formed of three members of which the upper and lower project boldly while the intermediate one, rather over a foot in height, is set back about 4 in. from the face of the lower stage. The pilaster-strips of the second stage rise from corbels which rest on this cornice and which in plan are semi-circular in shape.

The principal features of the second stage occur in the panel vertically above the window and sundial of the first stage. The first of these features is a stone about 6 ft in height carved in high relief to show a bird like a farmyard cock at the top of the stone and a long panel of stems and acanthus leaves below. Baldwin Brown calls attention to a particular feature of the stems in this carving, namely the way in which each stem is shown as if it were bound to the outer framework of the stone slab just as scrolls in a metal grille might be bound by an encircling loop to the frame of their metal door. This elaborately carved stone slab rests on a large, plain, rectangular block, which itself rests on the upper member of the cornice separating the two stages of the tower.

The second principal feature of this stage is a triangular-headed belfry window close to the top. Unlike the lower window, this is cut straight through the wall, with jambs formed of roughly dressed stone like the remainder of the wall. Its triangular head is formed of two sloping through-stone slabs, and its most striking feature is the complicated, openwork, stone mid-wall slab which represents an endless ribbon wound into a double figure of eight and entwined through two circles (Fig. 22).

At the bottom of the second stage, resting on the cornice, to the right and left of the carved

slab, there are now two round-headed windows with belfry louvres and simple stone frames. Prior to 1935 these were both blocked, that on the left having preserved its frame but that on the right having completely disappeared. In 1936 these were reopened, the frame of that on the right being copied from that on the left.

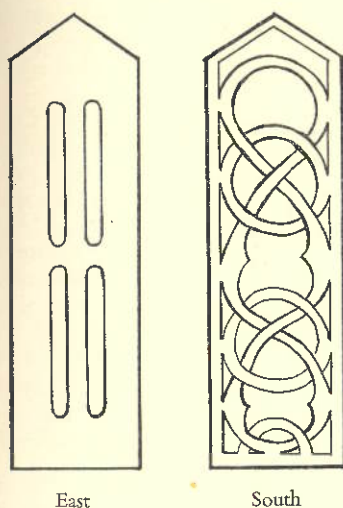


FIG. 22. BARNACK, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The *transennae* in the east and south belfry windows. The belfry window in the north face is similar to that in the south, but not identical (for an illustration see p. 274 of Baldwin Brown's *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*). The west face is similar to the east. The windows are about $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft high and about 2 ft wide.

WEST FACE OF TOWER (FIG. 371)

The pilaster-strips on the west face are similar to those on the south. There is no opening at ground level, and the triangular-headed window, at about the same level as the round-headed one in the south face, is placed centrally so as to interrupt the central pilaster-strip. This window, internally splayed like that in the south, is framed in the same way by its projecting sill, jambs and head. Above its triangular head a boldly projecting beast's head, like those at Alkborough and Deerpurth, serves as a corbel to support the upper section of the central pilaster-strip.

In the upper stage is a carved slab in high relief, similar to that on the south face, but rather more weathered. The bird at the head of the slab has its wings raised and its head turned behind one wing, so as to preen its back. The stems and leaves are of

similar form to those on the south but slightly more stiffly arranged. Unlike that on the south face, this slab on the west is placed in the centre of the face, so that the central pilaster-strip rises from its apex.

Before 1935 there were no openings in the upper stage of the west face but there were clear indications of three blocked early openings. In the 1936 restorations these were opened out to form a triangular-headed door in the panel to the south of the carved slab, a small rectangular window in the panel to the north, and a triangular-headed window high up above the door, similarly placed and similar in shape to the window in the south face, but with a much simpler mid-wall slab, carved with four vertical slots so placed as to leave a cross-shaped panel of stone in the centre.

NORTH FACE OF TOWER (FIG. 372)

The north face follows much the same pattern as the two already described; there is no opening at ground level, but a round-headed, internally splayed window higher up is placed between two pilaster-strips like its companion on the south. The frame round this window, unlike that on the south, is carried round the head in the form of a simple hood-mould without any decorative carving.

In the upper stage of this face, in the panel vertically above the window just described and directly above the cornice, is a carved stone generally similar to those already described but differing in that the bird at its head is not shown standing erect like the other two, but has its body bent like those in the spandrel spaces of the south window, possibly to indicate that it is feeding from the plant on which it stands. Moreover, the foliage in this slab is not linked to the frame like that of the other slabs, and also differs by having two very distinct clusters of grapes about the centre of the slab.

In all three carved stones, the birds at the top are on the same piece of stone as the panel of foliage below; but on the north face alone the bird is carved as an integral part of the panel of foliage, whereas on each of the other two the framework surrounding the foliage is completed beneath the bird in a way which at first sight suggests that the bird and the foliage are carved on separate stones.

At the top of this stage, in the same panel as the

carved slab, is an original, triangular-headed, belfry window with carved, mid-wall *transenna* generally similar to that on the south.

At the bottom of this stage, in the panels on either side of the carved slab, are round-headed openings with belfry louvres identical with those in the south face.

EAST FACE OF TOWER (FIG. 372)

The exterior east face of the tower is not easy to see but may be inspected from the field to the north of the church. It should first be noticed that, although there are now two openings above the present roof, the lower of these, a square-headed door, was below the early roof-line which rose steeply to a point close below the upper opening. It should next be noticed that the upper moulding of the lower cornice is carried only a short distance round the east face of the tower so as to meet the old roof-line; and that the three pilaster-strips on this face are all stopped on corbels high up on the face, at the level where the central pilaster rested on the ridge of the roof.

To the left of the central pilaster-strip there is an original, triangular-headed, belfry window similar to those described in the north and south faces, but with a much simpler mid-wall *transenna*, like that in the west face, carved with four parallel vertical slots, two above and two below, so as to leave a central cross in stone. A somewhat similar but slightly more elaborate cross-slab occurs in the belfry at East Lexham, Norfolk.

INTERIOR (FIG. 373)

The interior of the tower is as full of interest as the exterior; and it should, of course, be visualized without the stone spiral staircase and stone ribbed vault which were added in the thirteenth century. The features of special interest may be summarized as follows:

(a) A noble tower-arch, 13 ft wide and 20 ft high, with remarkable imposts cut from solid stone into a profile resembling a series of superimposed slabs, which are carried as a moulding right across the east face of the wall. The whole arch is outlined on its eastern face with strip-work which is carried up beside the jambs in the form of a long-and-short pilaster-strip and round the arch as a hood-mould of roughly the same number of stones as the arch itself. The jambs and the arch are entirely of through-stones, which in the arch are carefully laid with radial joints.

(b) A triangular-headed recess, or seat, in the west wall of the tower, outlined in strip-work. Baldwin Brown (page 282) gives reasons for believing that this might have been the seat for the person presiding over the conduct of legal proceedings, for which he says that the church was a recognized place in Anglo-Saxon times. The seat might equally well, however, have served for a member of the clergy presiding over religious assemblies.

(c) Small square niches, or aumbries, in the north and south walls near the tower-arch.

(d) The interior face of the south doorway, now partially blocked by the later turret-stairway. The stones of the jambs and of the arch may be seen to be through-stones.

(e) The three windows which, although placed high up in the walls, nevertheless give good illumination in this ground-floor chamber. From within, it may be seen that the stones which frame the outer faces of these windows extend only a few inches into the wall, and that the lining of the remainder of the openings is formed of stones each of which extends through the whole remaining thickness of the wall. The jambs of all three windows are constructed in 'Escomb fashion', with single massive uprights, and flat bonding stones for imposts; the triangular head of the west window is formed of a pair of stones meeting at the apex; and the round heads of the north and south windows are arched with neatly jointed stones.

Within the nave it is possible to see the lower part of the jambs of the doorway which originally opened from the upper chamber of the tower into the space below the roof of the nave but which, as a result of the lowering of the roof, has now become partially visible from the outside and has already been noted in the description of the east face of the tower. This doorway may also be seen within the upper chamber, built of massive stones, with jambs laid in 'Escomb fashion', and a flat lintel head.

An interesting and enigmatical survival of earlier work has recently been exposed in the north wall of the nave, and may be seen inside the east end of the north aisle, in the form of six stones which clearly formed part of a round arch near the east of this wall. The tall Transitional arches of the present north arcade are thus proved to have been cut through an earlier wall, which itself had at least one arch opening through it to the north, close beside the junction between the nave and the chancel. It seems probable that here we have a part of the wall of the Anglo-Saxon nave and part of an arch which opened, as at Bitton in Gloucestershire, into a lateral *porticus*; but without further investigation one cannot be certain that the earlier wall and arch are not of Norman date. The thinness of the wall is, however,

evidence in favour of its being Anglo-Saxon. The carefully dressed masonry below and within the curve of this early arch is, of course, part of the work of the masons who blocked it and erected the Transitional arcade; but above and outside the arch a small area of the original fabric of the wall has survived, of undressed rubble, not unlike that of the main walls of the tower, see Fig. 23.

In the north outer wall of this aisle, opposite the arch just described, a remarkable carved stone,

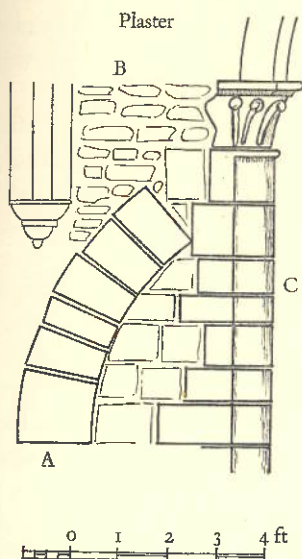


FIG. 23. BARNACK, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Blocked arch, possibly of pre-Conquest date, at the east of the north arcade of the nave. A, six surviving voussoirs of the early arch. The lower face of the lowest voussoir is 11 ft 7 in. above the floor; B, early wall above, of rough rubble construction; C, transitional Norman east respond, and contemporary wall of squared stone.

about 18 in. wide and 40 in. high, has been built into the wall. This stone, which was discovered in the floor of the aisle during 1931, shows in high relief a nimbed and seated figure, probably Christ in Majesty, in the act of blessing, the whole composition being framed within narrow strip-work which is carried round the head as an arch. This figure is dated by Clapham and Talbot Rice to the first half of the eleventh century, although Kendrick inclines to the view that it is Norman work of the twelfth century, but with Anglo-Saxon influence.¹

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 18 ft square internally, with walls about 3 ft thick, and about 65 ft high to the top of the Saxon work. The nave is about 60 ft long internally, by about 23 ft wide; the north wall beside and above the Transitional arcade is only 2 ft 1 in. thick, while the south wall is about 3 ft thick; and both walls are close to 30 ft in height.

The south doorway of the tower is 3 ft 10 in. wide and 9 ft 8 in. high. The three windows lighting the ground floor are about 2 ft wide and 5 ft tall, with sills about 20 ft above the ground. The tower-arch is 13 ft wide and 20 ft high, and the fragment of arch in the north aisle seems to define an opening which was originally about 5 or 6 ft wide and about 12 ft high.

REFERENCES

- T. RICKMAN, 'Ecclesiastical architecture of France and England', *Arch.* 26 (1836), 26-46. Barnack claimed as Saxon, 34-5.
- T. WRIGHT, 'Anglo-Saxon architecture', *Arch. J.* 1 (1845), 24-35. Barnack mentioned as an example, and illustrated, 31-2.
- H. S. SYERS, 'The building of Barnack church', *A.A.S.R.* 23 (1895-6), 143-51.
- H. S. SYERS, 'Barnack church', *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 5 (1899), 13-28. Good architectural description. Full account of the opening of the tower-arch in 1855, pp. 16-17. Detailed drawing of sundial and round-headed south window. Outline plan to show architectural history.
- V.C.H., *Northamptonshire*, 2 (London, 1906), 468-71. Good architectural description, with dated plan and several illustrations.

BARNETBY-LE-WOLD

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 104, reference TA 061090

ST MARY

South wall of nave, with key-hole window: period C

The village of Barnetby-le-Wold, about 4 miles north-east of Brigg, has moved away from its old church, perhaps to cluster more closely about the

¹ A. W. Clapham, *Ant. J.* 13 (1933), 468; D. Talbot Rice, *English Art, 871-1100* (Oxford, 1952), 115; T. D.

Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), 146.

railway station on the lower land to the north. A new church has been built in the centre of the present village, where the interesting Norman font of lead may be seen. The old church now stands isolated on the high land to the south-east and has been allowed to fall into decay to such an extent that when we visited it in 1959 it was kept locked, lest visitors might suffer injury from falling plaster or masonry. We were, however, able to get access to the interior at our own risk to inspect it.

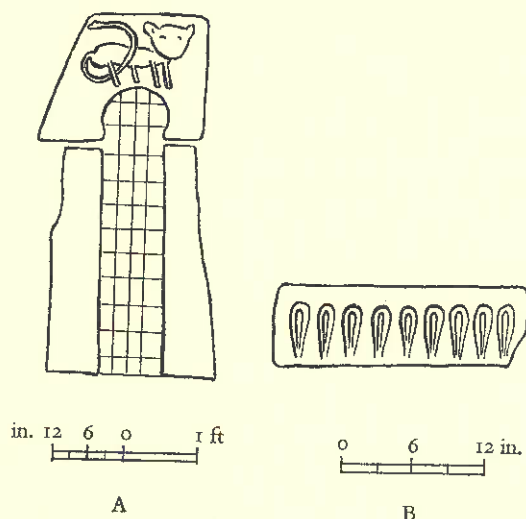


FIG. 24. BARNETBY-LE-WOLD, LINCOLNSHIRE
Details of the south window and of the chamfered surface
of one of the carved stones by the chancel-arch.

The old church now consists of an aisleless nave and chancel, with a low unbuttressed west tower, through which the church is entered. In the north wall of the nave, three blocked arches show the former existence of an Early English arcade to a north aisle which is now destroyed. The main fabric is of light-grey stone rubble, with quoins of larger blocks of a softer yellowish stone, which has weathered rather badly. This yellowish stone has also been used in the tower for the facings of the door and the windows.

The south wall of the nave may be placed with some certainty in the late-Saxon or Saxon-Norman period, on the evidence of the tall, narrow, key-

hole window, high up about the centre of the wall. This window has tall, upright, monolithic jambs, and its head is formed from a single large stone, roughly square in shape. The opening of the head is markedly more than a semi-circle, and is outlined by a narrow fillet or roll-moulding, while above the opening the remaining area of stone is carved in low relief to show an animal like a cat, walking eastward but looking full-face southward, with its long tail curled round its body. Internally, the window is widely splayed, with jambs and arched head of rubble, but salient angles faced in ashlar, in a way which is more Norman than Anglo-Saxon.

The recessed chancel-arch has a Norman south jamb, while that on the north is Early English; but, built into the return-walls and facing westward, are two very badly weathered stones, roughly rectangular in shape, and in appearance like the imposts of an earlier arch of plain square section. Their vertical faces are plain, but their chamfered lower surfaces are enriched with palmette ornament, very weathered but nevertheless plainly discernible, and of the same form as that at Barholm and Stow, both also in Lincolnshire.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 48 ft long internally, by 21 ft wide, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick and a little over 20 ft high. The key-hole south window is 9 in. wide and 4 ft tall externally, with its sill 11 ft above the present ground-level, which is now appreciably above the level of the floor. The head of the window is 10 in. in diameter. Internally the opening is splayed to become 3 ft 4 in. wide and 6 ft tall, with its sill 12 ft above the floor. The sections of carved stone, possibly earlier imposts, are each about 1 ft 6 in. in length and about 1 ft 3 in. tall.

REFERENCE

- G. ATKINSON, 'On Saxon architecture and the early churches in the neighbourhood of Grimsby', *A.A.S.R.* 5 (1859-60), 23-33. Reference to Barnetby, 31, with mention of 'palmette ornament on string course at east end of nave'.

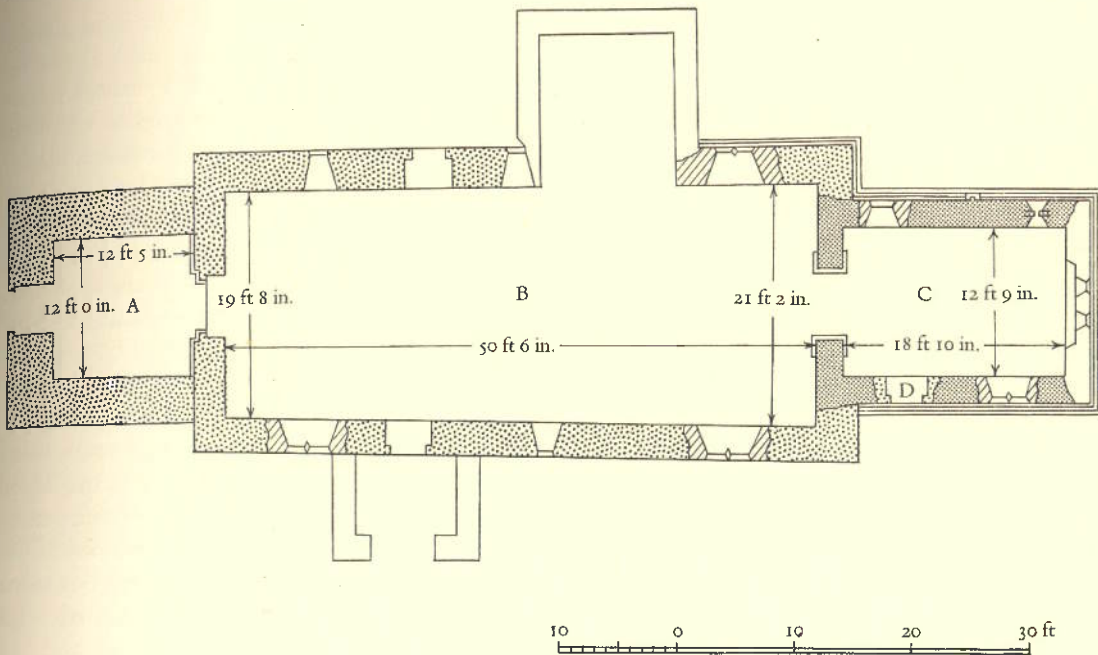


FIG. 25. BARROW, SHROPSHIRE

A, early Norman west tower; B, earlier Norman nave; C, pre-Conquest chancel;
D, late Norman doorway with earlier Norman window above.

BARROW

Shropshire

Map sheet 118, reference SJ 657000

Figures 374-6

ST GILES

Chancel: period C

Nave: possibly Saxo-Norman

This interesting church has almost the appearance of being a private chapel to Barrow Farm, amidst whose extensive buildings it now stands, about 2 miles east of Much Wenlock. The church has a square unbuttressed tower of apparently early Norman date, an aisleless nave that must certainly be earlier, an aisleless Anglo-Saxon chancel, a rebuilt north transept of doubtful but appreciably later date, and a Renaissance south porch built in 1705.

The fabric of the chancel is of fairly large blocks of roughly dressed stone laid in courses; while the nave and tower are of smaller undressed stone,

also roughly coursed and with large side-alternate quoin-stones. Cranage records that the east wall of the chancel was rebuilt no less than three times last century, in 1844, 1848 and 1895, which would account for the smoothly dressed stone of the east wall and for its undistinguished quoins.¹

The external walls of the chancel stand on a plinth of three square orders similar to that at Diddlebury. The south wall has preserved no pre-Conquest openings, but has, near its western end, a narrow early Norman window partially cut away by a later-Norman priest's doorway. Near the middle of the north wall there are substantial remains of a pilaster-strip 7 in. wide, resting on a bold square corbel-like base, which projects beyond the top order of the plinth. The most interesting external feature of the chancel is, however, the small double-splayed, round-headed window high up in the north wall near its east end. This is similar to the north window in the nave at Diddlebury, with a stone mid-wall slab, a monolithic pseudo-arched head both

¹ D. H. S. Cranage, *Churches of Shropshire*, I (Wellington, 1901), 175-84.

inside and out, and jambs built of stones most of which run through from the outer face of the wall to the central stone slab. Both inner and outer sills are slightly sloped, and the splays of the jambs and head are also moderate.

Internally, the chancel-arch is an impressive feature, wholly constructed of through-stones, in a wall 2 ft 2 in. thick. The square bases of the jambs not only project on the soffit but are returned a short distance along both sides of the wall. The square jambs themselves are each of three stones laid in 'Escomb fashion', with two uprights separated by one flat stone. The imposts are chamfered below, but Cranage records that they were originally square like the bases and were 'most foolishly chamfered in 1851 to make them look neat'. The imposts are returned along both wall-faces slightly farther than are the bases; and on the west face they are provided with separate projections which stop the square-sectioned hood-moulding and also serve as capitals for the pilaster-strips, which formerly carried the line of the hood-moulding down beside the jambs, but which have now been cut back flush with the wall. The arch itself is of ten voussoirs of uneven size and with non-radial joints.

The greater part of the east wall of the nave is of well-squared and carefully coursed stones. This high-grade masonry surrounding the chancel-arch does not, however, extend over the whole 21 ft width of the wall, but serves to define the former existence of a narrower nave, only 17 ft 3 in. in internal width, with walls about 12 ft high and roofed with a steep pitch so as to rise to about 25 ft at the ridge. The walling outside the fair-faced area is much coarser; that above the gable represents new work added when the nave was widened, while the lower areas at the sides represent either the cross-section of earlier side walls or else rough work that abutted against an earlier nave. The total gain in width by the building of the wider nave was less than 4 ft, and it is difficult to imagine that a rebuilding would be carried out for so small a gain unless the original nave had somehow been destroyed. Alternatively, the present nave might represent the replacement in stone of an earlier wooden structure outside which it was built.

The nave itself has no features that are either

decidedly Norman or on the other hand clearly pre-Conquest. Cranage sums up his account by saying that it was probably built by native workmen after the Conquest. Three original windows remain, of the tall, narrow, round-headed, single-splayed type that could be either early Norman or late Saxon. There are three doorways of which that in the north wall is a simple, round-headed opening cut straight through the wall, while that to the south has a flat lintel above which a semi-circular stone tympanum is enclosed beneath a round arch. Cranage states that this tympanum was formerly carved but that the carving was cut away in 1851. The west wall has a great doorway of somewhat similar type but on a much larger and grander scale. It now serves only as an entry to the tower; but it was clearly intended as the principal entry to the nave, for the west face of its large tympanum is elaborately decorated with ornament akin to diaper work.

The nave cannot be later than early Norman, for the tower built up against it, and thus obscuring this elaborately worked west doorway, is itself of early Norman form. It is unbuttressed and its windows are of the same general type as those of the nave.

Cranage inclines to a date in the eighth century for the chancel; but the double-splayed window and the pilaster-strip on the north wall would seem better to suit a tenth-century date. This would still allow for a rebuilding of the nave before or shortly after the Conquest, and for the addition of the tower before the fully developed Norman style had reached Barrow. The building of the elaborate Norman abbey at Much Wenlock between 1071 and 1086 suggests, however, that a date before rather than after the Conquest is more likely for the nave at Barrow if one is to understand the complete absence of any Norman ornament on the tower.

A curious feature to be seen externally at the junction of the nave and chancel is a thickening of the eastern walls of the nave and an off-set across their faces at the level of the eaves of the chancel. This cannot have represented a preparation for a lean-to building east of the nave, for the chancel clearly preceded the nave in date. It seems possible that the arrangement may represent a device designed to cover a straight vertical joint

between the east wall of the original narrower nave and the side walls of its later and wider successor.

DIMENSIONS

The chancel is 18 ft 10 in. long internally, and 12 ft 9 in. wide, with walls 2 ft 3 in. thick and about 11 ft high. The nave is 50 ft 6 in. long, and varies in width from 21 ft 2 in. at the east to 19 ft 8 in. at the west; its south wall is 2 ft 8 in. thick and the north wall 3 ft 2 in. The tower is roughly 12 ft square internally, with walls over 4 ft thick, except for that on the east, which is the old west wall of the nave, and is only 2 ft 9 in. in thickness.

The chancel-arch is 6 ft wide and 10 ft 7 in. high, in a wall 2 ft 2 in. thick. The opening from the nave to the tower is now a rectangular doorway 4 ft 9 in. wide and 9 ft 8 in. high, but the archway in which the rectangular frame of the door is set is 6 ft 5 in. wide and about 13 ft tall.

The double-splayed window in the north wall of the chancel has an aperture only 11 in. wide and 2 ft 1 in. high, cut straight through a stone slab which is about 2½ in. thick and is centrally placed in the wall. The stone-lined window-recesses are of much the same shape both externally and internally, splaying gently from 1 ft 5 in. by 2 ft 8 in. against the mid-wall slab to be 1 ft 8 in. by 3 ft 6 in. at the wall-face.

BARSHAM, WEST

Norfolk

Map sheet 125, reference TF 905336

Figures 377, 378

ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

Nave and chancel: period C3

The fine manor of West Barsham, about 3 miles north of Fakenham, with its well-kept grounds and extensive farm buildings, provides an attrac-

tive setting for the small, rather charming, flint-built church, which probably dates from the middle of the eleventh century. The greater part of the original aisleless nave and chancel has survived, but the chancel has been considerably enlarged to the east and a south porch has been added to the nave.

The most obvious late-Saxon features of the church are the three double-splayed windows in the nave, of which one in the south wall, beside the eastern slope of the roof of the porch, is of tall, narrow, round-headed form, while the two in the north wall, on either side of the north doorway, are roughly circular. The splays of all three windows are plastered internally, but on the outside are formed of the same flint fabric as the walls themselves, except for a strengthening of tiles laid in rather non-radial fashion in their heads.

Another indication of pre-Norman date is given by the complete absence of dressed stone in the quoins, all four of which have survived in the nave, built almost entirely of flints with occasional pieces of undressed stone. The north-east quoin of the original chancel has also survived, projecting 3 in. to the north of the later eastward extension. These five quoins, of a type quite foreign to Norman workmanship, serve not only to confirm the evidence of the double-splayed windows, but also to define with precision the size of the original church.

Internally, the church is wholly plastered, so that details of its construction cannot be seen; but the north and south doorways of the nave are simple round-headed openings of a single square order, which may well be the original doorways into which the present fine door-frames of dressed stone were built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The chancel-arch, 13 ft 9 in. wide, in a wall 4 ft 6 in. thick, is of a single square order and of most unusual shape, as though it had been built over the inverted hull of a boat or over a pair of the crucks that were often used for framing the gable-ends of medieval houses.¹ Above the chancel-arch, with its sill about 20 ft from the floor, is a tall, narrow, triangular-headed doorway, now blocked.

¹ A similarly shaped arch is to be seen between the nave and tower of Roughton church, Norfolk, and the blocked

arch that formerly opened southward from the tower at Newton-by-Castleacre is also of somewhat similar form.

Ladbroke's drawing of the church in 1823 showed a rectangular tower or upper chamber rising above the west end of the chancel to about the height of the roof-ridge of the nave. All trace of this interesting and unusual structure has now disappeared; but its former existence may help to explain the purpose of the doorway which still survives high above the chancel-arch.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 35 ft long internally, by 18 ft 6 in. wide, with walls about 3 ft 6 in. thick and about 18 ft 6 in. high. The original chancel, as defined by the surviving side walls and north-east quoin, must have been about 13 ft from east to west internally, and 17 ft 3 in. wide. The aperture of the round-headed south window is 10 in. wide by 3 ft high, splayed to 3 ft 3 in. by 6 ft. The circular north windows have apertures 9 in. in diameter, splayed to 4 ft, with their centres about 13 ft above the floor.

BARTON-ON-HUMBER

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 99, reference TA 035219

Figures 379-82

ST PETER

*West annexe and lower two stages of axial tower:
period C1*

Third stage of tower: period C3

SUMMARY

The small township of Barton, on the south bank of the Humber, has two notable churches; St Mary's is a fine example of all the English styles from Norman to Perpendicular; while St Peter's has a famous Anglo-Saxon tower of two dates, standing between a western annexe which is possibly even earlier, and a spacious medieval church which consists of an aisled nave of the Decorated period, with a Perpendicular chancel and clear-storey.

The Anglo-Saxon tower of St Peter's is roughly 23 ft square externally, with walls about 2 ft 6 in. thick. The tower is not rich in carved

ornament like that at Barnack, but its north and south faces are elaborately decorated with strip-work. The western annexe is narrower than the tower, and somewhat irregularly laid out. Both annexe and tower have long-and-short quoins of well-dressed stone. The windows of the annexe have no dressed stone facings and are double-splayed, while those of the tower are all cut straight through the walls and have well-dressed stone facings.

THE EXTERIOR OF THE TOWER

The tower was at one time wholly covered with plaster; but when we saw it in 1937 the plaster had fallen from a number of places, to show that the fabric of the two lower stages was of thin pieces of roughly coursed rubble while that of the later third stage was of well-dressed stone.

The lower two stages, representing about 50 ft of the tower's total height of about 65 ft, have well-dressed long-and-short quoins with the shorts cut back to the wall-face so that the part of the quoining exposed beyond the plaster has much the same appearance as the pilaster-strips described below. Each of these lower two stages is separated from the stage above by a square string-course which projects slightly beyond the pilaster-strips and the quoining.

The pilaster-strips decorating the north and south faces of the lowest stage are in two series, of which the lower carries an arcade of round arches, and the upper an arcade of triangular arches, whose heads support the string-course between the first and second stages of the tower. Each pilaster-strip carries a projecting square capital to support the arcade above, while the upper series of pilaster-strips rests on square corbels projecting above the heads of the round arches below. The pilaster-strips are of long-and-short construction, and are spaced irregularly across the face of the tower, the space second from the west on each face being much wider, in order to accommodate a doorway. Both north and south doorways are built of through-stones, with jambs laid 'Escomb fashion', and with square imposts, ornamented by shallow mouldings near their lower angles. The south doorway has a round head arched in twelve well-laid through-stones, while the north doorway has a triangular head formed from two very massive

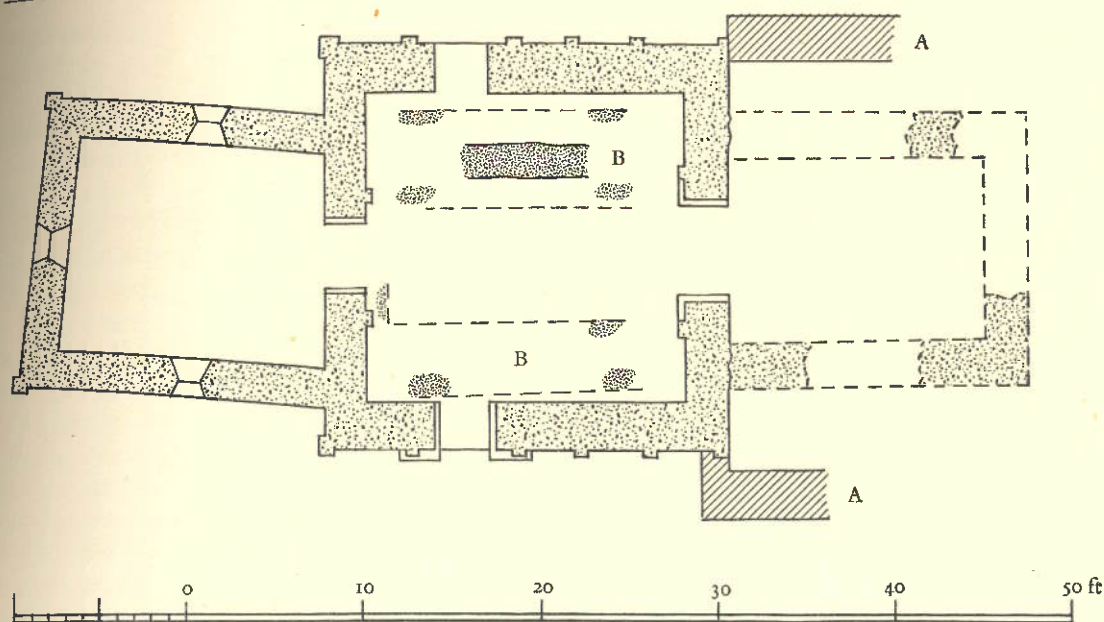


FIG. 26. BARTON-ON-HUMBER, LINCOLNSHIRE

A, side walls of Gothic nave; the north wall has been wrongly placed on our plan, where its junction with the tower should be similar to that of the south wall. B, early foundations, see p. 57.

stones. Both doorways have strip-work beside their jambs and round their heads, that beside the jambs forming part of the system of pilaster-strips which ornament the face.

In the upper system of pilaster-strips on both north and south faces, the central strip is interrupted by a double window with mid-wall shaft and through-stone slab. The mid-wall shafts are turned balusters, distinctly bulging towards the centre and ornamented with a series of rings. The jambs are of through-stones laid in 'Escomb fashion' and each of the two lights of each window has its round head formed of a single through-stone cut to semicircular shape both above and below. The whole of each double window is outlined above by a hood-mould of square section, which follows the curves of the two component round heads.

The central stage of the tower, formerly the upper, has no pilaster-strips, but in the centre of each face has a double window with mid-wall baluster shaft and through-stone slab. These windows all have triangular heads, but are otherwise similar to those on the lower stage. The western window is obscured, and perhaps mutilated, by a nineteenth-century clock, while the eastern one is

now beneath the roof of the nave, but is visible within the church.

The third and uppermost stage of the tower is shown to be of appreciably later date by the dressed stone of its fabric and by the way in which its quoining and window-jambs are formed in the Norman fashion, coursed with the main fabric of the walls. But it is nevertheless indicated as being of late-Saxon date by its three double belfry windows with curiously shaped mid-wall shafts, through-stone slabs, and arched heads flush with the face of the wall. The western window of this stage is an insertion of the Decorated period; and the whole tower is capped with a projecting square cornice and a flattish roof.

Each of the three surviving windows of this uppermost stage is differently ornamented. On the south face the mid-wall shaft is of plain cylindrical form, but the cushion capital is ornamented by small mouldings which outline the lower edges of the D-shaped vertical faces and end above in small trefoils. The east face has a shaft of roughly square section, with a capital also roughly square in plan, but otherwise somewhat of the traditionally Norman cushion shape and with ornament like overlapping fish-scales. The north window is

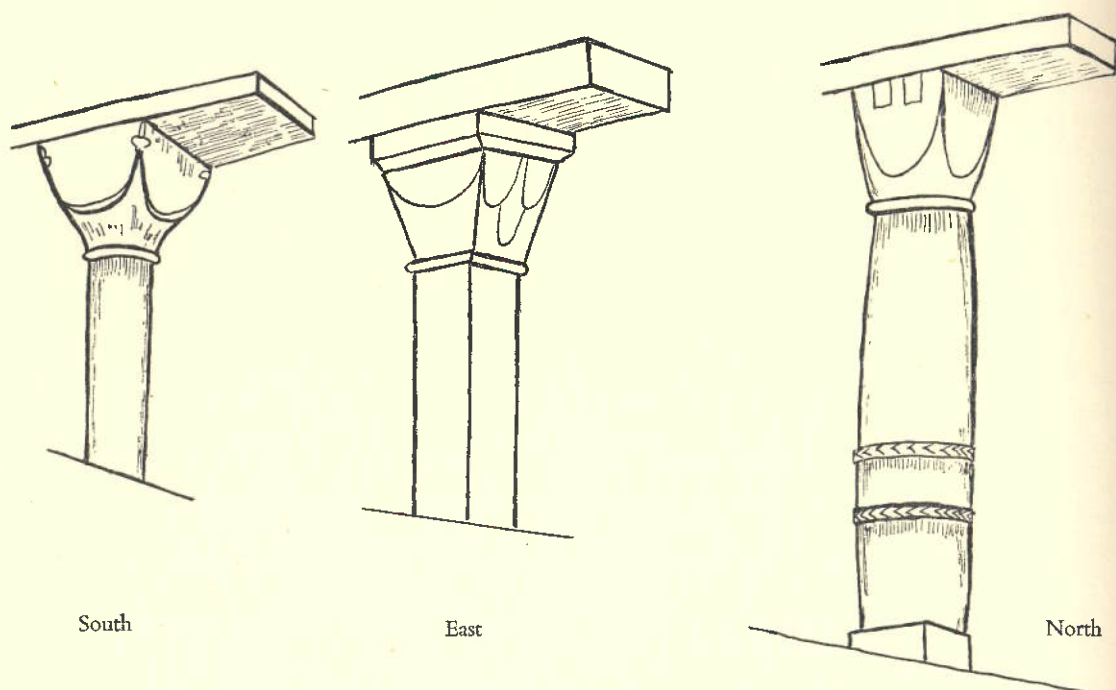


FIG. 27. BARTON-ON-HUMBER, LINCOLNSHIRE
Mid-wall shafts and capitals of the topmost storey of belfry windows.

quite differently treated, with a shaft of circular section, but bulging to the centre, and ornamented in the lower half by two bands of wheat-ear or cable ornament; it stands on a square base, and has a tall capital of roughly cushion shape slightly ornamented with raised squares like a heraldic label. The shafts on the south and east may originally have had bases like that on the north, but this can no longer be verified, because the lower parts of both shafts are now hidden by later masonry, which has been built up to form steeply sloping sills in place of the original flat sills.

THE EXTERIOR OF THE WESTERN ANNEXE

The western annexe is appreciably narrower than the tower and therefore does not obscure its western long-and-short quoins, which extend right down to the ground. The north wall of the annexe is plastered; but the west and south walls are bare, and may be seen to be of rubble construction, but of smaller and less rectangular stones than those of the tower. The west wall shows obvious signs at ground level of a large, blocked, round-headed door, all of whose dressed

stone facings have been removed. Vertically above the blocked door are two circular double-splayed windows, one high up in the gable, and both built of rubble and tiles, which are very irregularly laid, particularly round the top half of the circle.

The north and south walls each have one round-headed, double-splayed window, that on the north being plastered but that on the south having rubble jambs and head, of similar construction to the circular windows in the west face. The Rev. W. H. Varah's booklet on the church suggests that these two windows were originally circular like the western ones; but when we visited the church in 1937 and 1957 we could see no conclusive evidence either for or against this proposition.

The annexe has well-dressed long-and-short quoins, with the shorts cut back for plaster in the same way as those of the tower.

Mr Varah's booklet on the church records that his investigations showed that the walls of the annexe are only partly in bond with those of the tower, and that they rest on a wide foundation

while those of the tower do not. He deduced that the annexe was of eighth-century date by contrast with the tenth-century tower; but Baldwin Brown thought that the double-splayed windows and long-and-short quoining of the annexe made a date before the tenth century unlikely, although the rougher walling and the lack of proper bonding might well mean that the annexe was built a little before the tower.

It is interesting to record two peculiarities of early published drawings of the Anglo-Saxon fabric of St Peter's church. The drawing in Thomas Rickman's *Styles of English Architecture*, following that in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, shows the tower standing alone, without a western annexe, so that the western face is visible to the ground level. The later drawing in Sir George Gilbert Scott's *Medieval Architecture* shows the tower and western annexe, but includes in the west face of the annexe a tall, round-headed doorway with ashlar facings, where now the only evidence of a former doorway is a change in the texture of the wall. Scott unfortunately made no mention of the evidence upon which he based his drawing.

THE INTERIOR

The two principal features inside the tower are the east and west arches, both of which are notable examples of Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship. All the stones are through-stones, and those of the jambs are laid in 'Escomb fashion'. The voussoirs of the arches are well dressed, but their joints, particularly those of the western arch, are far from radial. On their faces toward the interior of the tower, but not on their outer faces, both arches are outlined by pilaster-strips and hood-moulds of square section; and the imposts of both arches have separate projections for this strip-work. The eastern arch is marked as the more important by having a double-stepped impost, and by carrying above the crown of the hood-mould a slab which is mainly plain but has a sunken panel near the top with a carving in relief of a man's head. Varah suggested that this may originally have been a Crucifixion of which all but the head was painted on the smooth stone slab.

The treatment of the outer faces of the two tower arches in a manner less ornate than the faces turned inward towards the tower was first interpreted by Micklethwaite to mean that the tower space itself served as the nave of the church, and that the faces turned inward were the ones that would be seen by the congregation; the western annexe was perhaps a vestry or baptistry, and the eastern arm would be the chancel, to which the priest alone would have access.¹

At present the tower space has a wooden ceiling close above the heads of the arches, and therefore derives its only light from the other compartments through the arches themselves. Varah suggested, however, that, in its original state, this lower compartment of the tower was properly lit by the range of double windows which now serve only to light the first-floor chamber. He therefore deduced, in conformity with Micklethwaite's theory, that there was originally no floor or ceiling at the present level but that the present ground-floor and first-floor compartments were originally the tall body of the church, and that the doorways above the arches served to give access from the upper part of this nave into chambers above the chancel and the western annexe.

The eastern of these two first-floor doorways is visible from the nave and now serves no useful purpose. The western doorway which now serves as the entrance to the upper floors of the tower is reached by stairs from the western annexe. Both these doorways have 'Escomb-fashion' jambs of alternate upright and flat stones, and their round heads are arched. The head of the eastern doorway is a modern restoration, but otherwise the doorways seem to be original.

The eastern face of the tower as seen from inside the fourteenth-century nave shows its long-and-short quoining right to the floor, thus proving that the original chancel, like the western annexe, was narrower than the tower. A drawing made in 1897, when the plaster was first removed from this face, shows the disturbed stonework left by the removal of the original chancel, whose walls must therefore have been properly in bond with the eastern face of the tower.² Excavations

¹ J. T. Micklethwaite, *Arch. J.* 53 (1896), 333-4.

² G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 290.

below the floor at the same date disclosed parts of the foundations of the north and south walls of the chancel and its south-east corner, and showed that it was a building about 15 ft long and 11 ft 6 in. wide internally.¹

The old line of gable running across the eastern face of the tower and across its quoining is both higher and wider than would have fitted the building defined by the foundations and by the marks of the side walls on the west wall of the nave. This gable must, therefore, have belonged to a later building which preceded the present nave.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

At present the Anglo-Saxon church, consisting of the western annexe and tower, is somewhat dwarfed by the large medieval nave and chancel which have grown up to the east; but Baldwin Brown gives a picture (facing p. 291) of what was probably the original form of the tenth-century church, with its gabled tower of two stages and gabled eastern and western annexes, each smaller in plan than the tower and of about half its elevation.

Barton-on-Humber was one of the first of the churches which were established by Rickman early in the nineteenth century as being clearly of pre-Conquest workmanship.² Rickman's argument is still of interest, namely that since the topmost storey of the tower has affinities to Norman workmanship, and indeed to early Norman, and since the lower part is of a quite different style it must therefore be pre-Norman. Baldwin Brown gives reasons (pp. 271-3), mainly on stylistic grounds, for placing the lower part of the tower at Barton-on-Humber, along with those of Earl's Barton and Barnack, in his period C1, that is in the latter part of the tenth century. We may use an argument similar to Rickman's in support of that dating; for the uppermost stage of the tower clearly belongs to Baldwin Brown's period C3, that is just before or just after the Conquest, and this would indicate that the appreciably earlier lower stages of the tower must belong to period C1 or C2, or earlier.

It is a pity that there is no satisfactory historical evidence for this interesting church, but none seems

to be available. Bede records that in his day there were still traces of a monastery founded by St Chad in the seventh century at a place in Lindsey called *ad Baruae*;³ but this seems to have been the nearby village of Barrow, at which there is now no trace of any pre-Conquest church; and it is not until the Domesday Book that there is a record of a church at Barton-on-Humber.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is roughly 18 ft square internally, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick, and about 50 ft in height to the top of the original work, or 65 ft overall. The western annexe is very irregular in plan; about 12 ft 6 in. broad, and 14 ft long on the north, but 15 ft 3 in. on the south. The original chancel, as defined by the excavations in 1898, was about 15 ft long internally and 11 ft 6 in. broad. Both the western annexe and the chancel had walls of about 2 ft 6 in. in thickness.

The eastern arch of the tower is 5 ft 5 in. wide and about 12 ft 9 in. high. The western arch is 4 ft 1 in. wide and 12 ft 4 in. high. The doorways above these arches have their sills about 21 ft above the floor, and are each about 2 ft 8 in. wide by about 7 ft 4 in. tall. Their jambs are laid in 'Escomb fashion', and the head of the western one is arched and original; while that on the east is also arched, but clearly a modern restoration.

The south doorway of the tower is 3 ft 2 in. wide and 8 ft 1 in. tall, while the blocked north doorway is 2 ft 11 in. wide and 8 ft 3 in. tall to the apex of its triangular head, this distance being measured from the floor of the tower and not from the ground, which has risen several inches on the north side of the church.

The circular double-splayed windows have apertures about 1 ft 4 in. in diameter, splayed to about 2 ft in the outer face of the wall. The round-headed double-splayed windows have apertures about 1 ft 5 in. wide by 3 ft 1 in. tall, splayed externally to 1 ft 10 in. by 3 ft 4 in. and internally to 2 ft 3 in. by 3 ft 9 in.

REFERENCES

T. RICKMAN, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture*, 2nd ed. (London, 1819), 45.

¹ A. W. Clapham, *Arch. J.* 103 (1946), 179-81.

² T. Rickman, *Arch.* 26 (1836), 26-46.

³ H.E. iv, 3.

- J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, 'Something about Saxon church building', *Arch. J.* 53 (1896), 293-351. Barton described, with plan; tower claimed as nave, 333-5.
- Editorial, *A.A.S.R.* 24 (1898), lxxiv. Foundations of Saxon chancel discovered by excavation in present nave; external dimensions given (about 17 ft by 16 ft).
- W. E. VARAH, *The Notable Churches of Barton-on-Humber* (Barton-on-Humber, 1936). Valuable comprehensive account.
- A. W. CLAPHAM, 'Barton-on-Humber, St Peter', *Arch. J.* 103 (1946), 179-81. Good large-scale plan of the Saxon work, earlier foundations within the tower described as 'seeming to have no bearing on the existing building'. [We have wondered whether these earlier foundations can have belonged to a chancel which, with the present western annexe, constituted a two-cell, nave-and-chancel church, which was later enlarged by the building of the present tower as a new nave, with the small chancel, now destroyed, at its east.]

BEDALE

Yorkshire, North Riding

Map sheet 91, reference SE 265884

ST GREGORY

*Side walls of nave and chancel, above later arches:
period doubtful*

About 7 miles south-west of Northallerton, and within 2 miles of the Roman road from York to Darlington, Bedale is pleasantly situated beside the woodlands of a great estate, with a broad street leading up to the church. The main entry is now through a porch on the south of the square west tower, and the body of the church consists of an aisled nave with a chancel partly flanked by chapels.

The north aisle of the nave is of late-Norman or Transitional character, and the chancel may be seen to have been originally square and to have been twice extended eastward, first in the Norman period and then in Decorated style in the fourteenth century. There is now no clear evidence to provide a date for the original fabric; no original doorways or windows are visible, and the western quoins are wholly concealed within the fabric of the later tower; the eastern quoins may have survived, but are obscured by plaster or lime-wash.

It is, however, clear that the church originally consisted of a long, aisleless nave and a short,

aisleless chancel, through whose side walls the later arches were cut. Perhaps the most direct proof of this is given by the string-courses which have survived on the south faces of the south walls of the nave and chancel, where they are now to be seen, enclosed within the south aisles, although originally designed as decorative external features. The late-Norman or Transitional north arcade therefore proves the early-Norman or pre-Norman character of the north wall of the nave, through which it was cut; and the Norman extension of the short chancel gives added weight to the probability that the original church was pre-Norman. This is supported by the plain, chamfered character of the string-course on the south wall of the nave, by contrast with the more elaborate string-course, decorated with billets, on the Norman extension of the chancel.

The steeply pitched early roof of the original nave has left its gable clearly visible on the east wall of the tower, which now forms the west wall of the nave.

Two fragments of pre-Conquest carving are preserved in the tower. One is part of a circular cross-shaft, about 2 ft tall and a little over 1 ft in diameter, ornamented with vertical panels of interlace, separated by cable-mouldings. The other is a gabled stone. On one end is a carving which might represent the Virgin and Child, while one side has interlace along part of its length, with a human figure at one end under an arch, like the figures at Fletton in Huntingdonshire.

DIMENSIONS

The original nave was 48½ ft long internally, and 24 ft wide at the east, narrowing to 22 ft at the west. The chancel was probably about 18 ft square. The side walls are 2 ft 7 in. thick, and about 24 ft tall.

REFERENCES

- H. B. MCCALL, *The Early History of Bedale* (London, 1907). Description of church, 74-105. Good dated plan, facing p. 103. Good illustration of the carved pre-Conquest fragments, which were then kept in the crypt.
- J. E. MORRIS, *The North Riding of Yorkshire* (Methuen's Little Guides), 2nd ed. (London, 1920), 61-6.
- V.C.H., *Yorkshire, North Riding*, I (London, 1914), 297-9. Plan, 297. Nave dated early twelfth century or perhaps earlier.

BEDFORD

Map sheet 147, reference TL 052494

ST MARY

South transept: possibly Saxo-Norman

St Mary's church is on the south bank of the Ouse, and beside the busy main street of Bedford, only half a mile south of Bedford's other pre-Conquest church, of St Peter. It has a tall, Norman, central tower, an aisled nave, transepts flanking the tower, and an aisleless chancel. The church was not suspected of having any surviving pre-Norman features until repairs were undertaken in 1959, when serious cracks had developed in the tower. It had, however, been noted in the *Victoria County History* as long ago as 1912 that the very irregular laying out of the ground plan indicated that the early post-Conquest church was probably developed on the foundations of a pre-Conquest fabric.

In opening out a blocked Norman window in the east wall of the south transept, it was found in 1959 that this window partially cut away another single-splayed, round-headed window above it, thereby indicating that the upper window was of very early Norman date, or perhaps pre-Norman. A second similar window was later found and opened out, high up in the west wall of the same transept. The splayed jambs of both windows continue through the full thickness of the wall, without any external chamfer or rebate, but, apart from this, neither window has any obvious pre-Conquest character. Their heads are arched in neatly laid voussoirs and the exterior faces of their jambs are built in side-alternate fashion. The transepts are both very tall and narrow, with walls of rubble, and side-alternate quoining, of small stones. The south wall of the south transept contains a considerable amount of herring-bone masonry.

DIMENSIONS

The internal dimensions of the south transept are about 12 ft 6 in. in either direction; but, as has been noted above, it is far from square in plan. Its walls are about 3 ft thick, and about 21 ft tall.

The windows have apertures 1 ft 10 in. wide by 5 ft 6 in. tall, splayed to 2 ft 6 in. by 6 ft, with their sills about 13 ft above the floor.

REFERENCES

V.C.H., Bedfordshire, 3 (London, 1912), 27-9. Good architectural description, plan, and pictures.

The Bedfordshire Times, 6 February 1959. Photograph of cracks in tower and of small doorway above chancel-arch. Note of discovery of window and of this doorway.

BEDFORD

Map sheet 147, reference TL 051501

ST PETER

Figures 383, 384

Axial tower, formerly western; and chancel, formerly nave: period C

The church of St Peter, standing beside a pleasant open green in the north-east angle of the principal cross-roads in the centre of Bedford, now consists of a spacious aisled nave, with south porch, an axial tower, and a chancel which is wider than the tower and is flanked on the north by a modern vestry. The top of the tower was restored last century in the Norman style; but enough of the old work has survived, particularly on the north face, to show that the whole of the tower was pre-Norman, except for the later battlements, and that it was probably a late-Saxon tower erected on top of an earlier west porch.

As seen from the outside, the fabric of the tower is of rubble, with larger flat stones of the same material forming all four quoins; but within the nave it may be seen that the lower parts of the western quoins are of long-and-short construction; and it is this change of character of quoining which serves to indicate that the upper part was a later addition to a previously existing west porch. On either side of the clock-face on the south, faint traces of blocked, round-headed windows may still be seen; but in the north face, which has been less drastically restored, two corresponding windows have survived much more completely, and one may clearly be seen to have been double-splayed. Moreover, the round heads

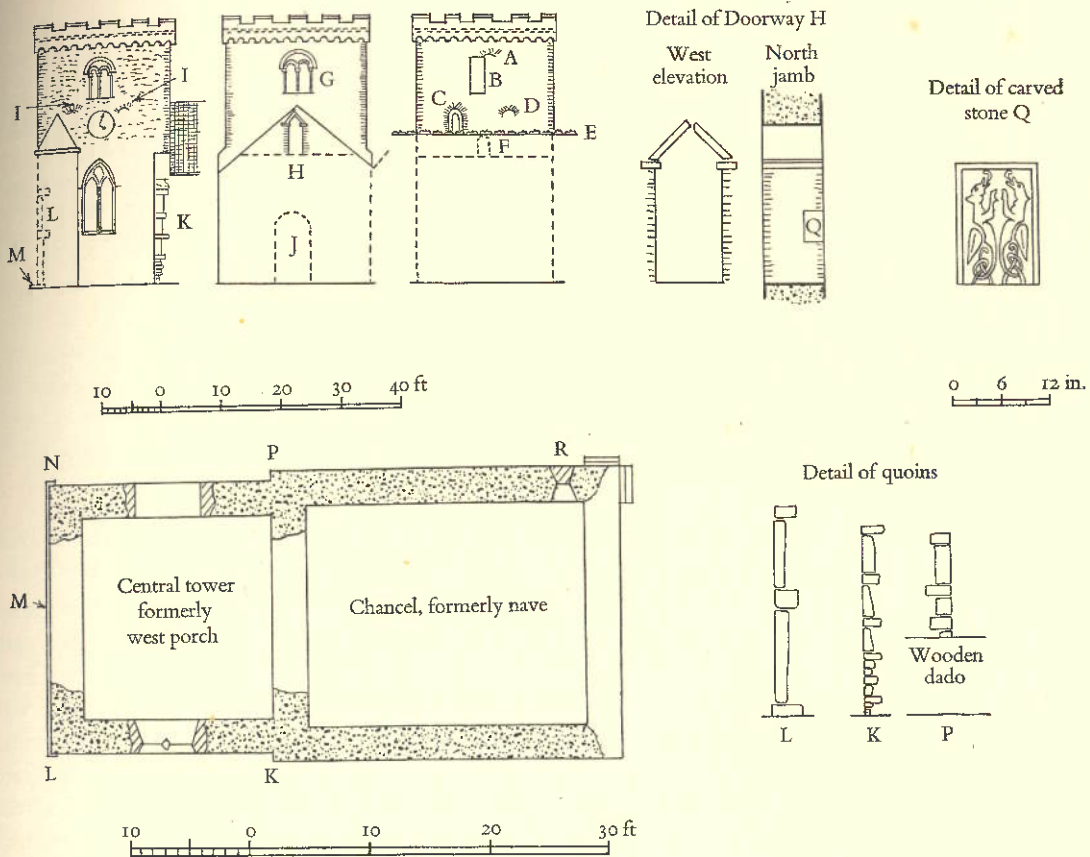


FIG. 28. BEDFORD ST PETER

A, vestige of blocked round-headed north belfry window; B, square-headed later medieval north belfry window; C, double-splayed north window of ringing chamber; D, blocked double-splayed north window at same level; E, ridge of modern north aisle roof; F, round-headed doorway leading from ringing chamber to gully; G, two-light pseudo-Norman nineteenth-century face of medieval window of belfry in east wall; H, triangular-headed east doorway from ringing chamber into upper space of former nave; I, vestiges of blocked round-headed double-splayed south windows; J, conjectural reconstruction of former tower-arch; K, south-west quoin of former nave, now chancel; L, south-west quoin of former west porch, now inside present nave; M, plinth across west face of former porch; N, north-west quoin of former west porch; P, north-west quoin of former nave, now inside modern vestry; Q, carved pre-Conquest stone built into north jamb of doorway H, the stone is built in upside down: the east face toward the chancel is also carved, in this case with an interlacing pattern; R, double-splayed window of former nave, now blocked externally but opened out internally. The detail of the doorway H is at four times the scale of the elevation of the tower, and the detail of the quoins is at the same scale as the plan.

of all four windows are arched in flattish stones laid in characteristically late-Saxon fashion, with the lowest stones on either side tilted up at a considerable angle, and the others roughly parallel to these, rather than radially arranged.

A further interesting survival may be seen on the north face, in the form of the arched head of a larger round-headed opening at the belfry level. The original opening has been blocked and its jambs destroyed for the insertion of a much later, square-headed window; but the old arched head remains above, and a little to the west of, the later

insertion. This interesting survival may be taken as indicating with some certainty that the original Anglo-Saxon belfry windows were tall, round-headed, single openings, rather wider than those which survive in the east face of the tower at Bardsey, Yorkshire.

The present chancel, formerly the Anglo-Saxon nave, projects 9 in. beyond the side walls of the tower. The side walls of the chancel are of larger stones than those used in the tower, and its south-west quoin shows distinct long-and-short construction, except for the lower four feet which

have probably been rebuilt. The corresponding north-west quoin may be seen, also of long-and-short construction, within the modern north vestry. In the north wall of the present chancel, near the east, the outer face of a blocked, round-headed, double-splayed window may be seen above the roof of the vestry and so close to the present east wall as to suggest with some certainty that the original nave was appreciably longer than the part which has survived to form the present chancel. This window is also visible within the chancel.

Within the present nave, the lower part of the west face of the tower may be seen, with well defined long-and-short quoins, formed of exceptionally large stones, of which the lowest on the south is no less than 6 ft 6 in. in height. These quoins stand on a simple square plinth which is particularly well preserved on the south. The arches now cut through the west, north, and east walls of the tower all appear to be of later workmanship; but within the chancel it is possible to see a doorway over the chancel-arch, in the position which would have been quite normal for an upper doorway, opening from the west tower into a gallery or chamber at the west of the original nave.

A carved stone about 10 in. wide and 15 in. tall is built into the north jamb of this doorway. It shows a spirited representation of two confronted creatures, like dragons, with protruding tongues, single fore-legs, and knotted tails (Fig. 28, Q).

DIMENSIONS

The tower measures 16 ft. internally from east to west, by 17 ft from north to south, with walls 2 ft 9 in. thick and now about 40 ft. high to the foot of the later battlements.

The present chancel, formerly the nave, is 18 ft wide internally, and 23 ft 3 in. long, with side walls 2 ft 10 in. thick and about 15 ft high.

The triangular-headed doorway in the east face of the tower is 2 ft 8 in. wide and about 6½ ft tall, with its sill 22½ ft above the floor of the present chancel. Its jambs are formed of the same rubble fabric as the walls, its imposts are flat through-stones which project 3 in. on the soffit, and its triangular head is formed by two massive through-stones.

REFERENCE

V.C.H., Bedfordshire, 3 (London, 1912), 25-6. This account suggests that the upper part of the tower originally had long-and-short quoins, which were later removed; but we have seen no evidence in support of this theory; we think that our own interpretation is more probable, namely that the upper part is a later addition which, from the first, was built differently from the part beneath.

BEECHAMWELL

Norfolk

Map sheet 125, reference TF 750053

ST MARY

Round west tower, nave, and chancel: period C3

The quiet village of Beechamwell, which once had no less than three churches, lies far from any main road, about 5 miles south-west of Swaffham, and its sole remaining church stands at the west end of an attractive village green. The church consists of a round, late-Saxon, west tower (later surmounted by an octagonal belfry) and a rectangular nave and chancel forming one structural unit, with a fifteenth-century south aisle. The whole church is built of uncut flints, with stone facings.

The only Anglo-Saxon features of the nave and chancel are a complete quoin in long-and-short technique at the north-west angle, and rather dubious traces of similar work at the eastern angles.

Slightly above the level of the thatched ridge of the nave, the round tower has four double belfry windows with mid-wall shafts and through-stone slabs. In the east and south faces of the tower the individual openings of each double window have round heads arched in flattish flints; and the mid-wall supports are in the form of piers rather than thin shafts, that on the east showing traces of carving like a re-used grave slab. In the north and west faces the individual openings of each double window have triangular heads, and the mid-wall shafts are thin; that on the north is square in section, and that on the west is round. Below the west belfry window is a very small window in the form of a vertical slot cut through a single stone

slab, and below the south belfry window a slit window has been formed in the rubble wall without the use of any stone facings.

Internally the tower-arch does not present any distinctive Anglo-Saxon features; the east faces of both arch and jambs are square in section; the jambs are completely covered in plaster; and the arch itself is round-headed but built of rubble, with dressed stones round the salient angles. Above the tower-arch, the wall is reduced in thickness by a sloping off-set; and at a short distance above this a doorway between the nave and the tower is placed to the north of the centre of the wall, with widely splayed jambs, and with its head obscured by the roof timbers.

DIMENSIONS

The nave and chancel are 58 ft long internally by 14 ft wide, and the internal diameter of the round tower is about 8 ft.

BEESTON

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 328219

ST LAWRENCE

*Round west tower; west and north walls of nave:
period C3*

There appears now to be no village of Beeston, but only a church, and a hall, with a fine park and lake, beside the road about 10 miles north-east of Norwich and 4 miles beyond Wroxham. The church is, nevertheless, well used, carefully tended, and in good condition.

The present church, consisting of a round west tower, an aisleless nave with south porch, and an aisleless chancel of the same width, has developed by a series of enlargements from a smaller church with separate nave and narrower chancel. The north wall of the nave is original, but the north wall of the chancel has been built later, with a straight joint against it. Moreover, the south wall of the nave is clearly a later rebuilding, to the south of its original alignment, and with buttresses similar to those of the chancel.

The fabric of the early church is mainly of

flints, with some carstone. Quoins of the latter stone, in fairly large blocks, have survived at both ends of the north wall of the nave, thus defining its original length; and, although the south-west quoin has been destroyed in the rebuilding of the south wall, the contrast between the original and later fabric in the west wall is quite clear enough to define with reasonable certainty the extent of the southward widening of the nave.

Apart from the quoins, no early features have survived in the nave, but in the tower there are four interesting windows, all with jambs built of carstone like that of the quoins, in blocks about six or seven inches in height and between one and two feet in length. The upper three windows, at about the level of the eaves of the nave, are triangular-headed; but each straight side of the head is formed of a group of stones instead of the usual single slab. The treatment is uniform in all three windows: the jambs have no imposts, but each of them ends with a wedge-like stone, shaped to support the head at the appropriate angle; two rectangular stones like those of the jambs then form each straight side of the head; and finally a square keystone completes the head. The two windows facing north and south are blocked, but that facing west is glazed near the outer surface and is splayed inward.

The fourth window in the west face is a tall, narrow, round-headed slit, now blocked, with its sill only 4 ft above the ground. Its jambs are also built of carstone, and its head is a single large block which has been cut to a semi-circular shape both above and below.

The belfry stage has large, single, Gothic, pointed windows, and it is not now possible to say with certainty whether these replace earlier windows or whether the whole belfry, like the battlements above, is a later addition.

Internally the tower is 8 ft 11 in. in diameter, and is opened to the nave by an arch which is most curiously placed nearly a foot southward from the central axis of the tower, with the strange result that the south jamb of the arch is 49 in. in thickness while the north jamb is only 37. The arch itself has been given a Perpendicular form, but the jambs are perfectly plain except for a chamfer towards the nave.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is now 19 ft 1 in. wide internally, but was apparently originally about 15 ft 6 in. The north wall, about 3 ft thick and 20 ft high, is 29 ft 11 in. in external length, so that the nave would originally have been about 24 ft long internally. The tower is 8 ft 11 in. in internal diameter.

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J. GUNN, 'Remarks on some ancient remains in the church of Beeston St Laurence, Norfolk', *Proc. Arch. Inst., Norwich*, 1847 (London, 1851), 213-18.

BESSINGHAM

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 166370

Figure 385

ST MARY

Round west tower; west and north walls of nave: period C3

About 4 miles south of Sheringham, the church of St Mary at Bessingham is placed on high land, which appears to have formed part of an earth-work. The church is small and simple, consisting of a slim round west tower, a south porch, and an aisleless nave and chancel which now form a single rectangular building under one roof. The original church must, however, have had a narrower chancel; for the corners of a free-standing nave are defined by two western quoins and by the north-eastern quoin, which has survived in the middle of the north wall, with the later chancel built straight up against it.

The west and north walls of the nave are mainly built of rich brown carstone, with quoins of the same material, in largish blocks about 7 in. high and up to 2 ft in length along the wall-face. By contrast, the later chancel and the rebuilt south wall of the nave are of flint, with dressed stone facings for their Perpendicular windows and buttresses. The tower is built in three distinct strata: the lowest of carstone like the nave; the

second, rather taller, of flints; and the third, taller still, of carstone like the lowest stage, but in smaller pieces like rubble.

The lower carstone stage of the tower has no openings and the flint stage above has only one, a round-headed single-splayed west window, whose head is arched in thin blocks of carstone. By contrast with these simple lower stages, the uppermost has not only the usual late-Saxon group of four double belfry windows, but also a lower group of three blocked windows facing north, west, and south. Of these three, that to the west is visible only as a vestige of a round arched head, while those to the north and south are narrow, single-splayed openings, with jambs built of the same rubble as the walls, and with round heads cut in large rough lintels of the same substance.

The belfry windows are quite elaborate examples of their type, but without any of the Norman features which characterize the later Saxo-Norman period. They are formed throughout of the same brown carstone as the main fabric of the church, the triangular head of each individual opening of each double window being formed of a pair of large flat slabs, while the jambs are built of small rubble about the size of bricks. The centre of the head of each double window is supported on a boldly projecting through-stone, which in turn rests on a plain circular mid-wall shaft without base or capital. An outlining frame of strip-work is carried round each double window; a square-sectioned pilaster-strip built of brick-shaped rubble is carried up each side of the window, from a square corbel as a base to a similar square corbel just above the main imposts of the window; finally, the strip-work is carried over the head of each double window in the form of an inverted W, and further emphasized by the placing of a projecting square corbel over each apex. The battlemented parapet is a later addition.

No original doors or windows appear to have survived in the nave, but the tall, narrow, round-headed tower-arch and the triangular-headed doorway above it both seem to be original features. The west wall of the nave has been curiously scooped away, or undercut, from a height of about 7 ft down to the floor, as if to provide extra space in the nave.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 15 ft 2 in. wide internally; and its original internal length, as defined by the surviving quoins of the north wall, must have been about 26 ft. The walls are about 3 ft thick and 17 ft high. The tower-arch is 3 ft 10 in. wide, and 10 ft high to the top of the imposts or about 12 ft to the crown.

The tower is 7 ft in diameter internally, and the high doorway opening from it to the nave is about 2 ft 6 in. wide and 6 ft tall, with its sill about 17 ft above the floor.

BEVERLEY

Yorkshire, East Riding

Map sheet 99, reference TA 038392

ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST

No surviving early fabric: early abbot's chair

Nothing can now be seen of the church founded here by St John of Beverley towards the close of the seventh century or early in the eighth.¹ A stone abbot's chair may, however, be seen beside the altar. It is like the chair at Hexham, but simpler, and without the ornament which at Hexham serves to fix the date with some certainty. It is probably reasonable to accept the chair at Beverley as being part of the original foundation.

BIBURY

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 157, reference SP 118065

Figures 386-8

ST MARY

Nave and chancel, incorporated into medieval church: period C

The attractive Cotswold village of Bibury on the River Coln, about 7 miles north-east of Cirencester, has a fine church which is at first sight a

typical medieval parish church with aisled nave, aisleless chancel, and western tower somewhat unusually placed over the west bay of the north aisle. On closer inspection, however, it becomes evident that the greater parts of the walls of an Anglo-Saxon church are incorporated in the present building, which has evolved by the cutting of arcades through the walls of the original nave, and by the extension of the chancel eastward.

The south aisle has not been continued westward along the whole of the south of the original nave; and part of the original outer wall of that nave may now be seen beside the west wall of the aisle. The walling is of rubble, about 27 ft high, with a plain square string-course marking the top of the Anglo-Saxon fabric, and separating it from the fifteenth-century upper wall, which was added to carry the Perpendicular clear-storey windows. The Anglo-Saxon character of the part of this wall which immediately adjoins the aisle is proved beyond doubt by the double-splayed circular window, which has most fortunately been suffered to remain through two successive periods of major alteration, first, when the tall lancet windows were inserted in the thirteenth century, and, later, when the clear-storey windows were added in the fifteenth century.

It is commonly believed that the Anglo-Saxon nave extended no further westward than this bay, and that the remainder of the nave to the west is an addition of the early thirteenth century, as indeed seems obvious from its flat Norman buttresses and its tall, lancet windows. It is, however, possible (but by no means certain) that this Transitional-Norman workmanship is merely a refacing of the original south-west corner of the nave; for the carefully laid masonry extends no higher than the sills of the lancet windows, and the walling beside the windows is of the same general character as the Anglo-Saxon wall to the east; moreover, the square string-course extends right along the wall, below the Perpendicular clear-storey; and, within the nave it may be seen that the off-set, which marks the top of the original Anglo-Saxon fabric, is continued without a break

¹ Bede, *H.E.*, v, 6, refers to *In silva Derorum* (Beverley) as 'his own monastery' in relating how John retired there

from York and was buried there after his death in 721.

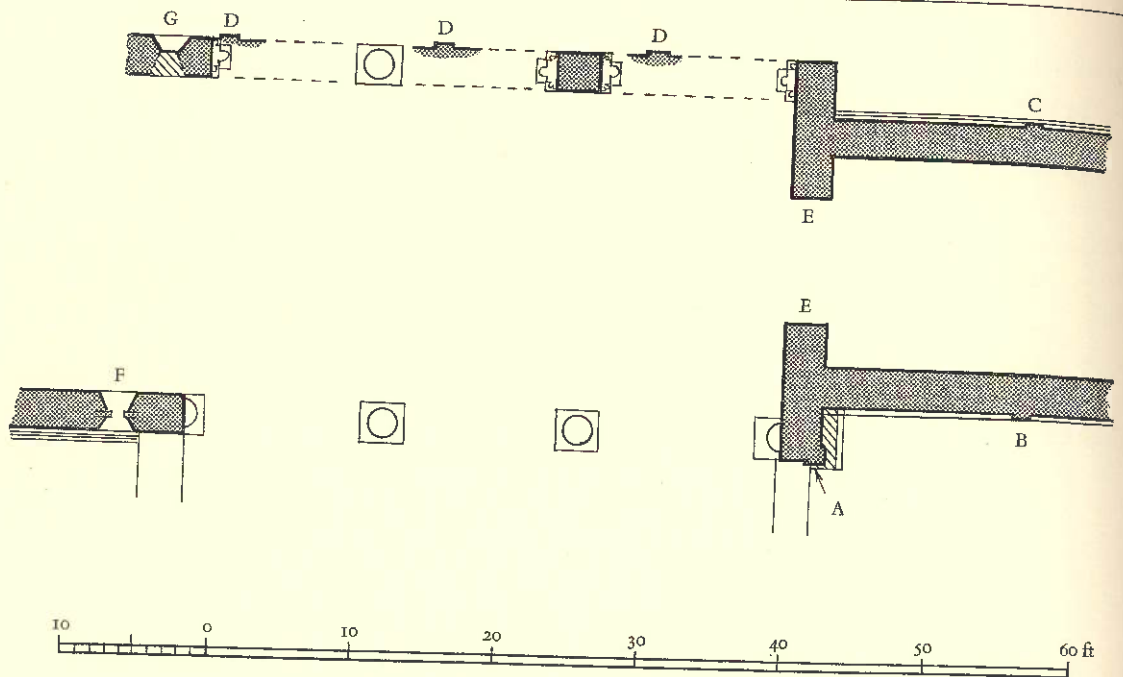


FIG. 29. BIBURY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Plan showing pre-Conquest survivals in the nave and chancel. A, fragment of long-and-short quoin visible above later buttress; B, pilaster-strip with stepped base *in situ* on south wall of chancel; C, stepped base on north wall of chancel with carved pre-Conquest stone inserted in modern times; D, sections of pilaster-strip *in situ* above north arcade; E, original jambs of chancel arch; F, circular double-splayed window in south wall of nave; G, two-light round-headed window visible on north aisle and probably formed by adaptation of a window similar to F.

along the whole extent of the south wall of the nave.

From beside the south wall of the chancel the original south-east quoin of the nave may be seen, in good long-and-short technique, for several feet above the top of the heavy medieval buttress. A vestige of the north-east quoin of the nave may also be seen from the other side of the chancel, and finally it should be noted that the Anglo-Saxon character of the western parts of the side walls of the chancel is shown by the pilaster-strips with stepped bases, which have survived on the lower part of both walls, and by the plain square plinths on which the walls stand. These plinths extend for about 24 ft eastward from the nave, and thereby serve to define the original eastward extent of the original chancel.

The pilaster-strips on the chancel deserve further mention. That on the south is original, of plain square section, with a boldly stepped base.

That on the north has a similar base, also original; but the pilaster itself is carved with late-Saxon ornament consisting of interlacing circles, with pellets in the interstices. This interesting carved stone, one of a number found near the church in 1913, was placed in its present position when the others were presented to the British Museum.¹

Within the north aisle of the nave, three pilaster-strips may be seen *in situ*, above the three eastern arches of the Transitional arcade, thus proving that these arches were cut through the original north wall of the nave. A few feet to the west of the westernmost of these three pilasters there may also be seen the outer face of a blocked, double-splayed window, which is no longer visible inside the nave. This window is of very unusual character, apparently in two stages, of which the upper is round-headed, and is divided from the lower by a horizontal mullion. It clearly deserves further study; and it is most desirable

¹ R. A. Smith, *P. Soc. Ant.* 26 (1913-14), 60-72.

that its face towards the nave should be opened out.

The curious arrangement of the north arcade in a series of arches, of which only two are continuous while the others are separated by sections of solid wall, suggests that the building of this aisle occupied a period of years. The pilaster-strips on the exterior face of the north wall, above these arches, make it unlikely that the development was

wattle to serve as a support for the original plaster, in the same way as at Avebury.

The chancel-arch is a pointed medieval insertion, which has cut away part of the square Anglo-Saxon string-course above it; but the square jambs of the original arch have been suffered to remain, together with fragments of their richly carved imposts, of which that on the north shows an unusual form of interlaced simple foliage, while that on the south has a single upright palmate leaf in the centre, with scrolled leaves on either side.

It is clear that the string-course above the chancel-arch originally served to support a Rood, either of stone or of plaster; the Rood has vanished, but there are very obvious traces of the figure which stood on the left, and two plain stones on the right seem also to be part of the original composition. The upper part of this wall now contains two blocked, square-headed window-recesses, widely splayed internally and with shallow splays externally; the faces towards the nave contain Perpendicular tracery set in the centre of the wall, but it is possible that this is a later insertion like that in the early windows of the tower at Breamore, Hampshire, and that these windows are a survival of a pre-Conquest feature.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 22 ft 2 in. wide internally, with side walls 2 ft 10 in. thick and originally about 27 ft high, now raised to over 30 ft. It has already been mentioned that it is not certain whether the original nave comprised the whole length of the present nave, about 78 ft, or whether it extended only so far west as the bay containing the circular double-splayed window, in which case its internal length would have been about 52 ft. The chancel is 14 ft 10 in. wide, and its original internal length, as indicated by the eastward extent of the plinth beneath its walls, cannot have been less than about 22 ft. This plinth is of a stepped character, with steps 3 in. in width and 9 in. in height, of which two are visible on the north, but only one on the south. The south wall of the nave stands on a similar plinth of which three steps are visible.

The pilaster-strip on the south wall of the chancel is 1 ft 2 in. wide, with a stepped base 9 in. high and 1 ft 8 in. in total width, so that it projects 3 in. laterally on either side of the pilaster.

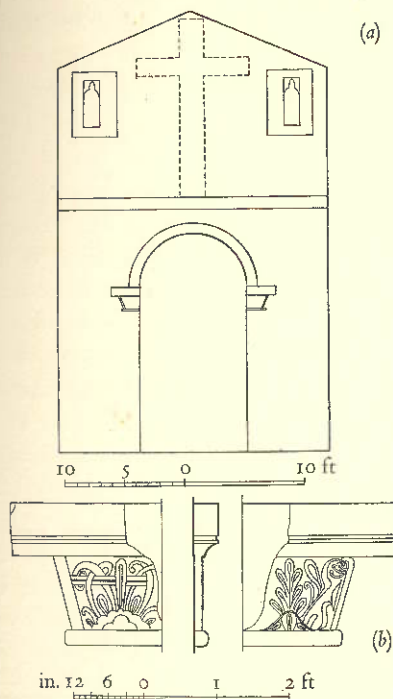


FIG. 30. BIBURY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

(a) Tentative reconstruction of the east wall of the nave, showing how a large Rood like that at Bitton could have been placed above the chancel-arch without any raising of the wall above its present height.

(b) Details of the surviving carved imposts of the chancel-arch. For a detailed discussion of this Ringerike ornament see G. Zarnecki, *Wallraf Richartz Jahrbuch*, 17 (1955), 211-15.

conditioned, as is suggested for Billingham, Durham, by the prior existence of an Anglo-Saxon north *porticus*; but this possibility cannot be altogether excluded without further investigation.

The inner splays of the circular double-splayed window in the south wall of the nave are plastered; but the circular stone frame which now bears the glazing is clearly visible, and may be seen to be pierced by a concentric ring of deeply drilled holes, probably to carry a conical framework of

In profile, the pilaster, its base, and the upper course of plinth on which the base rests all project 3 in. from the main face of the wall.

The centre of the double-splayed circular window in the south wall of the nave is about 19 ft above the ground; its glazing is about in the centre of the wall, in an aperture about 1 ft in diameter; and the plastered splays, of conical form, open out from a diameter of about 1 ft 6 in. beside the stone mid-wall slab to about 2 ft 6 in. in the wall-face. The sill of the blocked window in the north wall of the nave is about 18 ft above the floor; its outer face is of the normal form for a round-headed window, and is roughly 2 ft wide and 4 ft tall. The aperture, as indicated by stonework in the middle of the wall, was in the form of two openings, the upper round-headed and the lower rectangular, each roughly 1 ft wide by 1½ ft tall; but it is not clear whether this stonework is a later addition.

The chancel-arch, in a wall 2 ft 11 in. thick, is 8 ft 10 in. wide, between the original square jambs, and is 13 ft 9 in. high, to the top of the carved impost; the crown of the original circular arch would therefore have been about 18 ft above the floor.

The square-sectioned string-course runs across the east wall of the nave at a height of about 20 ft above the floor; and the whole height of the wall visible beneath the roof timbers at the ridge is about 32 ft.

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- ANONYMOUS, 'Bibury', *ibid.* 58 (1936), 4. Good bibliography.
- R. A. SMITH, 'Four sculptures from Bibury', *P. Soc. Ant.* 26 (1913-14), 60-72.
- U. DAUBENY, *Ancient Cotswold Churches* (Cheltenham, 1921), 164. Historical note recording that between 721 and 743 Wilfrith, Bishop of Worcester, granted five cassates of land by the River Coln to Earl Leppa for the term of his life and that of his daughter Beaga, and that the area was afterwards known as Beagan-byrig, or Bibury. [The charter is Birch, no. 166. There is no evidence of a church at Bibury at that time.]
- G. B. GRUNDY, *Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire* (Gloucester, 1935-6), 40-3. Details of grant of land to Earl Leppa.

BILLINGHAM

County Durham

Map sheet 85, reference NZ 457223

Figures 389, 390

ST CUTHBERT

West wall, and possibly side walls, of nave: period B
West tower: period C

Billingham was no doubt a port long before Middlesbrough existed. The modern industrial development which has almost united Middlesbrough, Stockton, Norton, and Billingham into a single urban area has, up to the present, left untouched the low-lying and somewhat marshy land through which Billingham Beck flows to join the Tees, and across which it is still possible to look, over open country, from the westward slope of the high land of Billingham churchyard to the houses of Norton and the tower of its Anglo-Saxon cruciform church. Ecgred (Bishop of Lindisfarne, 830-45) gave Billingham to the community of St Cuthbert.¹

Billingham church now consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with south porch, and an extensive aisled chancel which was built in 1938 in replacement of an eighteenth-century chancel. The south porch and outer wall of the south aisle date from the nineteenth century, when the church suffered several restorations; the outer wall of the north aisle seems to be substantially a work of the Decorated period; but the west tower is clearly Anglo-Saxon, and the long, narrow nave, with its tall thin walls over arcades dating from about 1200 to 1250, seems to preserve the plan of the Anglo-Saxon nave, while some parts of the walls above the arcades may themselves be original.

That the tower is later than the nave is proved by the fact that the south wall of the tower has been built with a straight vertical joint against the south-west angle of the earlier nave, and by the fact that the east wall of the tower is on top of the original west wall of the nave. The west wall of the south aisle has fortunately been placed sufficiently far eastward to leave this interesting

¹ Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelm. Ecclesiae*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series, 75, 1) (London, 1882), 53.

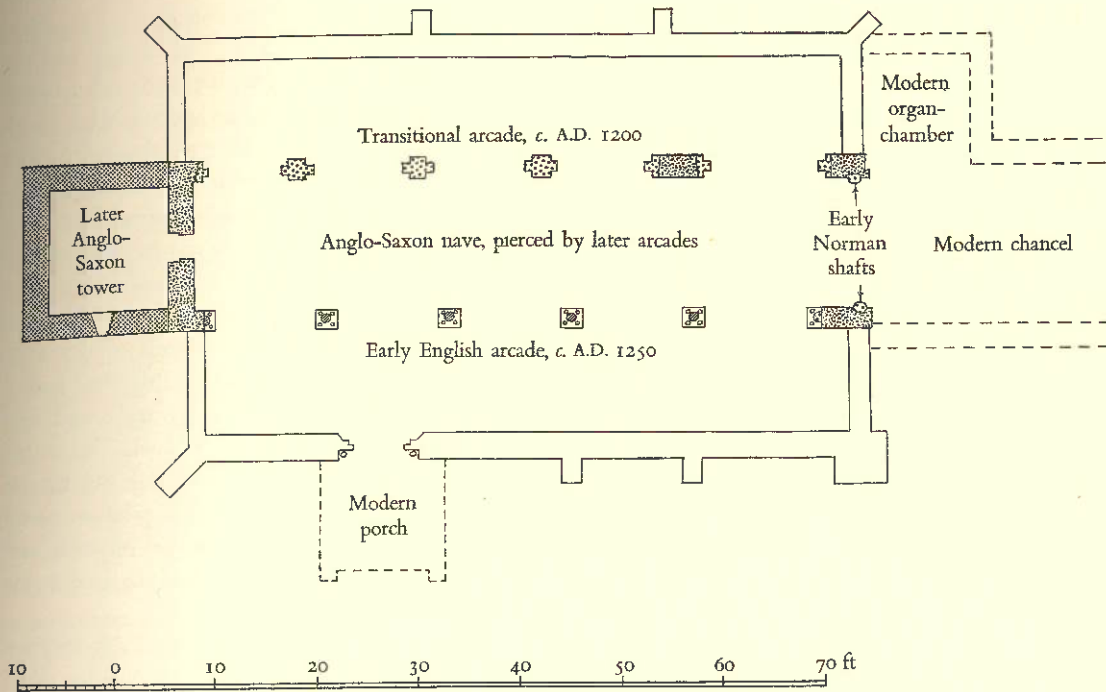


FIG. 31. BILLINGHAM, COUNTY DURHAM

The plan shows how the Anglo-Saxon west tower is built against the west wall of an earlier nave. It also shows how a section of early walling intervenes between the four western arches of the Transitional north arcade and the single eastern arch of similar but slightly later character. The surviving original walling in the eastern part of the nave is indicated as pre-Norman by the insertion in it of very early Norman shafts for the present chancel-arch.

architectural evidence fully exposed, whereas the north aisle is continued further westward and its west wall obscures all but the upper few feet of the corresponding evidence on that side; but even there enough is visible to show clearly that the tower has been built up against an earlier nave.

The tower is square in plan, tall, and somewhat gaunt; but nevertheless having a simple massive dignity, which is emphasized by the more elaborate treatment of the belfry by contrast with the severity of the plain walls beneath. That the tower was built as such from the first, and was not formed by raising the walls of an earlier porch, seems clear from the absence of any sign of an external doorway. Indeed, the building of the tower seems to have blocked what must formerly have been a western entrance to the church, perhaps its principal entrance, namely the doorway which now serves as the entrance from the nave to the vestry within the tower.

This interesting doorway is fundamentally a round-headed opening with chamfered imposts

on rebated jambs; but the round head, hollowed out of the lower faces of two unusually massive rectangular lintels, is turned into a flat head by the presence of a semi-circular stone tympanum, which is curiously placed at the centre of the thickness of the wall rather than in the logical position at its inner face. This placing of the tympanum seems to imply that, when the doorway was in use as the western entrance, its door must have hung, in the usual Anglo-Saxon fashion, on the interior face of the wall.

Baldwin Brown (p. 30) describes this doorway as an instance of the later cutting of a rebate on the jambs of an Anglo-Saxon doorway which originally passed straight through the wall; but we have been unable to see any evidence to prove that the rebates were cut later, and it seems to us more likely, indeed almost certain, that they were original and were made for ornament, rather than for the hanging of a door. Our reasons for this belief are, first, that the stones of the jambs do not in general run through the full thickness of the

wall, but meet with a straight vertical joint down the line of the rebate, thus strongly implying that it was part of the original design; and, secondly, that the rebate does not run straight up to the top of the jambs, as would be natural for the hanging of a door, but tapers off at the top in order to produce the lower order of the imposts towards the west. This feature is intelligible as an ornament on the outer face of an important doorway, but it would be both meaningless within a vestry and also highly inconvenient for the hanging of a door, since the door would have to open across these skew surfaces.

Externally the tower is divided by a plain, square string-course into a very tall lower stage and an upper belfry stage, which contains four typical, late-Saxon, double belfry windows, each outlined by strip-work which is carried up beside the jambs and round the head of the window. The semi-circular tympanum enclosed between each of these hood-moulds and the heads of the two lights beneath is built of stones like those of the walling, except that the central stone in each tympanum is pierced to form a sound-hole, which on the north and south faces of the tower is in the form of an eight-pointed star, but on the east and west faces is of simple circular form.

The plain square jambs of the belfry windows are built of stones which are taller than the normal courses of the walling, but which do not pass through the full thickness of the wall; the imposts, on the other hand, are through-stones. The mid-wall shafts are rough-hewn, some circular and some of rectangular form but rounded at the corners. None has any base or capital, but each stands on a flat stone which runs right through the thickness of the wall, and each supports a simple, square-sectioned, through-stone impost. The round head of each individual light is cut in the lower face of a rectangular lintel which is of two stones, one in the outer wall-face and one in the inner.

The tall, lower stage of the tower has openings at three levels. The ground floor, now covered by a thirteenth-century ribbed vault, is lit by a south window, which is commonly described as modern, but which may well have been formed by enlarging an original opening. The first-floor chamber, above the stone vault, is lit by a tall, narrow, internally splayed window which faces westward.

The round head of the opening in the outer face of the wall is cut in a rectangular lintel; and the jambs are built of stones which, although coursed with the walling, nevertheless pass almost through the thickness of the wall, to meet the inner stone frame, which is square-headed, with tall monolithic jambs and a flat lintel. No internal floor now corresponds with the level of the south doorway high above; but there must originally have been such a floor. The doorway has square jambs cut straight through the wall and built of through-stones. These support shallow imposts, and a massive rectangular stone lintel hollowed out below to form the round door-head. The whole composition is outlined by strip-work like that of the belfry windows, with vertical pilasters rising from corbels as bases to corbels as imposts, and enclosing a semi-circular tympanum under the strip-work hood-moulding.

Internally, the nave gives a remarkable impression of length and height; and its arcades tell a complicated story of development. The north arcade of simple Transitional-Norman character must have been built about A.D. 1200, and the south arcade, of more developed Early English style, about 1250. It is, however, at once apparent that, whereas the south arcade is of five regularly built arches, uniformly spaced, the north arcade seems to have been built in two separate stages, because the four arches at the west are separated by a section of solid walling from a single arch at the east. All five of these northern arches are, however, similar in form; and it is therefore likely that the interval between the two stages of building was quite small.

A detailed discussion of the post-Conquest architectural development of a church is, as a rule, outside the scope of this book; but in a few instances, of which Billingham is one, peculiarities of construction of the later work point the way to a clearer understanding of the Anglo-Saxon structure which it replaced, since these peculiarities become easily intelligible if we assume that the earlier structure had features which presented the later builders with particular difficulties or with particularly economical ways of securing their ends. Two different explanations have previously been given to account for the north arcade at Billingham and we wish now to give a third: without excavation to determine the line of

earlier foundations it is impossible to be certain, but we believe that our explanation best fits the facts as presented by the existing structure.

In 1928 the *Victoria County History*¹ suggested that the original Anglo-Saxon nave extended only so far east as the solid section of walling between the two sections of the arcade, that the first operation of enlargement was the provision of an aisle along the north side of this nave and the piercing of the four western arches, and that a few years later the nave was enlarged by the length of the fifth arch, which was built outside the area formerly occupied by the chancel. This is the same type of development as we suggest for the church at Skipwith, Yorkshire.

In 1948 Gilbert² pointed out that the early Norman character of the bases of the present chancel-arch presents a serious difficulty to this interpretation, since a chancel-arch must therefore have stood in its present position for many years before the late-Norman or Transitional north arcade was built. He therefore argued, as we believe, that the original nave must have been of the full size of the present nave, that the first improvement made by the Normans must have been to widen a narrow Anglo-Saxon chancel-arch, and that only thereafter were the arches of the north arcade constructed. In order to explain the two periods of these arches, he suggested that the church at some stage had a central tower, which fell and thereby necessitated the rebuilding of the single arch at the east.

We accept as conclusive Gilbert's argument about the size of the original nave; but we do not find the idea of the falling of a central tower a satisfactory explanation of the existence of the length of solid walling at the east of the four arches of the north arcade. This section of Anglo-Saxon walling can be explained in a convincing way only if it implies that, when the four arches were built about the end of the twelfth century, there was either some obstruction in the way of continuing the aisle eastward along the whole length of the nave, or else some reason why it was un-

necessary to continue it further. We suggest that just such conditions would have been provided if the Anglo-Saxon nave had had a side-chapel, or *porticus*, towards the east of the nave. The builders of the north aisle most probably, therefore, left the *porticus* untouched; and, having provided an aisle along the remainder of the north wall of the nave, they opened the nave to the aisle through their four new arches. A few years later, they or their successors replaced the Anglo-Saxon arch opening to the *porticus* by the fifth arch as it now stands.³ At this stage, the outer wall of the north aisle would have been of two quite separate characters, the western section having been built by the builders of the four arches, and the eastern section being still the wall of the Anglo-Saxon *porticus*. In the fourteenth century, the present outer wall was built in the Decorated style, but using much of the materials from the earlier fabric, as is shown by the similarity of the masonry with that of the Anglo-Saxon tower.

If this be the correct explanation of the surviving fabric at Billingham, it is clear that the Anglo-Saxon nave incorporated in the present church was itself of considerable size and had adjuncts also of some size. Moreover, although the tower is clearly later than the nave, yet it has none of the almost Norman features which characterise the late-Saxon towers of Lincolnshire. The tower must therefore be placed some little time before the Conquest, and the large nave clearly earlier still. We therefore see nothing unreasonable in Gilbert's suggestion that the nave should be regarded as the survival of a ninth-century church built in the time of Egred and that the tower should be placed about 1000.

In addition to its interesting architectural details, the church at Billingham preserves in its fabric a large number of carved stones, now used simply as building stones, but giving evidence of the high quality of the work which had been performed on the site long before the erection of the tower. One well-preserved stone, carved with animals and interlacing patterns, is to be seen on the north

¹ *V.C.H., Durham*, 3 (London, 1928), 200-2.

² E. Gilbert, *P. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, 4th ser., II (1948), 197-8.

³ At Repton, Derbyshire, Anglo-Saxon arches remained

at the east of an Early English arcade in much the same way as is here suggested for Billingham, until they were swept away last century by 'restorers'.

face of the tower about 2 ft above the roof of the north aisle and in the line of the vertical straight joint which marks the junction between the wall of the original nave and the later tower.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 64 ft 0 in. long internally, by 13 ft 2 in. wide, with walls only 2 ft 2 in. thick and about 20 ft high to the top of the original level. The tower is roughly 12 ft 2 in. square internally, with walls about 2 ft 8 in. thick. Externally the walls of the tower are precisely aligned with the walls of the nave, and the tower is about 54 ft high to the top of the original work, or 60 ft overall.

The west doorway of the nave is 2 ft 8 in. wide in clear, or 2 ft 10 in. on the rebated western face; the jambs are 7 ft 1 in. high, to the top of the imposts; and the total height from the floor to the crown of the head is 8 ft 6 in. This head is made of two massive lintels, one toward the nave and one toward the tower, with the tympanum-stone between; the lintel toward the nave is 4 ft 2 in. wide and 1 ft 10 in. high.

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- E. GILBERT, 'Anglo-Saxon work at Billingham', *P. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, 4th ser., 11 (1948), 195-204. Several pictures and architectural drawings. Revised architectural history. Nave dated to Ecgrid (who was Bishop of Lindisfarne, 830-45). Tower dated c. 1000.

BIRCHANGER

Essex

Map sheet 148, reference TL 507228

ST MARY

South and west doorways: possibly Saxo-Norman

Birchanger is pleasantly situated on high land, about 2 miles north-east of Bishop's Stortford.

Its small church was somewhat drastically altered by Blomfield last century, and now consists of a nave and chancel in a single rectangle, with a modern north aisle and entrance porch. The fabric is of cut flint, with stone facings. Morant described the church in 1768 as having a round tower; but this was apparently separate from the main fabric, and has completely disappeared.¹ Before the north wall was demolished by Blomfield, it contained a window which seems to have given good evidence for dating the fabric as pre-Conquest, for Pritchett described it thus:²

There was, high up in the north wall, one of those early little narrow slit windows which are frequently met with in Norman and Saxon walls. Its glazing was in the centre of the wall, it having been deeply and doubly splayed both inside and out, instead of the usual fixing of the glass close to the outside.

None of the surviving openings in the church can be reliably dated as pre-Conquest, but the south and west doorways are of a simple character that is consistent with a date in the eleventh century, either before or after the Conquest.

In each of these doorways the actual opening is rectangular, and the rebated jambs are built of ashlar masonry. The round, arched head of each doorway is of a single order, enclosing a semi-circular tympanum. At first sight, each doorway seems to have an arched head of two recessed orders, but on closer inspection it becomes clear that the supposed inner order is part of the monolithic tympanum upon which lines have been cut to represent the jointing of the voussoirs.

The south doorway is further enriched with a pattern of vine-scroll on the archivolt of the arched head, and with a carving in relief, probably representing the Agnus Dei, in the centre of the tympanum. There is also a narrow band of diaper ornament along the lower edge of the tympanum. The west doorway is much plainer, its only enrichment being diaper ornament on its chamfered imposts.

DIMENSIONS

The south doorway is 3 ft 10 in. wide and 9 ft 9 in. tall, to the arched head; its opening is 7 ft

¹ P. Morant, *The History of the County of Essex*, 2 (London, 1768), 575.

² G. E. Pritchett, 'Birchanger church', *T. Essex Arch. S.*, n.s. (1904-5), 417-18.

2 in. tall to the lower edge of the tympanum. The opening of the west doorway is 3 ft 6 in. by 6 ft 8 in. The south wall is 3 ft 1 in. thick.

BIRSTALL

Leicestershire

Map sheet 121, reference SK 596088

ST JAMES

*Double-splayed window in north wall of chancel:
period C*

Although Birstall is now almost a northern suburb of Leicester, the old part of the village stands well to the east of the busy trunk road leading to Derby, and the churchyard has preserved much of its ancient calm.

The church has a west tower, with spire; a nave with south porch and north aisle; and an aisleless chancel with north vestry. The early chancel appears to have been extended eastward at a later date, to about twice its original length; and the evidence of its pre-Conquest character is to be seen only from within the church, where a section of the early, rubble walling has been left exposed beside the round-headed, double-splayed window, which now opens from the chancel into the north vestry. The jambs and head of this window are formed of the same rubble as that of the body of the walling, and the arching of the head is characterized by the non-radial laying of stones in the manner to which Baldwin Brown assigned the name 'Tredington fashion'.

Baldwin Brown (p. 444) records that this window was opened out in 1869, when there were found in the walling fragments of a wooden slab carved with tracery like the stone *transennae* at Barnack. Part of this carved wooden slab has been preserved in the window between two sheets of glass.

DIMENSIONS

The chancel is 11 ft wide internally, with walls about 2 ft 8 in. thick. The aperture of the window is 1 ft wide and 3 ft 6 in. high, splayed internally and externally to openings about 2½ ft wide by 6½ ft high.

BISHOPSTONE

Sussex

Map sheet 183, reference TQ 472010

ST ANDREW

South porch, and nave: period A or B

Although it now serves only a tiny village, in a quiet valley close to the sea between Seaford and Newhaven, the church at Bishopstone must once have been of considerable importance, for at the time of the Domesday survey the Bishop of Chichester had a seat there, and in 1384 Edward II stayed there for two days.

The pre-Conquest church probably consisted of the existing nave and south chapel, or *porticus*, together with a small square chancel to the east, and possibly a north *porticus* to balance that on the south. It is probable that at that time the south chapel had no outer doorway; and that the principal entry, or perhaps the only entry, to the church was through a western doorway. Such an assumption would provide a simple reason for the otherwise unintelligible small Norman gabled doorway in the south wall of the porch; this is of the same simple Norman character as the west tower; and, on this assumption, it would represent the Norman mason's way of providing a proper frame for the opening which he had cut in the south wall of the chapel in order to make a new entry to the church, in replacement of the west doorway which he was about to block by the building of his tower.

At some time in the twelfth century, the pre-Conquest chancel was demolished in order to extend the nave eastward; later, in the period of transition to Early English, the Norman chancel was extended further eastward, and a north aisle was added to the nave. Finally, in the thirteenth century, the chancel-arch and the north arcade seem to have been rebuilt in the Early English style.

As a result of these additions and alterations all the original doorways and windows have been replaced, except for two windows high up in the west gable, but the Anglo-Saxon nature of the fabric of the south porch and of the main walls of the nave may be asserted with confidence, not

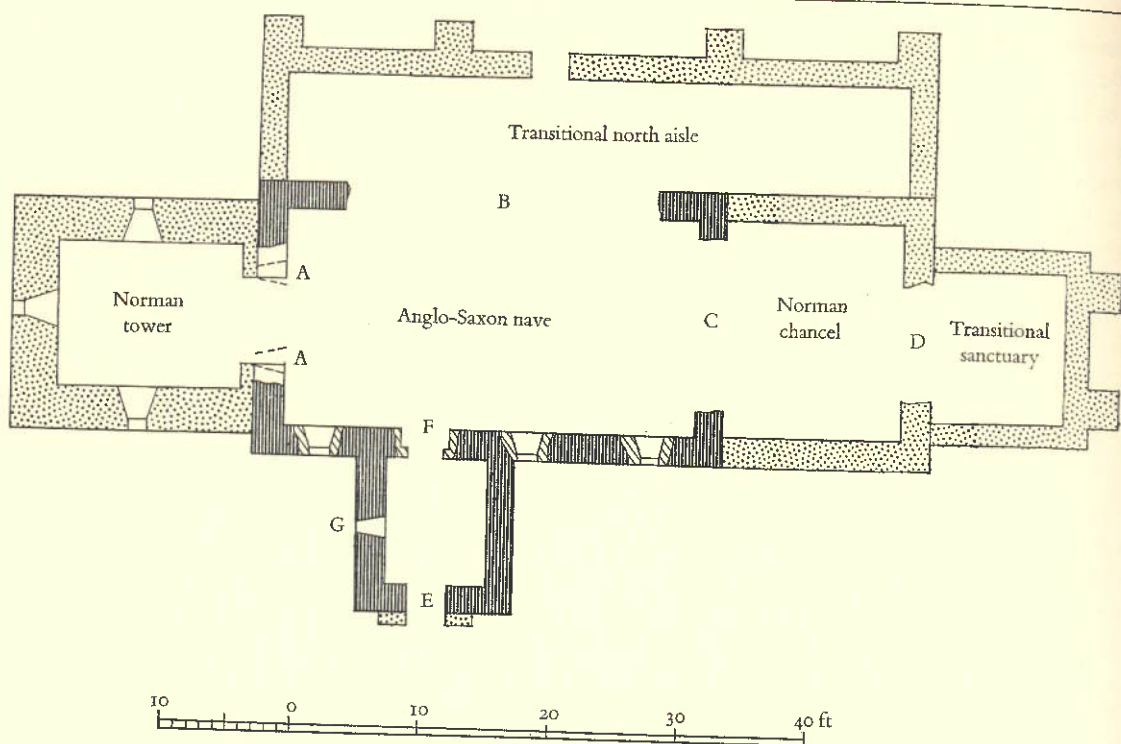


FIG. 32. BISHOPSTONE, SUSSEX

A, Anglo-Saxon round-headed single-splayed windows now blocked but partially visible within the tower high above the tower-arch; B, north wall of Anglo-Saxon nave cut away for wide arch to Norman chancel; C, east wall of Transitional sanctuary; D, east wall of Norman chancel cut away for arch to the church when the building of the Norman tower presumably blocked an original western entry; E, south wall of Anglo-Saxon *porticus* cut away and given new outer facing, to form an entry to the church; F, later entrance doorway from the nave to the south *porticus*; G, small window of uncertain date.

only on the strength of the long-and-short quoins and tall thin walls, but also on the ground that the porch is clearly earlier than the early Norman doorway which has been added to it, while equally clearly the nave is earlier than the early Norman west tower which has been built against its west wall.

In the south porch, the quoins are strikingly megalithic in character, some of the lower stones being over 4 ft in height. These quoins also show a method of construction peculiar to Sussex, or at least more common in that county than elsewhere; the quoins are not built of upright pillars alternating with flat square stones which clasp both faces of the wall, but instead are built of pillar-stones alternating with rectangular flat stones which serve to tie the upright pillars first into one face of the wall and then into the other. The south-east quoin illustrates this construction

particularly clearly, for its six stones consist of a pillar followed by a flat stone which ties into the south face, then a second pillar followed by a tie into the east face, and finally a pillar followed by a tie into the south face. The south-west quoin is less logically built, since it consists of four successive pillar stones succeeded by a south tie and a north tie.

In the gable of the porch, above the early Norman doorway, an Anglo-Saxon sundial has survived, consisting of a round-headed piece of Caen stone, bearing an incised circle of which the upper half contains the name *EADRIC*, while the lower half is divided into twelve spaces, every third dividing line being distinguished by a cross near its end.

The original quoins of the nave survive to mark three of its angles, but in much less complete form than those of the porch. That at the south-west angle starts with a pillar 3 ft 3 in. in height,

followed by a south tie and a west tie, after which the construction ceases to show any special Anglo-Saxon characteristics. The north-west quoin survives only as a few stones in long-and-short formation near the top of the wall, marking the junction between the original nave and the later west wall of the aisle. Finally, the south-east quoin survives as a few isolated, massive stones in the long south wall, marking the point where the original nave was later continued eastward by the Normans.

The entry to the church is now through the south porch, and by an inner south doorway which has been rebuilt, perhaps more than once, so that it retains no Anglo-Saxon form. Its position, however, is no doubt original, displaced towards the west so as to leave room for an altar against the east wall. The thin construction of the nave walls may very clearly be seen at the doorway and at the north arcade.

From within the Norman tower two recesses, or blocked windows, may be seen high up in the original west wall of the nave. These give the appearance of having been round-headed, single-splayed, west windows of the Anglo-Saxon nave, blocked when the tower was built against and over the west wall. The round-headed arch leading from the nave to the tower appears to be Norman, dating from the erection of the tower; but whether it replaced an Anglo-Saxon west doorway or was cut through a continuous wall cannot now be determined.

Within the tower there is now preserved a memorial stone, or grave cover, figured by Prior and Gardiner in their *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* (p. 28) and dated by them c. A.D. 1150. This stone shows three circular frames, outlined by cable ornament, of which the upper contains two birds feeding or drinking from a vessel while the lower two contain an *Agnus Dei* and a Cross on a long shaft. The special interest of the slab for the purpose of this book arises from the shape of the base of the Cross, which is of the stepped pattern so common on Anglo-Saxon pilaster-strips.

DIMENSIONS

The internal dimensions of the Anglo-Saxon nave are $31\frac{1}{2}$ ft by $16\frac{1}{2}$ ft; the porch is 9 ft 2 in. from

east to west by 12 ft 8 in. from north to south; and the walls of both nave and porch are about 2 ft 2 in. in thickness, and about 20 ft and 13 ft respectively in height.

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BITTON

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 156, reference ST 682693

Figures 391, 392

ST MARY

Nave: period C

About mid-way between Bath and Bristol, the *Via Julia* passed through Bitton; and evidence of Roman occupation in the area of the present village has been found in the churchyard in the form of Roman coins, and fragments of mosaic pavements; while Roman bricks were found in the masonry of the west wall of the church during alterations in 1850.

In the present church, the aisleless Anglo-Saxon nave, with an Early English chapel along the western part of its north side, now stands between an aisleless chancel and a buttressed tower, both dating from the end of the fourteenth century. The nave is of the exceptional length of 95 ft, and was originally 5 ft longer on the evidence of the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe,¹ who recorded the finding of the original foundations of the west front beneath the present flooring of the tower. The

¹ *Exeter Diocesan Architect. Soc. T.*, 2nd ser., 4 (1878), 6.

original nave also had *porticus*, or side-chapels, near its east end, opening from the nave through big arches, of which that in the north wall has survived, although now blocked, and with its head mutilated by the insertion of a Decorated window. Mr Ellacombe recorded that the foundations of the original south chapel were found running south from the nave and into the vicarage garden, but that on the north the ground was too disturbed by burials to give any clear indication of the north chapel.

The church is of unusual interest; and, from its size alone, must originally have been one of considerable importance. Norman doorways have been inserted near the western ends of both its side walls, and the south wall has been largely rebuilt, on the Saxon plinth; but the north wall, of roughly dressed, well-coursed, large stones, seems to be in the main of the original Anglo-Saxon workmanship, although now capped by a Norman corbel table. No original quoins are now visible: those to the west have been swallowed up in the building of the tower; that at the south-east has been rebuilt; and that at the north-east, if it remains, is hidden behind a stair-turret that led to a rood-loft. Externally, therefore, the only clear indication of a pre-Conquest date is given by the jambs of the blocked arch of the north *porticus*, particularly by their construction with very large stones, of which some stand upright, while others bond deeply into the wall.

Inside the church it should be noticed that the arrangement of stones in the jambs and arched head of this blocked opening is identical with that on the outside, so that there is a strong presumption of the use of through-stones.

Beside the present chancel-arch there are slight, but nevertheless clear, indications of the pre-Conquest nature of the original arch, which was most unfortunately destroyed in 1843, and replaced by the present arch of imitation Norman style. On either side of the springing there may be seen from the nave short lengths of the strip-work hood-moulding of the original arch; and towards the chancel there remains on the south a complete and simple capital with a plain square abacus, while vestiges of a similar capital may be seen on the north, in profile, and almost wholly enclosed in the fourteenth-century north wall of

the chancel. The following short description given by Mr Ellacombe of the original arch serves to give strong confirmation of its pre-Conquest date:

The arch itself was constructed with perfectly plain voussoirs resting on plain jambs of long-and-short work. On the east side, in the chancel, the abacuses of the original semi-circular arch may be seen *in situ*. There used to be a plain hood-mould.

The walls of the original nave appear to have been appreciably higher than at present, for a considerable length of a plain, square string-course has survived in the east wall of the nave, over the chancel-arch, and it is reasonable to assume that the nave walls originally extended at least to the level of the top of this string-course, over 27 ft above the floor. A feature of particular interest has survived in the original walling above this string-course, namely a massive stone carved with the feet of a very large Rood. This stone is almost certainly in its original position; and, since the figure is at least of life-size, the gable in which it stood must originally have been very tall indeed. Below the feet, and carved on a separate stone, is the head of a dragon or serpent, with gaping jaws, protruding tongue, and very prominent eye. The lower part of the stone seems to have been defaced, and it is now difficult to be certain of its interpretation. The head already described is very clear, and the curves on either side of the neck might represent waves of the sea, but these are not sufficiently clear to make this interpretation a certainty.

Amongst a group of carved stones preserved in the north-west chapel are two which Mr Ellacombe thought must be the head and one arm of this Rood. He described how they were found blocking a hagioscope, or squint, which had formerly communicated between the chancel and the destroyed south *porticus*. It is difficult to see how it can be settled without doubt whether the head belonged to the Rood, but the outstretched arm and hand certainly seem to have belonged to it: the hand crosses a moulding of half-round section with a small square-edged fillet beside it, very similar to the moulding beside the west doorway at Sherborne, Dorset; and in the very fine Rood preserved at Langford, Oxfordshire, the outstretched hands are shown crossing a raised vertical moulding

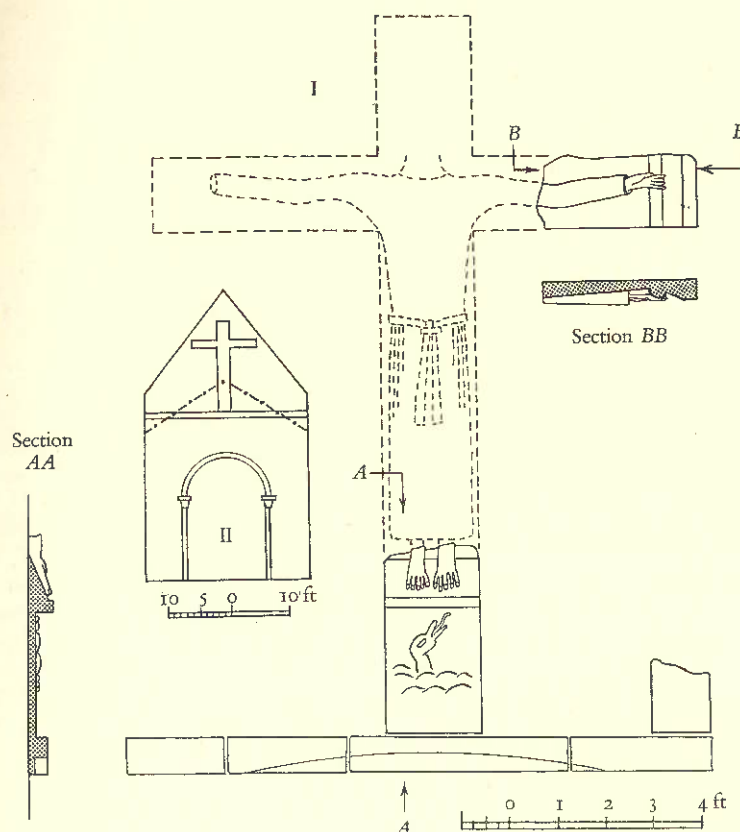


FIG. 33. BITTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

The great Rood. I. Large-scale reconstruction based upon the Rood at Langford, Oxfordshire. The part *AA* is still *in situ*; II. Small-scale reconstruction of the east wall of the nave showing the chancel-arch and the Rood above it. The dotted line ---- shows the position of the present roof of the nave.

of the same general character as that at Bitton, although of angular rather than circular form.

It is of particular importance for a proper understanding of the interesting remains at Bitton to compare them with those in the east wall of the nave at Bibury, only 35 miles away, north-east along the Roman Foss Way, and also in Gloucestershire. At Bitton, the head of the chancel-arch must have been about 20 ft above the floor, and the top face of the string-course is at a height of 27½ ft. At Bibury, the corresponding heights are 18 ft and 21 ft. At Bibury, no trace can now be seen of a Rood, but one may confidently assert its former existence on the evidence of an outline on the wall to the left, which very clearly indicates the position of one of the figures standing beside the Cross; two large stones on the right also seem to have had some relation to the other figure beside the Cross. At Bitton, the feet of the Rood

have survived, and a large upright stone on the right, corresponding to that at Bibury; moreover, one of the corbels for the support of the present roof now occupies precisely the position which would have been occupied by a similar stone on the left, so that one may reasonably suggest that it was removed to make way for the corbel.

At Bibury, the original side walls still stand to a height of 27 ft, and one may confidently assume that those at Bitton were no less high. At Bitton, the remains of the Rood are close below the roof and are badly lit, so that it is difficult to visualize how the Rood, in its original state, rising at least 6 ft higher than at present, could have been properly illuminated. At Bibury, the present east wall of the nave is more than adequate in height to accommodate the Rood, and is well lit by the Perpendicular clear-storey. We believe that a clue to the original method of securing adequate

light for the Rood at Bitton is to be found in the arrangement which has survived at Breamore, Hampshire, where, towards the east of the nave, the side and east walls are carried up a few feet higher and are provided with windows to light the central area. Two recesses high up in the east wall at Bibury may indeed represent blocked remains of windows such as have survived at Breamore; and with such an arrangement of walls and windows there would have been no difficulty at Bitton either in providing adequate space for the Rood or in securing that it was adequately lit.

In the north wall of the nave some traces have remained of round-headed single-splayed windows, of which one, near the east, has later been used as a doorway to the medieval rood-loft, and is now represented only by its megalithic western jamb. The other, near the middle of the wall, is now blocked and has lost all but its round-arched head of well-laid stones. Neither of these windows appears on the outer face of the wall, and it is difficult to say from the available evidence whether they are Anglo-Saxon or, more probably, later insertions, dating from the Norman rebuilding of the nave.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is now 95 ft in internal length and, according to Mr Ellacombe, was originally 5 ft longer. It is 26 ft 11 in. wide at the east and 26 ft 7 in. at the west, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick and now about 20 ft high.

The original chancel-arch was about 13 ft wide and about 20 ft high; the square string-course above it projects 4 in. from the wall-face and is 9 in. in height, with its upper face 27 ft 9 in. from the floor. In the central part of this string-course, below the Rood, part of the stone has been cut away on the lower face at a relatively recent time so that the string-course is reduced from 9 in. to 5 in. in height. The two stones bearing the remains of the Rood and the representation of the dragon or serpent are each 2 ft in width and are 1 ft and 2 ft 6 in. in height, respectively. The upright stone which survives 3 ft 6 in. to the right of the Rood is 1 ft 3 in. wide and now only 1 ft 6 in. high, but has been cut down to make way for the roof-timbers.

The stone preserved in the north-west chapel, carved to represent an arm and hand, is 2 ft 11 in. in length, 1 ft 3 in. in height, and about 7 in. in thickness. The head, complete from the top, but cut away between mouth and chin, is 9 in. across and about 1 ft in height. It is modelled in the round and is unlike any pre-Conquest head which we have seen.

The blocked arch in the north wall of the nave, formerly opening to the north *porticus*, is 9 ft 5 in. wide and 16 ft high.

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- H. T. ELLACOMBE, *The History of the Parish of Bitton in the County of Gloucester*, 2 vols. (Exeter 1881-3).
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BOARHUNT

Hampshire

Map sheet 180, reference SU 604084

Figures 393, 394

ST NICHOLAS

Nave and chancel: period C

There is now no village beside the little church of St Nicholas, which stands on the northern slopes of the Downs, about 2 miles north-east of Fareham, well away from any main roads. Apart from interior fittings and minor changes of fabric, this church stands today substantially as it was built in late-Saxon times. It is of uncut flints, partly plastered, with quoins of dressed stone in side-alternate fashion.

Externally, the distinctively Anglo-Saxon features are the horizontal string-course and vertical pilaster-strip, both of square section, on the eastern gable of the chancel, and the double-splayed window in its north wall. The outer face of this window is built of well-dressed blocks of stone, neatly laid; the aperture, cut in a stone mid-

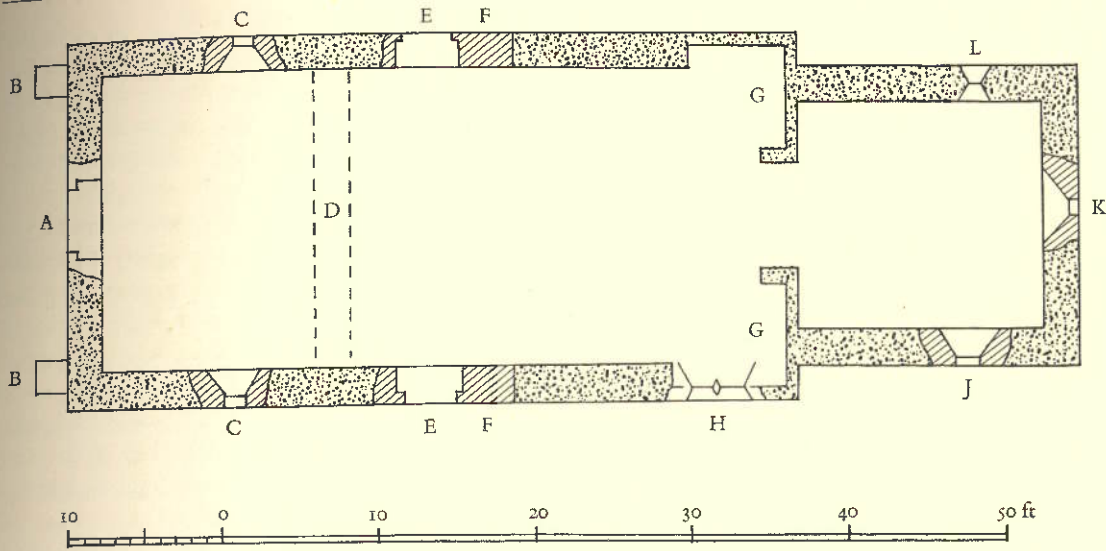


FIG. 34. BOARHUNT, HAMPSHIRE

A, modern west doorway, about 1840; B, modern buttresses of about the same date; C, Decorated windows; D, line of former cross wall, whose position was marked by 'internal quoining', and by signs of bonding; E, north and south doorways of Decorated period, now blocked; F, original north and south doorways of round-headed form: their outlines appear externally on the side walls, but they were blocked when the doorways E were inserted, and they are no longer visible internally; G, later medieval recesses for altars; H, late Tudor two-light window to light pulpit; J, medieval south window of chancel; K, medieval east window of chancel; L, original double-splayed round-headed north window of chancel.

wall slab, narrows slightly to the top; and the stone slab is enriched on its outer face by a band of wheat-ear ornament which is carried up beside the opening and round its head.

Internally, the double-splayed window is, unfortunately, obscured by a later monument; but the round chancel-arch of a square order, though not of through-stones, is outlined on its western face by strip-work carried round its head as a hood-mould. The pilaster-strips which originally continued the line of the hood-mould down to the floor have been cut away in medieval times to form a recess for an altar on each side of the arch. The imposts are returned along both eastern and western faces of the wall and have separately formed capitals for the strip-work. They are fundamentally square in section, but chamfered below and enriched by four lines of mouldings, which are carried horizontally along the vertical faces and are slightly different on the two imposts. A plain square string-course is carried across the west face of the wall, above the head of the chancel-arch at about the level of the tops of the side walls.

The original doorways have gone; but inside the church the plaster of the north wall still shows faintly the outline of a tall, round-headed doorway; externally, a low doorway has been built at this position, presumably using the lower part of the Anglo-Saxon jambs. The corresponding position on the inside of the south wall of the nave is largely obscured by a large marble memorial, but the outline of another tall, round-headed doorway can still faintly be seen; externally, it is possible to trace the outline of this blocked doorway, with a much lower one, also blocked, partially overlapping it.

In the internal faces of the side walls of the nave, westward of the blocked doorways, it is possible to see faint traces of a cross-wall which formerly cut off a western chamber from the main body of the nave.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 41 ft long internally, by 19 ft wide, and the chancel 15 ft 3 in. by 14 ft 9 in.; both have walls 2 ft 6 in. thick. The chancel-arch is 6 ft 8 in. wide and 12 ft 4 in. high.

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BOLAM

Northumberland

Map sheet 78, reference NZ 093826

Figure 395

ST ANDREW

West tower; western quoins and possibly some parts of walls of nave: period C

The very attractive church of Bolam stands in pleasant rolling country about 3 miles north of Belsay, and about 2 miles to the north-east of the main road from Newcastle to Jedburgh. There is now no trace of a village, nor even of any cluster of farms; yet Hodgson's *History of Northumberland* records that the old town of Bolam had a grant from King Edward I of a market and a fair, and that in 1305 the town consisted of a church, a castle, and two rows of about two hundred houses separated by a green. The church stands beside a large vicarage in otherwise open country, with a wide view to the north. It now consists of a west tower, a nave with south aisle and modern north vestry, a central space with a large south chapel, and an aisleless chancel. Apart from the tower, the church is fundamentally Norman, or transitional to Early English.

Except for its cornice and parapet, the tower is late-Saxon, and is an impressive example of the period. It differs markedly from the other Anglo-Saxon towers of the neighbouring Tyne valley, not only in its almost severe simplicity, but also in the tall, narrow, rectangular effect given by its belfry windows, and in its having these belfry windows not in its top storey but in the one

below. The walls are of roughly coursed, undressed stone, with large, side-alternate quoinstones, which are of very irregular shape except on their exposed faces; and the walls are quite plain except for the windows described below, and for a single horizontal string-course of square section dividing the tower into two stages, of which the lower is slightly the taller. Each stage represents two storeys internally and has two rows of windows.

In the ground storey the Anglo-Saxon round-headed windows have been replaced by much wider Norman windows; but the original heads, cut from single stones, can still be seen in the west and south faces. All the windows higher up in the tower have their jambs built of a number of courses of dressed stones, and one may assume that these lower windows were of similar construction. In the second storey, each of the faces to north, south and west contains a tall, narrow, internally splayed, round-headed window, each with its head cut from a single stone of roughly square, but very irregular, shape.

The third storey, immediately above the string-course, is the most important one of the tower, and has a double belfry window in each of its faces. The individual windows of each pair are exceptionally tall and slender and the space between their heads is wider than the heads themselves, so that the whole composition gives a strikingly tall and rectangular impression rather than the usual round effect. The double belfry windows are of the usual construction, with mid-wall shafts and through-stone slabs, but the rectangular effect just mentioned is strengthened by the lack of any imposts on the jambs and by the fact that the through-stones end flush with the face of the wall. The mid-wall shafts are circular in section and have bulbous bases which stand on cubical plinths. They have no capitals other than the through-stone slabs, which are, however, somewhat hollowed out on their lower faces.

The fourth storey has four tall single windows with jambs cut straight through the wall, the window in the south face having a round head cut from a single stone, and the other three having triangular heads. The south and west faces of the tower have pronounced lines of herring-bone masonry at the level of these heads.

Beside the south face of the tower, the south-western quoin of the nave may clearly be seen, of similar construction to those of the tower. The north-west quoin cannot now be seen from outside, but it is still visible within the north vestry.

Internally the tower opens from the nave by a round arch of late-Norman technique, and within the tower the neatly arched interior construction of the widely splayed Anglo-Saxon windows is clearly visible, above the arched heads of the later Norman windows, which are probably contemporary with the tower-arch. There is little other distinct evidence of Anglo-Saxon work, but the nave walls are between 2 ft 3 in. and 2 ft 6 in. in thickness, and in the south aisle a horizontal string-course of square section and probably of early date may be seen on the south face of the nave wall about 20 ft above the floor.

DIMENSIONS

The internal dimensions of the tower are 12 ft 5 in. from east to west and 12 ft 10 in. from north to south, and those of the nave are about 39 ft by about 15 ft. The tower walls vary between 2 ft 7 in. and 2 ft 9 in. in thickness, and the Anglo-Saxon part of the tower is about 55 ft in height.

REFERENCES

C. C. HODGES, 'The pre-Conquest churches of Northumbria', *Reliquary*, 7, n.s. (1893), 71-4. Good architectural description, picture of tower from south-west.

BOLNEY

Sussex

Map sheet 182, reference TQ 261226

ST MARY MAGDALENE

Main fabric: probably Norman

South doorway Saxo-Norman

In the small church of Bolney, about 12 miles north of Brighton, beside the London road, there is preserved the head of a doorway which shows distinct Anglo-Saxon influence, although the main fabric of the church is almost certainly Norman rather than Anglo-Saxon.

The jambs of this doorway are recessed for the hanging of the door, and are splayed inward to

the nave, so that the only Anglo-Saxon features are the tall, narrow proportions of the doorway, and the unusual treatment of the two orders of its round, arched head. The inner order is recessed only 2 in. behind the outer; and the archivolt face of the arch is ornamented with seven shallow mouldings which are carried round the head in the form of circles concentric with the arch itself.

BOREHAM

Essex

Map sheet 162, reference TL 755096

Figure 396

ST ANDREW

Norman tower, probably on pre-Conquest chancel

Vestiges of original chancel-arch: probably period C

The small village of Boreham, about 3½ miles north-east of Chelmsford, is less than half a mile south of the Roman road to Colchester. Its church has developed by a number of complicated changes from a simple aisleless nave and chancel, of which the former seems to have disappeared completely, while the original chancel now forms the lower part of the massive Norman central tower. The present church consists of an aisled nave, with a south porch; a central tower; and an aisleless chancel, with a south chapel and a north organ-chamber. The present arcades of the nave are not aligned with the surviving eastern quoins of the original nave, beside the tower, and it is for this reason that we believe that the original nave has completely disappeared. The eastern quoins of the tower are of tile for their lower 15 ft or so, representing the height of the walls of the original chancel, while the upper parts of all four quoins are of dressed stone.

The evidence of the previous existence of a simple pre-Conquest church is, however, most clearly to be seen within the nave, particularly in the two arches of the tower. The eastern arch is straightforwardly Norman in construction, round-headed in form, and of two plain square orders towards the west and a single square order towards the east. The western arch has been rebuilt in the fifteenth century and is now a tall, pointed

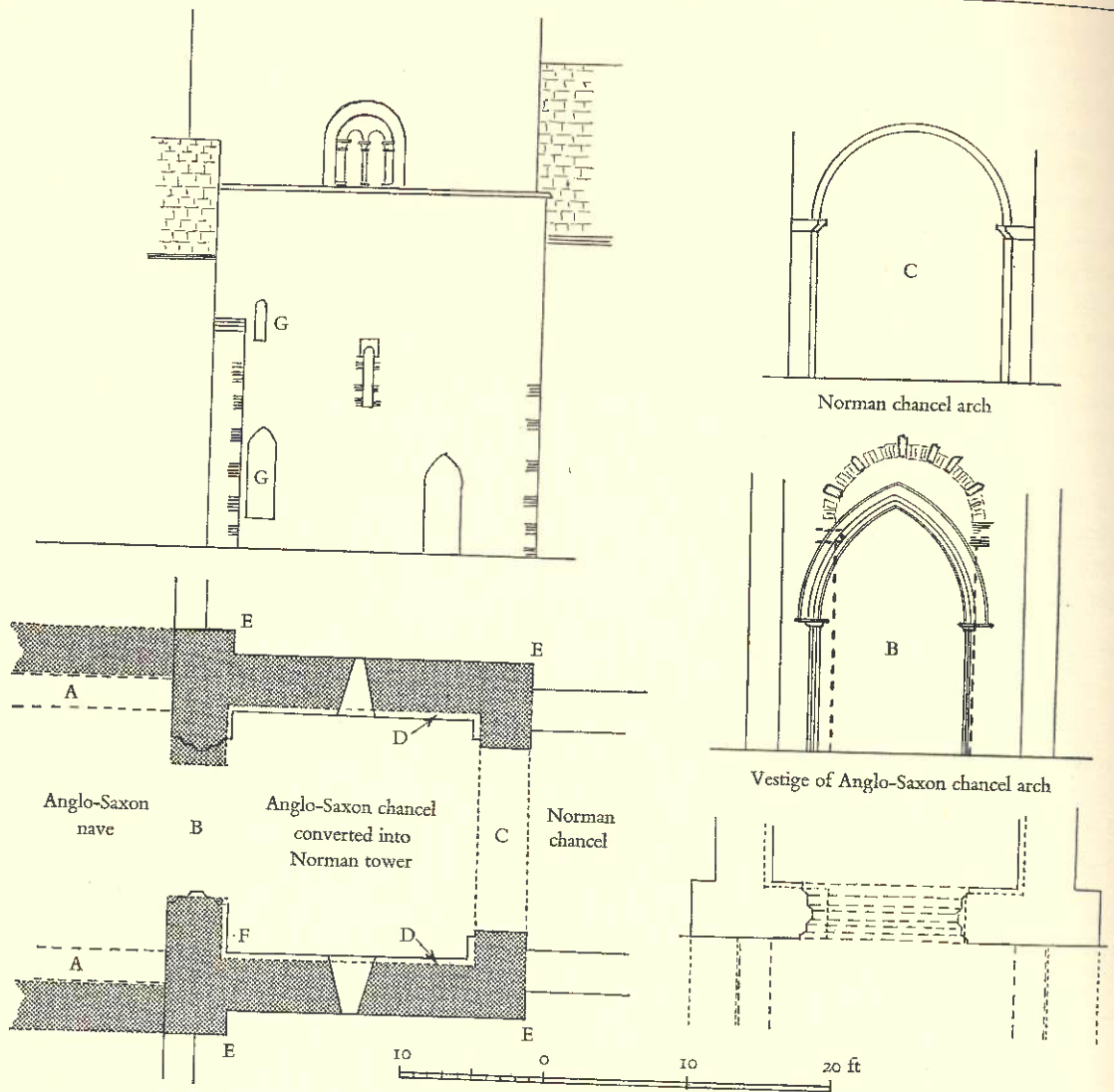


FIG. 35. BOREHAM, ESSEX

A, A, line of much later north and south arcades, built *inside* earlier north and south walls of nave as shown by surviving quoins E, E; B, present pointed chancel-arch with vestiges of Anglo-Saxon arch surviving above. The original arch is centrally placed in the wall while the later and wider arch is displaced to the north; C, Norman chancel-arch cut through earlier east wall; D, D, possible internal thickening of walls of chancel for extra support for tower; E, E, E, E, original window and later door to stair-turret. Norman doorway is inside tower.

opening which is displaced a little towards the north, perhaps because of the presence of a Norman spiral stairway in the south-west corner of the tower. Above the head of this later arch, and centrally placed in the wall, is the arched head of a very tall, earlier chancel-arch. It is curiously constructed of thin voussoirs with six larger stones set at intervals round its curve, perhaps for decorative effect. This arch is completely at

variance in character from the Norman eastern chancel-arch, both in proportions and in method of construction. It cannot reasonably be regarded as later than Norman, and we therefore accept it as the chancel-arch of the original, pre-Norman, two-cell church.

The provision of a Norman spiral stair within the south-west angle of the tower, thereby awkwardly blocking part of the interior, seems

also to be evidence that the church was developed by the Normans from an aisleless pre-Conquest church. The first steps in the development would have been the building of the new chancel to the east, the opening of the eastern arch, the erection of the stair, and the raising of the old walls of the chancel to form the tower. It seems quite possible that the original chancel-arch remained in use as the western arch of the tower until the present arch replaced it in the fifteenth century.

In each of the north and south faces of the ground-floor chamber of the tower is a tall, narrow, round-headed window. Externally, these have monolithic heads, and jambs built of tiles like the early quoins. Internally they are widely splayed and their construction is concealed by plaster.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is 16 ft 10 in. square internally with walls 4 ft thick. The tile quoins of the nave project 1 ft 8 in. to north and south from the side walls of the tower and, if the original nave had side walls 3 ft thick, it must have been about 22½ ft wide internally, by contrast with the span of about 17 ft between the present arcades.

The original chancel-arch is 10 ft wide (or a little less) and is about 20 ft tall.

The north and south windows are 8 in. wide externally and 5 ft tall, with sills 10½ ft above the ground.

REFERENCE

W. CHANCELLOR, 'White Notley church and hall', *T. Essex Arch. S.* 13, n.s. (1913-15), 238-46. Boreham, 243. Note of discovery of arch in 1913. Arch incorrectly described as of Roman tiles.

BOSHAM

Sussex

Map sheet 181, reference SU 804039

Figures 397-9

HOLY TRINITY

Main fabric; consisting of west tower, nave, chancel-arch, and west part of chancel walls: period C 3

Bosham church, which is of great interest both historically and architecturally, stands picturesquely beside one of the channels of the harbour of

Chichester, about 4 miles west of that city. The district is rich in Roman remains; and, although the church now shows no fabric earlier than the eleventh century, Bosham appears in church history from the seventh century onward. Bede (*H.E.* iv, 13) records that when Wilfrid came to preach the Gospel to the South Saxons in A.D. 681 there was already 'among them a certain monk of the Scottish nation whose name was Dicul who had a very small monastery at the place called Bosanham, encompassed with the sea and woods, and in it five or six brothers who served our Lord in poverty and humility; but none of the natives cared either to follow their course of life or to hear their preaching'. Wilfrid, having visited Rome after his expulsion from his bishopric in Northumbria, returned to England, but was in turn forced to leave Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex. Ethelwalch, King of the South Saxons, had recently been baptized in Mercia, and therefore welcomed Wilfrid's offer to help in the conversion of the kingdom. In recording Wilfrid's success in his mission, Bede mentions not only his preaching, but also his practical good sense in teaching the people how to relieve a famine, by instructing them in the art of fishing which they had not formerly known. A stylized representation of the church appears in the Bayeux tapestry, with Earl Harold setting out on the journey which placed him in William's power.

The ground plan of the church shows, even for Anglo-Saxon workmanship, a remarkable disregard for the right angle; but the building itself has been of good quality, for almost the whole fabric of the Anglo-Saxon church has remained to this day. The Anglo-Saxon church, consisting of a west tower, nave, and chancel, was first enlarged in Norman times by a lengthening of the chancel. Later, in the Early English period, the chancel was again lengthened, and the nave widened by the provision of north and south aisles, the latter with a crypt beneath its eastern end. By comparison with the grand scale of the Anglo-Saxon nave, the surviving part of the Anglo-Saxon chancel appears rather insignificant. It may always have been small, or alternatively the present walls may originally have continued eastward in an apsidal form which would necessarily have been destroyed by the later builders.

The walls of the Anglo-Saxon west tower are about 55 ft in height; and, apart from two string-courses mentioned below, they rise sheer from the ground to the roof without off-set or decoration other than windows. The walls of the lower half of the tower are unplastered, and are built of chalk rubble with long-and-short quoining of an interesting sort which is found in several Sussex churches: the 'longs', or upright stones, are very large, and the 'shorts', or flat stones, instead of being roughly square in plan, are much longer along one face of the wall than the other; often two or more flat stones intervene between adjacent uprights, and are laid with their longer faces along alternate walls. Here at Bosham this method of construction is clearly shown by both western quoins of the tower, where the flat stones immediately above the first uprights are remarkable in that they extend almost 6 ft along the north and south faces of the tower. The lower half of the tower is separated into two stages of roughly equal height by a dressed-stone string-course, which is weathered away or defaced on the west face of the tower. There is a second string-course of roughly similar shape at about the middle of the tower, and above this the walls of the tower are plastered. The two string-courses have interesting sections, fundamentally square but with a further square projection; on the upper string-course, this projection has its lower angle chamfered off, but on the lower string-course it has a very wide chamfer on its upper face.

The tower has no external door, and in its lower half no Anglo-Saxon windows have survived; there are two round-headed windows in the ground storey and three on the first floor, but all of these appear to be later insertions, possibly Norman windows later modified. In the upper half of the tower some of the Anglo-Saxon windows have survived. At second-floor level in the north face a modern window of two lights is built into a frame which is clearly that of an Anglo-Saxon double belfry window, with jambs built in 'Escomb fashion' and double head consisting of two well-turned arches. The south face at the same level shows vestiges of a similar window now completely blocked; and the west face has a single round-headed window of doubtful

date, but with jambs apparently in 'Escomb fashion'. At the level of the top floor, the west face has a complete double belfry window of late-Saxon appearance, with mid-wall shaft and through-stone slab. The jambs are of small, dressed stones, the mid-wall shaft is cylindrical, with a well-shaped base and bell-like capital, and the two heads are turned in arches with well-laid voussoirs. The other three windows at this level are Decorated insertions.

The west walls of the nave and aisles project on either side of the tower, where it is easy to trace the straight joints and vestiges of long-and-short quoining, which mark the original extent of the Anglo-Saxon nave about 4 ft to the north and south of the tower.

Internally, the east face of the tower, or west wall of the nave, shows several interesting features. The round-headed tower-arch has jambs of 'Escomb fashion', all of through-stones except the lowest course on each side; the imposts are square with a simple chamfer; and the arch has the appearance of having been rebuilt, except for the three lowest stones on the south and five on the north, all of which are through-stones and are laid with horizontal joints, but with their inner faces cut to the curve of the arch. At first-floor level there is a triangular-headed doorway with monolithic sill, dressed-stone jambs, and head formed from two large through-stones. At the south side of this door is a small square opening, or window, with its head, sill, and jambs each cut from a single stone, all of which appear to be rebated on the face towards the nave as if for a shutter. At second-floor level, and a little to the north of the centre, is a round-headed doorway with jambs and head all built of rubble.

Another interesting feature of the interior of the nave is the way in which the internal angles, particularly those at the south-west and north-east, are constructed in dressed stones of large size. This is a feature which is particularly common in the Anglo-Saxon churches of Sussex.

It is possible that much of the original fabric of both side walls of the nave has remained, above the later arches, since the wall on the south is only 2 ft 10 in. thick and that on the north 2 ft 7 in.,

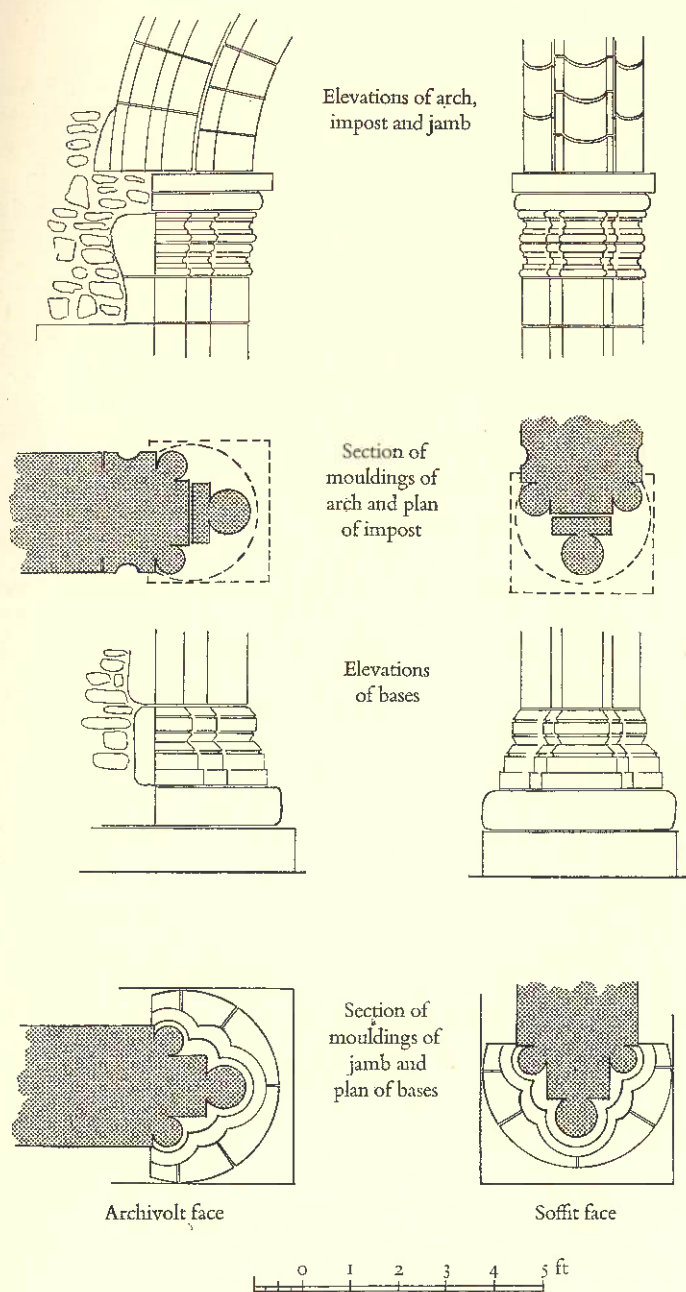


FIG. 36. BOSHAM, SUSSEX

Details of the chancel-arch to show the mouldings of the arch and of its jambs.

while both are clearly in bond with the eastern and western walls of the nave. High up above the roof of the later aisle, the north wall now contains a row of three circular windows, which are almost wholly internally splayed, since the glazing is about 4 in. from the outer face of the

wall. Their inner splays are either of plaster or of ashlar construction, and it is impossible to be certain, without closer inspection from ladders, whether they are original features or clear-storey windows dating from the construction of the aisles.

The chancel-arch is one of the most striking features of the church. It is wide and tall, with elaborately moulded jambs and arch. Each jamb rests on a base, or plinth, consisting of a single large square stone beneath a circular stone made up of a number of sectors. Each jamb has three shafts, one on the soffit and one on each angle, all three carved in the individual jamb-stones, which extend for varying lengths into the wall so as to give a good bonding. The shafts have double annular bases, and tall, rudely bell-shaped capitals, which support massive imposts, each cut from a single stone, which is shaped into two orders, consisting of a circular disc below and a flat rectangular plate above. The arch itself is of two orders, the inner of twenty-two and the outer of twenty-four voussoirs with radial joints. The inner order carries a deeply cut soffit-roll; while the outer has an angle-roll on each side, with a deep groove of semi-circular section to form its outline on each archivolt face.

Above the centre of the chancel-arch there is clearly visible from the nave a large recess, or blocked doorway, and to the north of this, and lower down, another smaller recess, or blocked opening.

In the north wall of the chancel, and above the most westerly window, are the remains of an older, round-headed, single-splayed window.

From outside, in the south wall, and close to the wall of the nave, there may be seen a blocked, round-headed door, rather roughly arched, and not visible inside. Internally, between this and the priest's door, some large stones are visible in the wall; these could indicate either a blocked, square-headed door or the east quoin of the Anglo-Saxon chancel; outside they are almost completely hidden by a buttress.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is very irregularly laid out, but internally it measures about 20 ft from east to west and 16 ft from north to south, with walls about 2 ft 6 in. thick. The nave is about 56 ft by 24 ft 6 in., with north wall 2 ft 7 in. and south 2 ft 10 in. in thickness. The chancel is about 19 ft wide. The tower-arch is 7 ft wide by 13 ft 8 in. high, and the chancel-arch is 11 ft 2 in. wide by about 22 ft high.

REFERENCES

- Editorial, 'Church restoration', *Ecclesiologist*, 13 (1852), 302. Note of repairs in progress, tower noted as Saxon.
K. H. MACDERMOTT, *Bosham Church* (Chichester, 1926).
V.C.H., *Sussex*, 4 (London, 1953), 185-7. Architectural description, plan, picture of east side of chancel-arch.
Editorial, *Arch. J.* 92 (1935), 411. Brief note, with plan.

BOTOLPHS

Sussex

Map sheet 182, reference TQ 193092

ST BOTOLPH

Nave, and chancel-arch: period C3

The parish of St Botolph is now represented, apart from its interesting church, only by a few scattered houses beside a narrow by-road, which leads from Bramber and Steyning along the west bank of the River Adur, and goes on to join the main coastal road, close to Lancing College. But in Roman times and long thereafter there appears to have been a thriving village here, with a bridge across the river and a seaport of some activity.

The church, of plastered flints, now consists of an aisleless nave and chancel, with a later square western tower. The fabric of the nave seems, in the main, to be late-Saxon, with its north wall cut through by a thirteenth-century arcade, which was blocked much later when the aisle to which it opened was demolished. The chancel seems mainly to be of the fourteenth century and the tower wholly of that period. Some stone side-alternate quoins remain on the south side of the nave, but those on the north are now restorations in brick. Externally there is little, except the long narrow plan, to give evidence of pre-Conquest date, for even the one surviving early window in the south wall of the nave, although round-headed and of tall, narrow, single-splayed form, might equally well be Norman or Anglo-Saxon, with its built-up jambs and monolithic, pseudo-arched head.

Internally, however, the chancel-arch, although much cut about in later times, gives a clear indication of pre-Norman work. It is a simple, round-headed opening, with plain square jambs; the arch, of through-stones, is fundamentally of plain

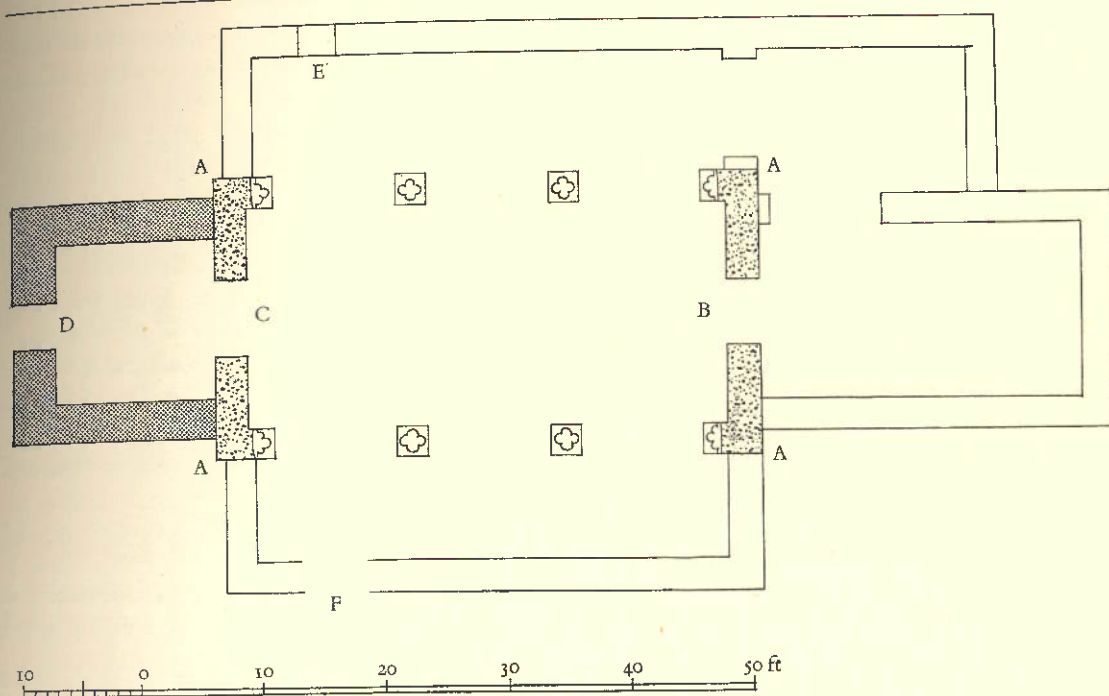


FIG. 37. BRACEBRIDGE, LINCOLNSHIRE

A, long-and-short quoins of the nave; B, tall and narrow chancel-arch; C, wider and less tall tower-arch, probably of later Anglo-Saxon period; D, west doorway probably of same date as tower-arch; E, Anglo-Saxon doorway rebuilt in modern north wall; F, south doorway now the main entry to the church.

square section, but has the unusual feature that a soffit-roll has been worked on the inner faces of the voussoirs. This soffit-roll is continued right round the arch, but is not carried down the jambs, stopping instead, on each impost, on an ornamented corbel of roughly conical shape.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 52 ft long internally, by about 16 ft wide, with side walls 2 ft 6 in. thick and about 20 ft high. The chancel-arch is 7 ft 8 in. wide and 11 ft 7 in. tall, in a wall 2 ft 10 in. thick.

REFERENCE

W. H. GODFREY, 'Sussex church plans, xv, St Botolph next Bramber', *Sussex N. Q.* 3 (1930-I), 218. Good measured plan.

BRACEBRIDGE

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 113, reference SK 968676

Figure 400

ALL SAINTS

*Nave, with later arcades cut through its walls:
period C*

West tower: period C3

Bracebridge is fast becoming a southern suburb of the city of Lincoln, and its church, at the side of a by-road to Brant Broughton and within 300 yards of the Roman road to Newark, is now closely encircled by housing, and has lost much of the rural charm which it enjoyed until the Second World War. Its west tower, aisled nave, and chancel with north aisle, are all built of undressed small stones with dressed-stone facings. The chancel and the south aisle of the nave are Early English; the north aisles are modern; and the remainder of the church is late Anglo-Saxon.

The nave has well-preserved long-and-short quoins at all four angles, three visible externally, and that at the north-east visible within the north aisle of the chancel. The west tower shows no Anglo-Saxon characteristics in its quoining, but

the lower stage which occupies the lower four-fifths of its height is devoid of ornament or original openings other than a simple round-headed west doorway, cut straight through the wall, and a small, round-headed, internally splayed window high above it; the tower therefore has a certain gaunt simplicity, clearly suggestive of Anglo-Saxon work.

A simple, square, string-course divides the lower stage from the belfry, which is clearly marked as late-Saxon by its four double belfry windows with mid-wall shafts and thin through-stone slabs. The shafts are of plain cylindrical shape, but have bases, and quite advanced capitals illustrated by Baldwin Brown in his Fig. 192. The jambs are built of dressed stone without any Anglo-Saxon characteristic, the imposts are thin through-stones, and the round heads are neatly arched. The tower has a pleasant capping in the form of a flattish pyramidal roof.

Internally, although neither is built of through-stones, both the tower-arch and the chancel-arch are round-headed, and of plain square section, with simple chamfered imposts; and both can be accepted as pre-Conquest, the latter in particular having a certain lofty grandeur. When the north aisle was built in 1875 the original Anglo-Saxon round-headed north doorway of the nave was preserved and rebuilt in the aisle wall where its 'Escomb fashion' jambs, chamfered imposts, and arched head may now be seen.

Like so many of the late-Saxon churches of Lincolnshire, Bracebridge has long-and-short quoining on the nave but not on the tower. There are clear indications that the tower is of later workmanship than the nave and that it was, in fact, a later addition to a church which had no western entrance or porch. The direct evidence is the straight joint between the side walls of the tower and the west wall of the nave. The indirect evidence is that the west wall of the nave, on which the tower is built, is only 2 ft 9 in. thick, whereas the side walls of the tower and its west wall are 3 ft 4 in. and 3 ft 9 in. respectively. It should also be noted that the tower-arch and west doorway are much less tall and narrow

in proportion to their width than are the chancel-arch and the blocked north doorway of the nave.

DIMENSIONS

The tower, about 50 ft high, is 12 ft 9 in. square internally, with side walls 3 ft 4 in. thick, and west wall 3 ft 9 in. thick. The nave is 39 ft long internally and 18 ft 3 in. wide, with side walls 2 ft 6 in. thick, and end walls 2 ft 9 in.

The chancel-arch is 5 ft 3 in. wide and 13 ft 3 in. tall, and the tower-arch 6 ft 8 in. by 12 ft 5 in. The west doorway of the tower is 3 ft 10 in. wide by 9 ft 1 in. tall, and the rebuilt north doorway of the nave is 3 ft by 9 ft 10 in.

REFERENCES

Editorial, *A.A.S.R.* 13 (1875-6), xi. Note of restoration by J. L. Pearson; north aisle built, and north door rebuilt stone by stone.

Editorial, *ibid.* 23 (1895-6), xi. Note of restoration of tower by C. H. Fowler; belfry windows opened out, tower-arch and west doorway opened, and new window provided in south wall to light ground floor.

BRADFORD-ON-AVON

Wiltshire

Map sheet 166, reference ST 824609

Figures 401, 402

ST LAURENCE

*Chancel; and nave with flanking porches: all complete
save for south porch: period A2, altered in periods
C1 to C3*

The chapel of St Laurence stands in the town of Bradford, on rising ground on the north bank of the Avon, close beside the spacious church of Holy Trinity, which is principally of Norman date. The chapel has a remarkable history, for, after being recorded by William of Malmesbury in about 1125 as having existed since its foundation by St Aldhelm early in the eighth century,¹ it passed entirely out of knowledge until in 1856 it was rediscovered and fully published by Canon

¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (Rolls Series, 52) (London, 1870), 346.

Jones, then vicar of Bradford.¹ Its nave was at that time in use as a school, with domestic windows and a door inserted in the west front, and its chancel had been converted into a cottage. In 1871, through the energy of the vicar, the chapel was bought back from its owners, reconsecrated, vested in Trustees as an Ancient Monument, and opened to the public.

The architectural detail of the building has until recently been generally accepted as establishing that it is a late-tenth-century re-building of the chapel originally dedicated by St Aldhelm to St Laurence; but Canon Jones was himself inclined to believe that the present building was St Aldhelm's original chapel. He based this view on the following sentence which in 1871 he had found in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*: 'to this day there exists at that place a little church which Aldhelm is said to have built to the name of the most blessed Laurence'. The critics of this early date have based their arguments not only on architectural detail but also on two other sentences from William of Malmesbury, namely that Aldhelm 'was generally supposed to have built a third monastery at Bradford',² and that 'the monasteries at Frome and Bradford have completely disappeared and there remains only the empty name'. But this argument need not perhaps be given too much weight, because although many other monasteries have disappeared yet their churches still remain. Recent careful inspection of the church has led to general acceptance of the belief that its main fabric is indeed the work of Aldhelm's period, early in the eighth century, and that the later details are of a restoration towards the end of the tenth century. A most carefully documented account of this examination and of the results to which it led has been published by Jackson and Fletcher.³ Their conclusions may be summarized by saying that the building is of Aldhelm's eighth-century period up to about half its total height; that the pilaster-

strips on this early building were produced by incision when the upper half containing the later arcading was erected in the tenth century; and that the double-splayed windows in the lower, earlier, walls were produced still later, by altering the outer faces of single-splayed windows that were part of the original structure.⁴

The chapel originally consisted of a small rectangular chancel, a slightly larger rectangular nave, and two flanking porches or side-chapels even smaller than the chancel, and with their longer sides at right angles to the axis of the nave and chancel. The whole of this original building still exists except the south porch.

The most immediate impression given by the chapel is one of great loftiness: the height of the walls is slightly greater than the length of the nave and almost twice its breadth, while the disproportionate height is even more noticeable in the chancel. The only comparable buildings in this respect are Escomb in County Durham and Deerhurst in Gloucestershire.

Externally, the principal feature is the elaborate ornamentation of all faces of the building: first, by pilaster-strips at each corner and in the middle of each face; secondly, by a broad frieze running round the whole building just below eaves-level, and consisting of two square string-courses connected by an arcade in the form of a row of round arches standing on short pilasters with trapezoidal caps and bases; and thirdly, by a series of reeded pilasters which run up the east gable of the nave.

Internally, the principal features are the tall, narrow, chancel-arch; the three double-splayed, round-headed windows, one in each of the chancel, nave, and porch; and the two carved slabs representing angels, now built into the east wall of the nave high above the chancel-arch, but in Baldwin Brown's opinion probably originally located lower in that wall, over the arms of a Crucifixion, which he thought would probably have been placed immediately over the chancel-arch.

¹ For an account of a rather barren controversy as to whether Canon Jones or the Rev. W. C. Lukis discovered the chapel, see *Wilt. A.N.H. Mag.* 45 (1932), 500. There seems no really good ground for doubting the claim of Canon Jones, who was described as the discoverer in the Trust Deed dated 1876.

² The other two were at Malmesbury and Frome.

³ *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd ser., 16 (1953), 41-58.

⁴ As we have shown in Fig. 38, the ashlar walling is of very uniform character throughout the whole of its height. This leads us to doubt that the upper part of the building is a much later addition. In Fig. 38 we have accordingly shown all of it as being of the early period postulated by Jackson and Fletcher for the lower part.

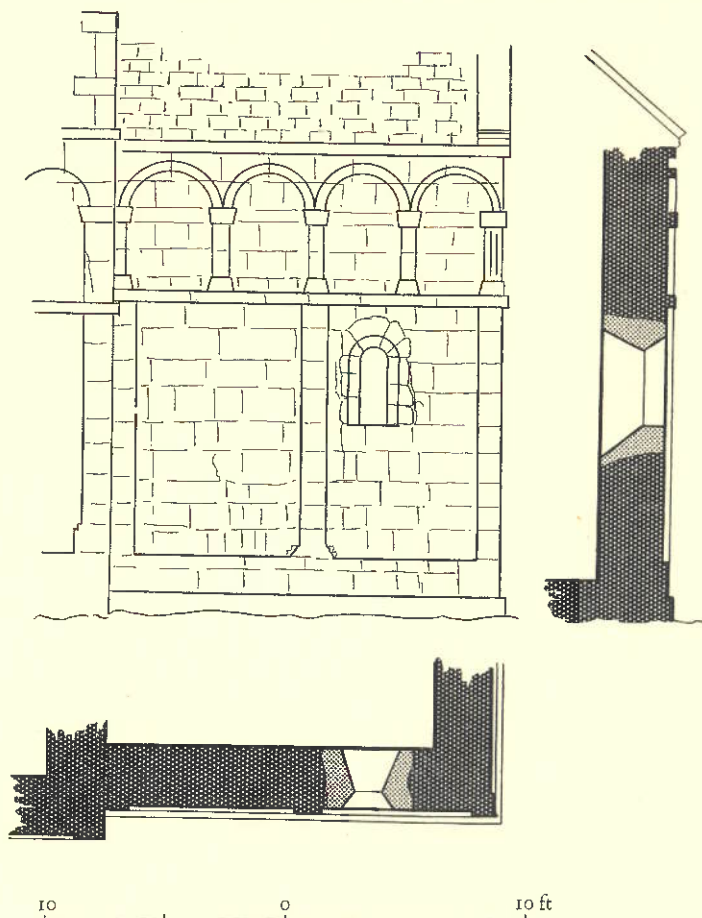


FIG. 38. BRADFORD-ON-AVON, WILTSHIRE

Details of construction of the chancel. According to Jackson and Fletcher's argument, our plan and section should perhaps show only the outer face of the window as being a later modification. We have also diverged from Jackson and Fletcher in showing the upper part of the wall of an early period like the lower. The uniform ashlar construction of the whole wall seems to us to argue in favour of this view, to which we have been led by discussions with Dr Edward Gilbert.

The doorways and the chancel-arch are all cut straight through the walls, with strip-work carried up beside the jambs and round the heads; and the external doorway in the porch is displaced far to the west of the centre, possibly to leave space beside it for an altar or font.

The whole church is built of dressed stone; and the lower system of pilasters on its outer face appears to have been made by cutting back the intervening spaces after the building was erected; although, as Baldwin Brown showed at length (p. 300), the two string-courses and the caps of the pilasters of the upper arcade were from the first separate, complete courses, projecting beyond the general run of the wall-face. Jackson and Fletcher (*loc. cit.*) have shown how, by contrast with the

preparation made in advance for this upper arcade, no special steps had been taken in advance for reducing the enormous labour that must have been involved in cutting back great areas of walling in order to produce the pattern of pilasters on the lower faces of the walls. They have also pointed out that the face of the wall between the pilasters is curved, indicating that the incision is deepest just beside the pilasters and shallowest in the middle of each intervening panel.

The arcading in the upper sections of the walls may be compared with the similar arcading in the interior of the church at Dunham Magna, Norfolk, where the effect is similarly produced by panels recessed behind the surface of the wall, leaving the intervening pilasters and arches at wall level.

Similar panelling but with much taller proportions occurs on the exterior of the round tower at Tasburgh in Norfolk. Both at Tasburgh and Dunham the recessing appears to have been produced wholly without incision and simply by setting the flint rubble of the wall at the appropriate position. The arcading at Bradford may also be contrasted with that at Earl's Barton, Northamptonshire, and Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire, where the effect is produced not by incision but by setting the massive stone pilaster-strips forward from the wall-face.

DIMENSIONS

The walls of the building are 2 ft 5 in. thick, excluding the projection of the pilasters and arcading, and the internal dimensions of its three chambers are:

| | East-West | | North-South | | Height of walls |
|---------|-----------|-----|-------------|-----|--------------------|
| | ft | in. | ft | in. | ft in. |
| Nave | 25 | 2 | 13 | 2 | 25 3 |
| Chancel | 13 | 2 | 10 | 0 | 18 0 |
| Porch | 9 | 11 | 10 | 5 | 15 0 |

The chancel-arch is only 3 ft 6 in. wide and no less than 9 ft 9 in. tall. The outer doorway of the porch narrows from 2 ft 4 in. at the ground to 2 ft 1 in. by the imposts, and is 8 ft 2 in. in total height.

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- Rev. W. H. JONES, 'The Saxon church of St Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon', *ibid.* 13 (1872), 274-5. Brief account of formation of Trustees; further engravings of church. In this article the Lukis drawings are referred to as 'made in the year 1848', but as there is also a reference to 'the intervening period of fourteen years', it seems that 1848 must be a misprint for 1858.
- Rev. W. H. JONES, 'Trust deed of the Saxon church of St Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon', *ibid.* 16 (1876), 345-9.
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- Rev. H. J. D. ASTLEY, 'The Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon', *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 11 (1905), 211-30. Also reprinted in *Wilts. A.N.H. Mag.* 34 (1906), 374-87.
- A. W. BURDER, 'Notes on the parish church and Saxon church, Bradford-on-Avon', *Wilts. A.N.H. Mag.* 36 (1910), 318-23. Note of repairs to chancel; and drainage. Details of foundations of original building.
- E. H. GODDARD, 'Did Canon Jones discover the Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon?', *ibid.* 45 (1932), 500-1. Discovery ascribed to Rev. W. C. Lukis.
- E. D. C. JACKSON and E. G. M. FLETCHER, 'The Saxon church at Bradford-on-Avon', *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd ser., 16 (1953), 41-58. Double-splayed windows and arcading shown to have been later adaptations of an earlier church, which the authors then argue in detail as of the time of St Aldhelm. Detailed measured drawings, and photographs of windows, etc.
- E. D. C. JACKSON and E. G. M. FLETCHER, 'Porch and porticus in Saxon churches', *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd ser., 19 (1956), 1-13. Bradford porch claimed as originally a porticus or side-chapel, without an outer doorway, 3-5.
- V.C.H., *Wiltshire*, 7 (Oxford, 1953), 23-4.

BRADLEY, LITTLE

Suffolk

Map sheet 148, reference TL 681521

ALL SAINTS

Main fabric of nave and original chancel: period C3

The small Suffolk church of Little Bradley, about 4 miles north of Haverhill and close to the border of Cambridgeshire, is worthy of careful study. The plan provided in the church when we visited it in 1958 placed the round tower as pre-Conquest, about 1040, the aisleless nave and western half of the chancel as early post-Conquest, about 1075, and the eastern part of the chancel slightly later, about 1090. Cautley¹ describes the church as Norman, while Methuen's *Little Guide*² dates the nave and western half of the chancel c. 1040, the eastern half of the chancel c. 1080, and the tower possibly as early as 950; the *Little Guide* adds that the Anglo-Saxon church was built against the round tower which was previously an

¹ H. M. Cautley, *Suffolk Churches* (London, 1937), 230.

² P. G. M. Dickinson, *Suffolk*, 6th ed. (London, 1957), 80.

isolated structure with no entrance at ground level, and that the present tower-arch was only then cut through the eastern wall of the tower.

We believe, however, that the tower is, in fact, later than the nave against which it was built. The evidence is quite straightforward, namely that the two structures are not in bond, and that the straight joint between them runs north and south against the original outer west face of the west wall

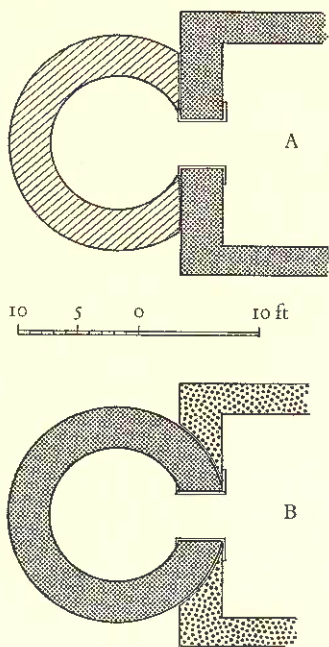


FIG. 39. LITTLE BRADLEY, SUFFOLK

Plans to illustrate how the jointing of the tower to the nave proves that the tower was built after the nave. A straight joint can clearly be seen and felt between the west wall of the nave and the wall of the tower as is shown in plan A. If the tower had originally been built as a free-standing defensive tower to which a nave was added later, the jointing would be as is shown in Plan B.

of the nave, as may easily be verified within the tower by passing a knife or thin card for several inches into this joint. Moreover, the imposts of the tower-arch, which are returned along the western face of the wall, have been partially covered by the curved walls of the tower.

The history of the church therefore begins with the erection of an aisleless nave and chancel, the latter of which was subsequently extended eastward, as may be seen by the change in the

alignment of its walling. The eastward extension of the chancel is clearly to be dated early in the Norman period, perhaps at the close of the eleventh century or early in the twelfth, since two tall, narrow, early Norman, round-headed windows have survived in its north wall, and fragments of two more in its east. The nave and western part of the chancel must therefore be earlier; either very early Norman or Anglo-Saxon, and evidence in support of the earlier date is given by the western quoins,¹ which are of the form of long-and-short technique which is common in Sussex and in which the upright pillar-stones are not separated by single flat stones that bond into both adjoining faces of the wall, but by pairs of stones, of which one bonds into one face and one into the other. No early windows have survived in this earliest part of the church, and its doorways and chancel-arch are of Norman rather than Anglo-Saxon character.

The circular lower stage of the tower is difficult to date with certainty; but it could well be of the same date as the eastern extension of the chancel, for it has a simple, ashlar-faced, round-headed south window not unlike those in the extended chancel. The later history of the church includes the insertion of larger windows in the main fabric, and the addition of an octagonal belfry stage to the tower, with four Perpendicular windows.

In the upper floor of the tower there may be seen a blocked recess in the west wall of the nave, with plain flint jambs and a segmental modern brick head. In the bad light it is difficult to see this sufficiently clearly to determine its true nature; but it does not look like a survival from the earliest period.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 31 ft 3 in. long internally by 16 ft wide, with walls 2 ft 6 in. in thickness. The original chancel was 12 ft 6 in. long internally by 12 ft 5 in. wide, and the later extension added a further 13 ft 1 in., only 11 ft 8 in. in width.

The chancel-arch is 7 ft 4 in. wide and 11 ft 8 in. tall, and the tower-arch 3 ft 10 in. wide by 7 ft 9 in. tall.

¹ A reference to these quoins is given by C. J. W. Messent, *The Round Towers to English Parish Churches* (Norwich, 1958), 264; and also by Dickinson, *loc. cit.*

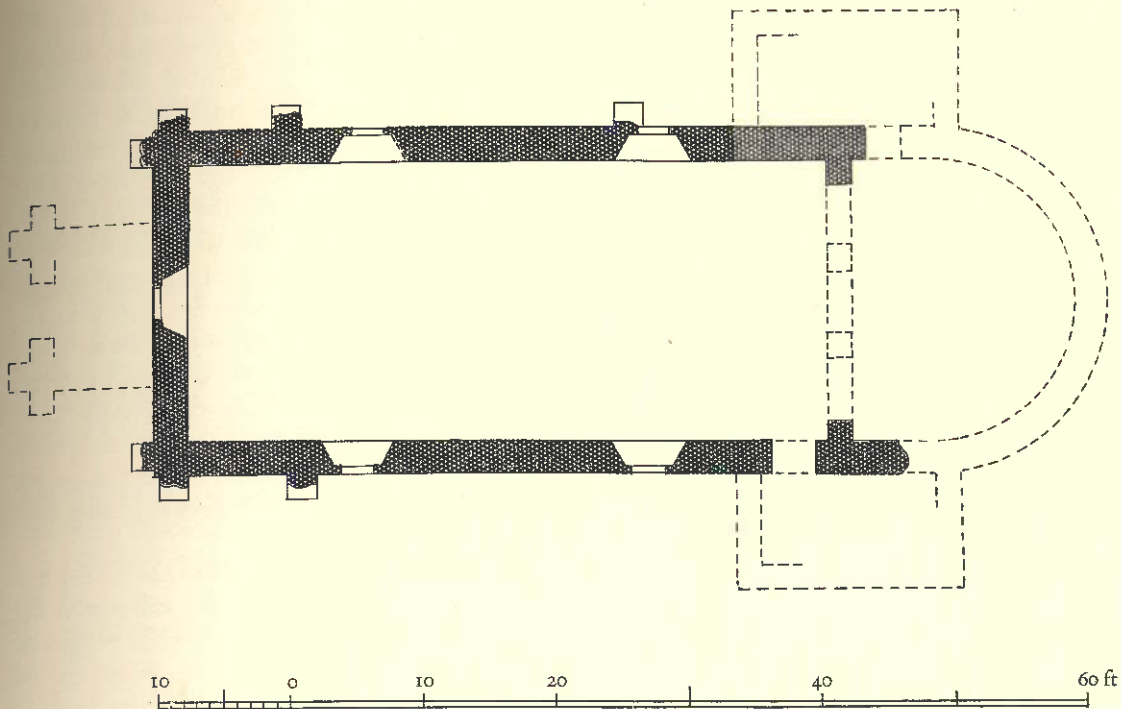


FIG. 40. BRADWELL-ON-SEA, ESSEX

BRADWELL-ON-SEA

Essex

Map sheet 162, reference TM 031082

Figure 403

ST PETER-ON-THE-WALL

Nave, with foundations of apse and of flanking chapels: period A 2

Beside the marshes at the north-east extremity of the tongue of Essex which projects east between the estuaries of the Blackwater and Crouch, St Peter's chapel stands astride the west wall, in the ruins of the west gateway, of the Roman fort, which, under the name Othona, was one of the nine forts of the Saxon shore. The sea has made considerable inroads since the building of Othona, and the eastern half of the fort has been swept away. When the area was first systematically explored in 1867, the west wall of the fort, and those on the north and south, were still standing, 12 ft thick, to heights of 4 or 5 ft; but the walls have now almost vanished.

Until 1920 the chapel was in use as a barn, but it was then restored, and reconsecrated. Its walls are largely composed of re-used Roman stone, with considerable admixture of tiles, and the building is at once recognizable as unusual by reason of the height of its walls. Only the rectangular nave remains standing, but the apsidal chancel was excavated in 1877, and in dry weather the line of its wall is easily to be seen on the ground. It is also possible to see indications of lateral chapels or *porticus* which overlapped the junctions of the nave and chancel on the north and south. The southern *porticus* was entered from the nave through a doorway which is now blocked, but whose eastern jamb, built in 'Escomb fashion', is clearly to be seen in the wall. The northern *porticus* was apparently entered from the chancel, for there is no corresponding break in the north wall of the nave; but the fragment of wall which continues beyond the nave eastward towards the apse ends with a straight face, which seems to be the lower part of the western jamb of the doorway from the chancel.

The original opening from the nave to the

chancel has been destroyed, and is now blocked; but the tall jambs have survived almost intact, of plain square plan, mainly built of Roman tiles, with occasional large blocks of dressed stone. These jambs have rudimentary impostes which have been formed by over-sailing two courses of tiles, and from these spring round arches, also of plain square section, built of two concentric orders of Roman tiles. The arches are at once seen to be of too small radius to have spanned the

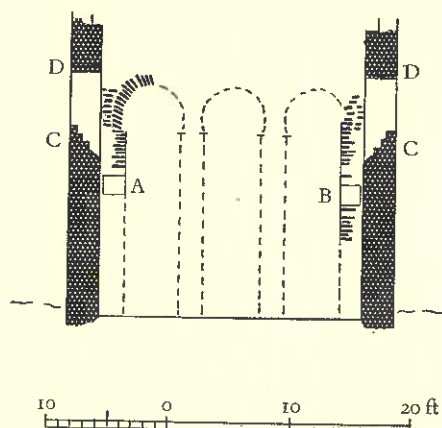


FIG. 41. BRADWELL-ON-SEA, ESSEX

Transverse section through the nave, showing the flat heads of the windows and the vestiges of the triple chancel-arch. A, B, blocks of dressed stone, which are also visible outside and are therefore through-stones; C, C, stepped sills of windows; D, D, flat heads of windows, formed of oak lintels.

distance between the jambs in a single sweep, and it is therefore clear that the chancel-arch was of multiple span, as at Reculver, Kent, and St Pancras, Canterbury. At first sight the curves of the arches seem to indicate that the space was spanned by two arches; but careful measurement indicates that the two remaining arches were each about 4 ft 6 in. in diameter and that, allowing 2 ft for each of two central piers, there would have remained precisely 4 ft 6 in. for a central arch, thus making the same arrangement of three arches as at Reculver.

The building has many other interesting archi-

tectural details: the western quoins are of megalithic construction, mainly of pillar-stones, many of which contain Roman lewis-holes; and the walls have a series of projecting buttresses, or pilasters, composed mainly of Roman tiles, and running up the faces of the walls to heights of about 12 ft where they are sloped off into the wall. These pilasters are bonded into the walls and may with certainty be accepted as original features; there are three on the north face; two on the west; and two, but perhaps originally three, on the south. Four of them closely flank, and indeed partially overlap, the western quoins, and seem to suggest that their purpose in that position was to hold the quoin-stones securely into the wall, and thus to have the same effect as the 'short' stones in a long-and-short quoin.

Each of the side walls of the nave originally had two large windows, of which two still exist in the south wall and one in the north, while vestiges of the fourth, now blocked, may still be seen in the north. They are about 3 ft square externally, with flat heads on wooden lintels, and are splayed to about 5 ft wide internally. Baldwin Brown (p. 104) and Clapham (p. 22) accept their present form as original, although much restored. In the centre of the west face is a large, square-headed door, and high above it a window, generally similar to the others, but with a round head turned in Roman tiles. On either side of the door are vestiges of the attachment of a west porch, whose walls are shown on a plan of 1867 as then remaining to a height of 2 ft. In the Middle Ages, the porch was raised to form a tower which contained two bells.

Historically the church is also of interest, for the Venerable Bede records (*H.E.* III, 22) that (c. A.D. 653) St Cedd was consecrated Bishop of the East Saxons by Bishop Finan at Lindisfarne, and that he later built churches at *Ythancæstir* (Othona) and *Tilaburg* (Tilbury).¹ Baldwin Brown doubts whether Cedd, originally a northern missionary to Essex, would have built an apsidal chancel at the time when there was such rivalry between the southern church, which favoured apsidal east ends,

¹ Bede adds that the first of these places is on the River Pant and the second on the River Thames. The upper reaches of the Blackwater in the region of Braintree are still shown on the Ordnance Maps as River Pant, and Thomas Lewin (*Arch.* 41 (1867), 447) said that in his time

the estuary from the sea to within a few miles of Maldon was called the Pant. The Anglo-Saxon poem on the Battle of Maldon (D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, 293-7) describes the two armies standing 'in noble array about Pante's stream'.

and his own Celtic or northern church, with its fashion for a rectangular east end to the chancel. Clapham on the other hand accepts the present structure as being 'with little doubt that erected by Cedd'. We agree with Clapham, for Cedd would almost certainly have had to employ masons from Kent, and they would naturally have followed the local tradition.

DIMENSIONS

The building measures internally 49 ft 8 in. by 21 ft 8 in. and has walls 24 ft high and about 2 ft 6 in. thick. The fabric of the walls is largely re-used Roman material, both stone and brick.

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- F. CHANCELLOR, 'St Peter's on the Wall, Bradwell-juxta-Mare', *Arch. J.* 34 (1877), 212-18. Description, with picture showing apse excavated.
- C. R. PEERS, 'On Saxon churches of the St Pancras type', *Arch. J.* 58 (1901), 402-34. Bradwell described, with plan, 420-3.
- H. LAVER, 'St Peter's Chapel, Bradwell-on-Sea', *T. Essex Arch. S.* 11 (n.s.) (1908-11), 85-9. Good photographs from all directions showing building in use as a barn.
- R.C.H.M., *Essex, South-East* (London, 1923), 15-16. Very good dated plan, photograph from north-west, and photograph of architectural drawings made at time of restoration.

BRANSTON

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 113, reference TF 021673

Figure 404

ALL SAINTS

Tower: period C3

West wall of nave: period C, but earlier than the tower

The church of the pleasant, stone-built village of Branston, about 4 miles south-east of Lincoln, consists of a west tower with later battlements and spire, and an aisled nave and chancel.

Externally the south-west quoin of the nave, in bold long-and-short construction, with some of the 'longs' over 4 ft in height, bears witness to a pre-Conquest date for the west wall of the nave. It is clear that this wall was built before the tower, because its simple plinth passes behind the tower, and, although the walls of the nave and the tower are similarly built of roughly coursed, undressed stone, the two walls are not in bond.

The tower is divided by a simple square string-course into two stages, a tall lower stage and a much shorter belfry stage, of characteristic Lincolnshire late-Saxon form. The double windows in all four faces have mid-wall shafts, and through-stone slabs. Their jambs are built of dressed stones, and the heads of the windows on the south and east seem to be nineteenth-century restorations, for they are of Gothic pointed form, each of two stones, whereas the windows on the north and west have round heads each of which is cut in the lower face of a square lintel. The shafts have capitals of advanced design, approaching the form of Norman scalloped cushion capitals; and this feature, taken in conjunction with the decorative arcade on the lower 10 ft of the west front, led Baldwin Brown (pp. 412 and 445) to regard the whole tower as post-Conquest. He recorded Micklethwaite's reservation that the arcade might be a later insertion; but gave his own opinion that 'it is best to take it as an original part of the work and it is obvious that it is of great chronological significance'. The lower part of the tower has no original windows or other distinctive features which might serve easily to resolve this question; but we think that a careful study of its fabric, and particularly of its quoining, leads clearly to the conclusion that the arcade is a later insertion and that the tower as a whole is of the usual Lincolnshire late-Saxon form. The west wall of the tower, below the arcade, has a facing of closely jointed ashlar, whereas the whole of the remainder of the tower, both its lower and upper stages, is built of smallish, undressed stone. From a few feet above the arcade, all the quoins are of side-alternate type with reasonably close but not finely fitting joints, whereas the quoins on the lower part beside the arcade are of ashlar with very finely fitting joints like those of the ashlar facing. Moreover, at the level of the shafts of the

arcade, a single upright ashlar quoin has been used to prepare the way for carrying the arcade round to the south face. We are therefore convinced that the decorative arcade is a later insertion, and that the vestiges of it at the east end of the south face are not remains of finished work later destroyed, but remains of work begun but never finished. The large blocked arch in the south face of the tower does not appear to us to affect the arguments just advanced. This large round-headed arch was presumably inserted in the twelfth century to give access to a building on the south of the tower, and it was no doubt the erection of that building which caused the Normans to abandon what seems to have been their original intention to continue the decorative arcading from the west front round the sides of the tower also.

The treatment of the tympanum of the west door does not appear to us to be genuine Norman work, but rather that of restorers, possibly even in the nineteenth century. The treatment of the doorway itself is quite different from that of the arcading, and much of the main fabric of the doorway is probably original Anglo-Saxon workmanship.

We therefore regard this church as possessing a nave whose west wall is of Anglo-Saxon date, and a tower of later Anglo-Saxon date, to which decorative arcading was applied, perhaps in imitation of that on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, at some time soon after the end of the eleventh century.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 17 ft 9 in. square externally and about 55 ft high to the top of the battlements. Internally it is 11 ft 6 in. square with walls 3 ft 2 in. thick, except for the east wall, which, like the remainder of the west wall of the nave, is only 2 ft 6 in. thick. The nave, as defined by the south-west quoin, must have been about 20 ft wide internally, and its present side walls, over the later arcades, are of the same thickness as the west wall.

REFERENCE

A.A.S.R. 18 (1885-6), lxvii. Visit of Lincoln and Nottingham Architectural Society. Church described. Quoin of nave compared with those at Cranwell and Wilsford. Tower described as Norman.

BREAMORE

Hampshire

Map sheet 179, reference SU 153188

Figures 405, 406

ST MARY

Nave, low central tower, flanking transeptal chapels, or 'porticus', and chancel; all complete save for chancel and north 'porticus': period C1

The village of Breamore lies about 8 miles south of Salisbury, on the main road to Fordingbridge, and its church stands in complete seclusion in park land, beyond the extensive village green, about half a mile to the west of the road. The church represents a singularly complete survival of a large Anglo-Saxon building of advanced design, consisting of a nave, low central tower, side-chapels, and chancel. The north chapel has been destroyed, but its roof line can, however, still be seen on the north wall of the nave. In this wall there may also be seen the jambs of a blocked doorway, which formerly opened between the nave and the north chapel, and which is of similar form to the surviving doorway between the nave and the south chapel. There are some indications that there was at one time a western annexe which has now disappeared. There have been many changes in the windows, the chancel walls have been partly rebuilt, and a south porch has been added to the nave; but the church is nevertheless one of the most complete examples left to us of the Anglo-Saxon period. It is therefore all the more remarkable that its true nature remained unsuspected until discovered by the Rev. A. du B. Hill in 1897.¹

Externally the fabric is of whole flints, with quoins of large stones laid in an irregular long-and-short technique; and with a few broad pilaster-strips, of the type in which the finished pilaster appears as a raised rib cut on the face of stones which are otherwise only roughly dressed, and are generally appreciably wider than the pilaster itself.

The central tower has its north and south walls

¹ *Arch. J.* 55 (1898), 84.

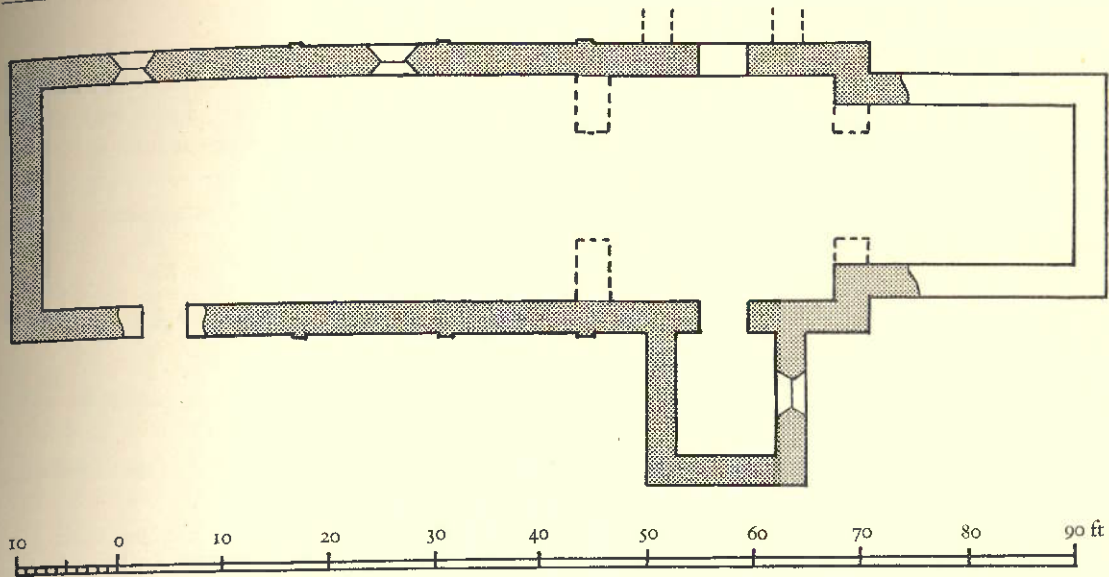


FIG. 42. BREAMORE, HAMPSHIRE

in line with those of the nave, but it is very much wider than the chancel or the transepts. It therefore stands out as an important central feature of the church even though its walls do not rise much above those of the nave. This effect is emphasized by the way in which a bold pilaster-strip is carried down to the ground in continuation of each of the western quoins of the tower, thus marking out the walls of the tower as separate from those of the nave, even though they are in line. The upper treatment of the tower is unusual, and provides an interesting example of a form which is otherwise indicated only by descriptions and representations of major towers that have vanished, such as those of the Anglo-Saxon cathedrals of Chichester and Winchester. These vanished towers are to be thought of as being capped with a wooden structure, made up of a series of roofs in receding stages, with intervening vertical stages of arcading. At Breamore two pyramidal roofs are separated by a vertical shingled wall, with a pair of windows in each face.

The western quoins of the nave are masked by modern buttresses; but the quoins of the south transept are original, and are built of large stones, some laid upright and some flat, but without the regularity which marks the true long-and-short technique. At the top of each of these quoins a large flat stone has been laid to project boldly

from the south face of the transept, as though to carry a beam across the base of the gable. The north and south faces of the nave each have two vertical pilaster-strips in long-and-short technique in addition to the strips which continue the line of the western quoins of the tower.

High up in the north face of the nave, and visible both externally and internally, are two round-headed, double-splayed windows; while a similar window in the south face is blocked externally by the east wall of the later south porch. There were originally four similar windows lighting the upper space of the tower; three of these remain, two in the north face and one in the south, all with fifteenth-century square windows built into their outer splays. In the south transept a similar window remains intact in the east wall; and another in the south wall has had its outer splay partly blocked by a thirteenth-century window.

Internally, wide fifteenth-century arches now lead from the nave to the tower-space and to the chancel, so that it is impossible to tell what were the sizes of the arches in Anglo-Saxon times, but Hill recorded that the foundations of the chancel-arch showed that it was 6 ft 8 in. wide.

The original opening to the south chapel has fortunately escaped alteration; it is in the form of a doorway only 4 ft 5 in. wide and 10 ft high, but it is nevertheless a most important feature. The

jamb are not of through-stones, the square impost is ornamented on their lower and upper angles with cable moulding, and the arch is formed of six through-stones whose joints are very far from radial; but the striking feature of the arch is the inscription which is cut round its face in excellently formed capital letters about 6 in. in height. It is not now possible to say with certainty whether this inscription was complete in itself or whether it was part of a larger group of inscriptions, possibly over the north door and also over the chancel-arch where three letters, 'DES', have survived, of similar size and form. On the first of these assumptions, the inscription has been translated to mean 'Here is manifested the Covenant unto thee', while on the other assumption it has been rendered 'Here is the Covenant which...'.¹ For our purpose, however, the translation is perhaps less important than the form of the letters, since the form gives a valuable indication about the date of the lettering, and consequently serves to settle, if not the actual date of the building, at least a date after which it could not have been built. The letter s occurs three times, twice in its modern curved form and once in an earlier, angular form like a z written backward; moreover, c and g both appear and are both cut in angular form. By comparison with lettering of known dates, particularly on coins, it has been argued, especially from the simultaneous occurrence of the two forms of s, that the inscription was cut about the second decade of the eleventh century.²

Over the south door of the nave, and now inside the twelfth-century porch, is a carved Rood, formerly in high relief, but now cut back almost to the face of the wall. On either side of the Cross are mourners; and, from a cloud, the hand of God appears above the Cross. A somewhat similar composition, similarly defaced, occurs above the west door at Headbourne Worthy, also in Hampshire. Both these Roods are accepted by Clapham, Kendrick, and Talbot Rice, as of late-Saxon workmanship.

DIMENSIONS

The walls are of a fairly uniform thickness of about 3 ft, and the internal dimensions of the various parts of the church are as follows:

| | East-West ft in. | North-South ft in. | Height of walls ft |
|------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Nave (excluding tower-space) | 50 6 | At East 21 6 At West 20 6 | 22 |
| Tower-space | 21 - | 21 - | 31 |
| Chancel ³ | 19 - | 14 - | |
| South porticus | 8 6 | 11 - | 17 |

The length from the west end of the nave to the chancel-arch is about 75 ft.

The doorway to the south porticus is 4 ft 5 in. wide and 10 ft high; the remains of the north doorway define an opening 4 ft 10 in. wide; and Hill recorded that the foundations indicated a chancel-arch only 6 ft 8 in. in width.

The double-splayed windows all narrow by about 3 in. from the sill to the springing of their round heads; their apertures, in the middle of the thickness of the wall, are about 5 ft tall by 1 ft 8 in. in width at the sills, and are splayed to about 6 ft by 2 ft 6 in. in the inner and outer wall-faces.

The pilaster-strips are about 11 in. in width and project about 1½ in. from the wall-face.

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- J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, 'Some further notes on Saxon churches', *Arch. J.* 55 (1898), 340-9. Breamore described, 345-6.
- A. R. and P. M. GREEN, *Saxon Architecture and Sculpture in Hampshire* (Winchester, 1951), 5-10.
- V. C. H., *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, 4 (London, 1911), 598-601.
- M. DEANESLY, *The Pre-Conquest Church in England* (London, 1961), 349-51. Inscription claimed as a twelfth-century record of a gift of the church to canons regular. [We do not agree.]

¹ G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 353, where a reference is given to a fuller discussion by Professor Napier.

² A. R. Green and P. M. Green, *Saxon Architecture and Sculpture in Hampshire* (Winchester, 1951), 6-7. See also

A. W. Clapham, 'The York Virgin and its date', *Arch. J.* 105 (1948), 6-13.

³ The chancel walls are largely rebuildings, but on the old foundations.

BREDWARDINE

Herefordshire

Map sheet 142, reference SO 334444

ST ANDREW

*North and west walls of nave: possibly surviving
from a pre-Conquest fabric*

The interesting three-cell church at Bredwardine stands in a circular churchyard close beside, but high above, the south bank of the Wye, about 12 miles west of Hereford. The north wall of the nave has a band of herring-bone masonry, about three courses in height, along its greater part, but not extending quite to its east end beside the north tower. This herring-bone fabric appears both internally and externally, and is interrupted towards the west by a simple, round-headed, blocked doorway, which was originally constructed of light-grey tufa but has subsequently been modified by the insertion of a carved lintel and a few jamb-stones of brown sandstone.¹

The west wall shows clear evidence of the former existence of a large, round-headed doorway, now blocked; and the only entrance to the church is now by a simple Norman south doorway, which is wholly built of tufa. It seems difficult to explain the large, blocked, west doorway except as the original entrance, which was later abandoned and replaced by the two lateral doorways of early Norman date. A considerable part of the west wall and the lower part of the north wall, with its herring-bone fabric, therefore seem to be suggested as of pre-Norman date, perhaps survivals from an earlier church which was in ruins and was rebuilt soon after the Conquest.

Two simple, round-headed windows in the north wall are wholly built of tufa, and may therefore be accepted as of the same early-Norman date as the lateral doorways.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is irregularly laid out, being about 19 ft wide internally at the west and about 20 ft wide at the east. It is about 38 ft long internally, with walls over 3 ft thick.

REFERENCE

R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire*, I (London, 1931), 25. Nave dated late eleventh-century. Plan.

BREEDON-ON-THE-HILL

Leicestershire

Map sheet 121, reference SK 405233

Figure 407

ST MARY AND ST HARDULPH

*No surviving fabric, but unique architectural carvings
from the eighth century now incorporated in the
Norman and later fabric*

That a monastery existed at Breedon, about 15 miles north-west of Leicester, in the eighth century is established by Bede's reference (*H.E.* v, 23) to Archbishop Berhtwald's death on 9 January 731 and to the consecration in his stead of 'Tatwine, of the province of the Mercians, having been a priest in the monastery called Briudun'. An account of later pre-Conquest references to the place has been given by Clapham, together with an outline of its subsequent history.² The monastery probably ceased to exist from the time when the Danes wintered at Repton in 873, but it was re-established as a small Augustinian priory in the twelfth century, from which time parts of the present church survive.

Although no part of the eighth-century church has survived *in situ*, Breedon is of the greatest importance to students of Anglo-Saxon art and architecture since it provides not only unique examples of eighth-century architectural sculpture in the form of about 80 ft of carved friezes, or string-courses, but also a series of larger panels of

¹ The brown sandstone lintel is dated by Zarnecki early in the twelfth century (*English Romanesque Sculpture*, pl. 23), and the doorway itself must therefore be of very early

Norman date. The elaborate lintel contrasts sharply with the very simple doorway.

² A. W. Clapham, *Arch.* 77 (1927), 219-21.

BREEDON-ON-THE-HILL

figure-sculpture of the Mercian style, of which there are other interesting examples at Castor, Fletton, and Peterborough. In addition to the friezes described by Clapham, a further section of frieze was uncovered in 1959, high up in the west face of the east wall of the north chapel, beside the eastern respond. It has three complete circles of vine-scroll, each containing a bird, whose legs are most carefully woven into the strands of the vine, like those at St Andrew Auckland in County Durham. Further sections of cross-shaft were discovered, and another large panel showing a seated figure, with the right hand raised in blessing, and an open book in the left hand, see Fig. 407.

REFERENCES

- P. B. CHATWIN, 'Breedon church', *Arch. J.* 71 (1914), 394-7. Visit by the Institute, brief historical description and plan.
- A. W. CLAPHAM, 'The carved stones at Breedon-on-the-hill', *Arch.* 77 (1927), 219-40.
- F. M. STENTON, 'Medeshamstede and its colonies', *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith and E. F. Jacob (Manchester, 1933), 313-26. Evidence that Breedon was a colony from Peterborough in the late seventh century, 317-18.
- A. W. CLAPHAM, 'Breedon-on-the-Hill', *Arch. J.* 90 (1933), 392-3. Visit by the Institute.
- C. A. R. RADFORD, 'Breedon-on-the-Hill; the church of St Mary and St Hardolf', *Arch. J.* 112 (1955), 170-2.
- D. M. WILSON, 'Medieval Britain in 1959', *Med. Arch.* 4, (1960), 135. Notice of the finding of eighth-century and tenth-century fragments during restoration of the church in 1959.

BREM HILL

Wiltshire

Map sheet 157, reference ST 979730

ST MARTIN

North-west quoin of nave: period C

About 2 miles north-west of Calne, standing in a spacious open churchyard, on high land at the west of the small village of Bremhill, the church of St Martin now comprises a western tower, an aisled nave with south porch, and an aisleless chancel.

Inside the church it may be seen that a short length of the walling of an earlier, aisleless nave still stands at either end of each of the arcades, and that both these walls are tall and exceptionally thin. Conclusive evidence of pre-Conquest date is, however, to be seen externally in the angle between the tower and the western wall of the north aisle, where the whole of the western face and 5 in. of the northern face of the north-west quoin remain exposed, in clearly defined long-and-short technique. About 15 ft of the original quoin is to be seen, consisting of five long-and-short pairs; and on the western face the original rubble walling is also visible, beside some of the upright stones, and laid flush with their surfaces.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 44 ft 6 in. long internally, by 17 ft 8 in. wide, with walls 2 ft 1 in. in thickness and almost 20 ft in height.

BRIDGFORD, EAST

Nottinghamshire

Map sheet 112, reference SK 691431

ST PETER

Fragment of south wall of chancel, and foundations of side walls of nave and chancel: period C

On the south side of the Trent, about 8 miles east of the centre of Nottingham, the interesting church of St Peter at East Bridgford contains unmistakable evidence of its original Anglo-Saxon fabric. This had, however, passed unnoticed until attention was directed to it in 1916 by the Rev. A. du B. Hill,¹ who had previously been the first to draw attention to the Anglo-Saxon character of Breamore Church, Hampshire.

The present church has a square west tower, a transeptal aisled nave with south porch, and an aisleless chancel. Before extensive rebuilding in the nineteenth century, the church had had transepts, and during the twentieth-century restoration Hill found that the Early English cruciform church had developed from an Anglo-Saxon

¹ A. du B. Hill, *Arch. J.* 73 (1916), 196.

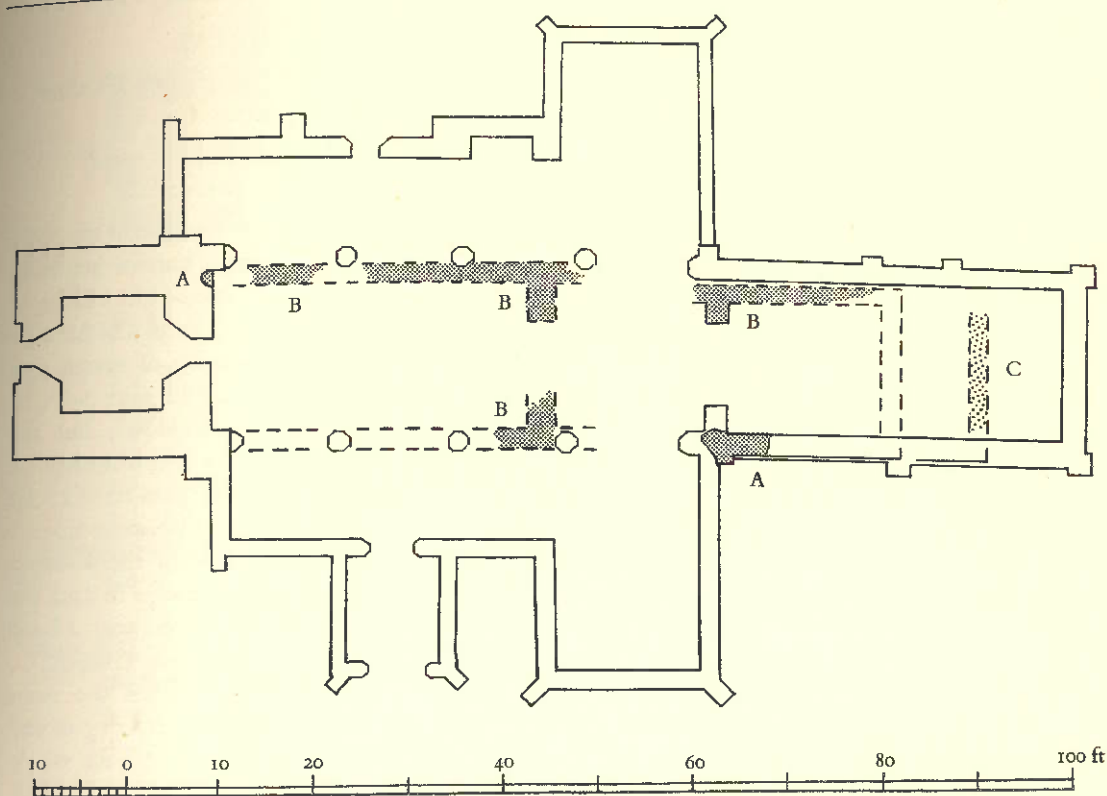


FIG. 43. EAST BRIDGFORD, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

A, Anglo-Saxon fabric now visible; B, Anglo-Saxon fabric seen during repairs;
C, Norman east end seen during repairs.

church which might itself have been cruciform and which had been extended eastward in Norman times. Within the present chancel Hill found the foundation of the Norman east end, about 10 ft short of the present Early English east wall, and he showed that the Anglo-Saxon chancel was about 9 ft shorter still, and also about 3 ft narrower, so that while parts of its south wall may be seen in the present south wall, its north wall lies wholly inside the present chancel, beneath its floor and about 6 in. clear of the present north wall. This early north wall was about 12 ft long and only 1 ft 10 in. thick, with original plaster still adhering to its inner face, so as to show the original floor-level. In the crossing, the original floor-level was fixed by an area of red tiles, and was thus shown to have been 1 ft 4 in. below the present floor of the nave.

In the angle by the south transept, the original south-east quoin of the nave may still be seen, beside about 10 ft of the original south wall of

the chancel. This early walling is of larger, more regularly squared rubble than the later walling to the east, but very little of it remains, because it has been pierced by a pointed priest's doorway and a pointed low side-window. Above these later insertions there is, however, a clearly recognizable length of original string-course, now cut back flush with the main face of the wall.

The original south-east quoin of the nave projects only a few inches south of the chancel, and the east wall of the south transept shows a straight vertical joint against it. The stones of this quoin have been cut with a re-entrant angle so that the stones form not only the salient angle of the nave, but also a short length of the south wall of the chancel. Beneath the early south wall of the chancel, and returned round the south-east quoin of the nave, is a plain square plinth of rough stones, now much hidden by a modern footing.

In the region of the present chancel-arch, Hill found *in situ*, beneath the present floor, large

blocks of stone forming the responds of the original chancel-arch, 8 ft wide, and rebated on the western angle. When the pillars of the nave-arcade were being underpinned, he was able to trace the foundations of the original south wall directly beneath the present arcade and those of the original north wall slightly within the alignment of the north arcade. At the west of the nave, a thickening southward of the west respond of the north arcade indicates the presence above-ground of part of the original north wall of the Anglo-Saxon nave.

Just west of the western piers of the present crossing, Hill recorded the presence, beneath the floor, of large blocks of stone representing responds of a western arch which separated the nave from a central space, or crossing. He said that no evidence was found for transepts or *porticus*, although their former existence was indicated by the absence of any foundations for side walls on the north and south sides of the crossing.

The surviving fabric gives no indication of the date of the Anglo-Saxon church, but we have placed it tentatively in period C on the evidence of a stone which is now preserved at the east of the south aisle, where it now supports a credence table. This stone is a section of a carved cross-shaft, subsequently used as part of the head of a double-splayed window.

DIMENSIONS

The plan given by Hill of the early church defines a nave 33 ft long internally, by 15 ft wide; a central space 16 ft by 13 ft; and a chancel also about 16 ft by 13 ft. The whole internal length of the church was about 70 ft, and the side walls were under 2 ft in thickness.

REFERENCE

- A. DU B. HILL, 'Pre-Norman churches and sculptural monuments of Nottinghamshire', *Arch. J.* 73 (1916), 195-206. East Bridgford, 195-200.

BRIGSTOCK

Northamptonshire

Map sheet 133, reference SP 946852

Figures 408, 409

ST ANDREW

Lower part of west tower, and nave walls above later arcades: period A or B

Upper part of west tower, and round western stair-turret: period C

About 7 miles north-west of Thrapston the main road to Corby takes two sharp, narrow bends, to pass through the attractive stone-built village of Brigstock. At first glance the church of St Andrew is unlikely to give an impression of greater age than is suggested by the graceful spire with its three storeys of Decorated windows, but the church has considerable Anglo-Saxon remains of more than usual interest. It now consists of a west tower, later raised and capped by a stone spire, a circular stair-turret on the west of the tower, a nave with later aisles carried westward to flank the tower, and an Early English chancel with a large chapel of about the same date on its north.

The pre-Conquest fabric includes the main walls of the nave, the square west tower up to and including the first-floor chamber, and the whole of the circular western stair-turret. In Fig. 409 it can be seen how the Norman north arcade, by cutting away part of one of the windows of the original nave, shows that the window, and the wall containing it, are pre-Norman. There is, however, another interesting feature, which seems to have escaped attention up to the present, and which indicates that the church contains pre-Conquest fabric of two different dates. Whereas the window in the north wall of the nave and two similar windows in the ground-floor chamber of the tower are single-splayed, and of excellent workmanship, the two windows in the first-floor chamber of the tower are double-splayed and of very rough rubble construction. So far as we know, attention has not previously been directed to this structural difference, which serves to show that the two types of windows are of quite different workmanship. The excellent masonry of the earlier windows, as shown in Fig. 45 (A), has close points of resemblance to the earliest work at Monkwearmouth; and it is for this reason that we suggest period A or B for the date of the original work at Brigstock.

Externally the whole fabric, except the Decorated addition to the tower, is of undressed stone,

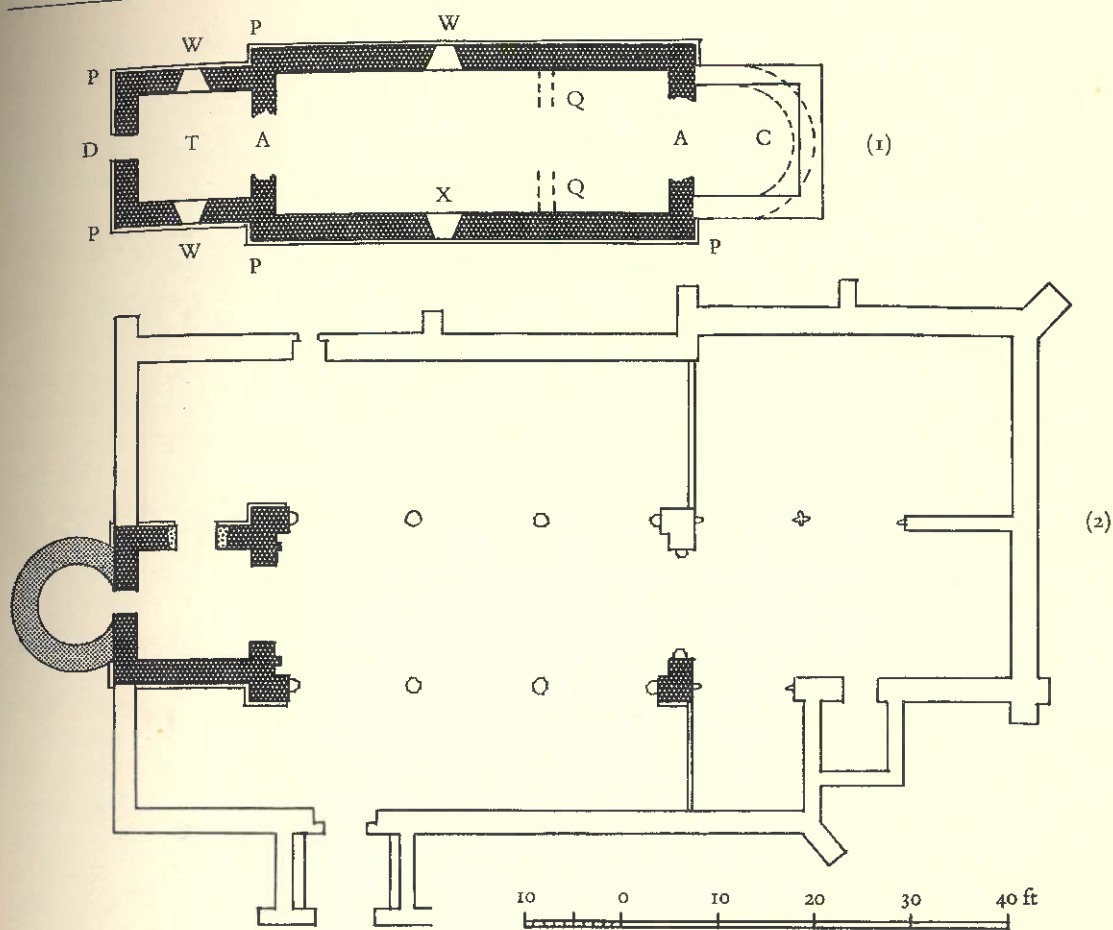


FIG. 44. BRIGSTOCK, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Plans showing the original church and the present enlarged building. A, original form of tower-arch and chancel-arch is uncertain; C, original shape and size of chancel is uncertain; D, original triangular-headed west doorway, now entry from tower to western stair-turret; P, original plinth surviving at sides and angles of tower and at south-east angle of nave; Q, cross-wall reported by Carpenter on south and by Clapham on north; T, west porch, later raised to form tower; W, surviving original windows in tower and partially surviving north window in nave; X, conjectural original south window in nave.

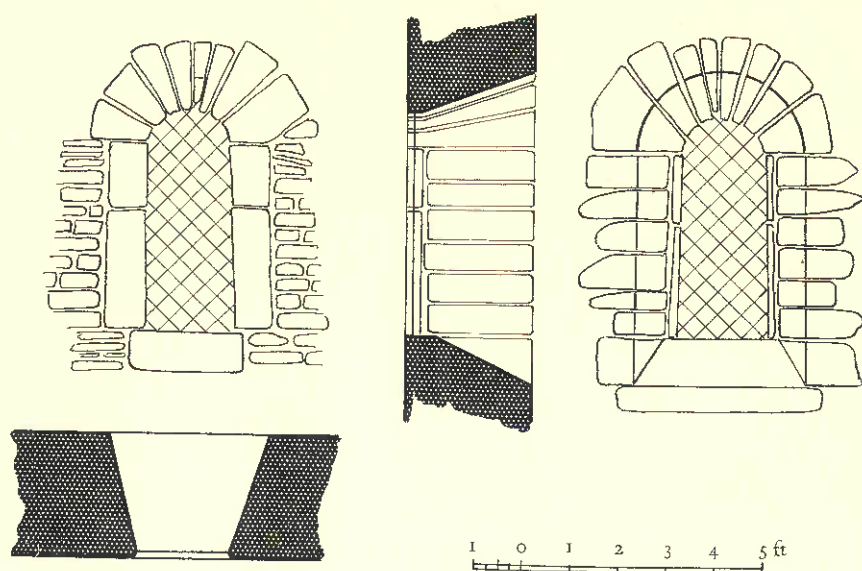
roughly coursed, with dressed stone at the angles and facings; while both the tower and the western turret stand on a plinth of undressed stones which project boldly about 10 in. from the wall-face.

The pre-Conquest date of the tower is indicated by the long-and-short quoining at all its angles. The later western walls of the aisles have been built with straight joints against the walls of the tower, and, although they obscure the north and south faces of the lower part of the quoining, the western faces of the quoins may be seen up the whole height of the tower. Each of the quoins rests on a massive square base, which itself stands on the plinth and projects about 4 in. from each wall-face.

The two small rectangular windows in the west of the circular stair-turret have no very characteristic features to fix their date, but may reasonably be accepted as contemporary with the turret.

With the exception of those two western windows, only one pre-Conquest window is now visible on the exterior of the church, namely the double-splayed, round-headed window in the north wall of the first-floor chamber of the tower. There is a similar window in the south wall, but it is almost wholly obscured externally by the modern clock-face, although it may be inspected in the upper chamber. As has been mentioned above, these windows are of very indifferent construc-

A. The single-splayed windows of the ground floor



B. The double-splayed windows of the upper floor

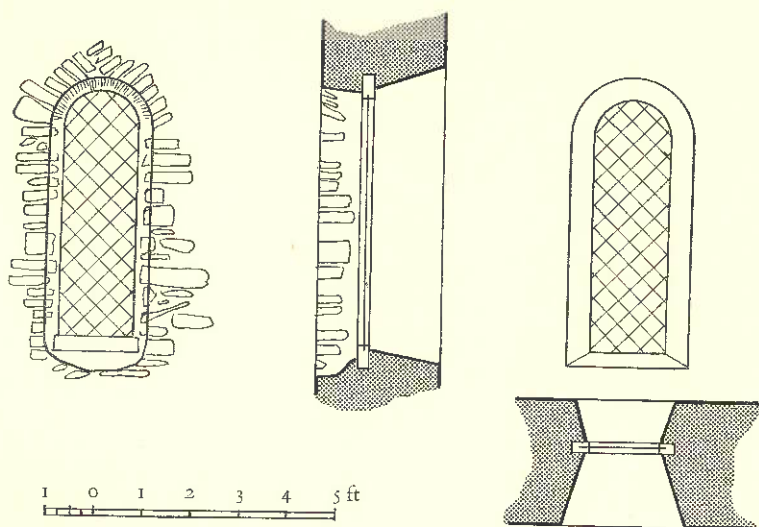


FIG. 45. BRIGSTOCK, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Details of windows contrasting the well-built single-splayed windows (A) of the nave and ground floor of the tower with the roughly formed double-splayed windows (B) in the upper storey of the tower.

tion, with jambs of the same roughly coursed rubble as the body of the walls, and with heads of similar rough rubble that is laid without any attention to radial setting of voussoirs. It is quite impossible to believe that these roughly constructed double-splayed windows are the work of the skilled masons who built the single-splayed ground-floor windows with carefully jointed

masonry which extends through the full thickness of the walls. We were at first inclined to think that the upper windows were later insertions in the tower, but, since the walling shows no signs of disturbance beside either window, we were led to consider whether the whole upper storey could be a later addition. At first sight this seems unlikely because the long-and-short quoining runs

up the whole extent of the western angles of the tower. But closer inspection shows that there is a change in the character of this quoining at the junction between the two storeys of the tower. This change is visible in both western quoins at the same level, and in the south-west quoin it takes place about 2 ft above the point where the parapet of the west wall of the aisle joins the tower. Below this point, the pillar-stones of the quoining are roughly square in plan like those of the quoins of the nave; but above this point the three succeeding pillar-stones are markedly rectangular in plan and are laid in alternation so that the broader faces of the first and third stones are set in the west face of the tower, while the broader face of the second is set in the south. This may seem a small detail, but it receives further confirmation from a change in the fabric of the walling: in the lower part of the tower, the rubble fabric is of roughly rectangular stones, some of which are almost square in elevation and all of which have rather rounded edges and angles; but in the upper part, the stones are markedly longer and flatter in elevation and have much sharper edges (see Fig. 47).

We therefore believe that the tower is of two separate dates and that it gives primary evidence for assigning the well-built single-splayed windows to an earlier period than the roughly built double-splayed windows. It shows, moreover, that the fashion for long-and-short quoining persisted throughout both those periods.

Inside the church, the lower parts of the original walls of the tower and of the nave may be seen within the western extensions of the aisles, where it should be noted that the plinth continues unbroken round the tower and the nave, and that the long-and-short quoins of the nave have the same type of square, projecting bases as the quoins of the tower. A round-headed doorway cut through the north wall of the tower is a Norman insertion dating from the time when the Norman arches were cut through the north wall of the nave to open to a narrow aisle, which was carried westward to the west face of the tower and opened to the tower chamber through this new doorway. Its Norman date is indicated by its construction in small stones, and by the use of mortar much less hard than in the original Anglo-

Saxon work. The side walls of the tower contain two very fine, round-headed, internally splayed windows, one in the north wall close above this doorway, and the other directly opposite, in the south wall. The heads of these windows are turned in neatly shaped *voussoirs*, all of which are through-stones; and the jambs in each outer face are each of two upright stones which extend only a few inches into the wall while the remainder of the opening is lined with a series of massive, flat stones, each of which extends through the full

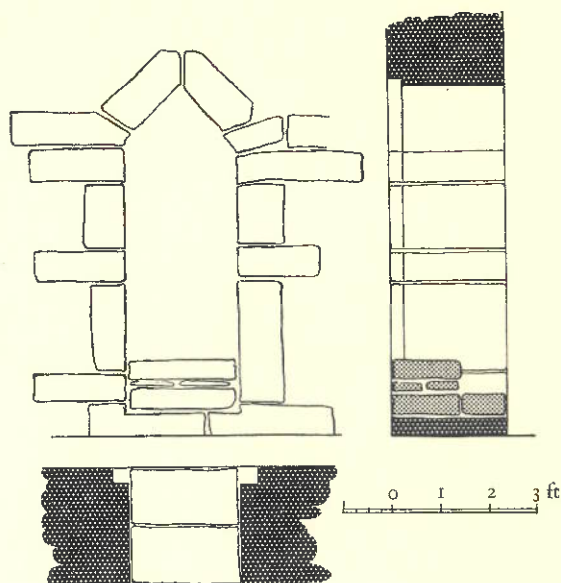


FIG. 46. BRIGSTOCK, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Triangular-headed west doorway in the tower, showing how the steps which now lead into the turret stairway are probably later insertions.

remaining thickness of the wall and also runs a considerable distance along its internal face.

Within the tower itself a fine triangular-headed doorway with 'Escomb fashion' jambs now forms the entry into the western stair-turret. We believe that this doorway is contemporary with the lower part of the tower and was the original western entrance to the church, before the building of the upper part of the tower and the western stair-turret. In its present condition, the doorway contains two steps which lead up into the stair-turret, but these are not part of the original design, since they are not in bond with the wall but are simply placed in position with straight

joints against the through-stone jambs. The opening of the doorway is cut straight through the wall, except for a small rebate on the west side for the hanging of the present door, and each jamb consists of two massive uprights which are laid in alternation with large flat bonding stones; all of these stones pass through the full thickness of

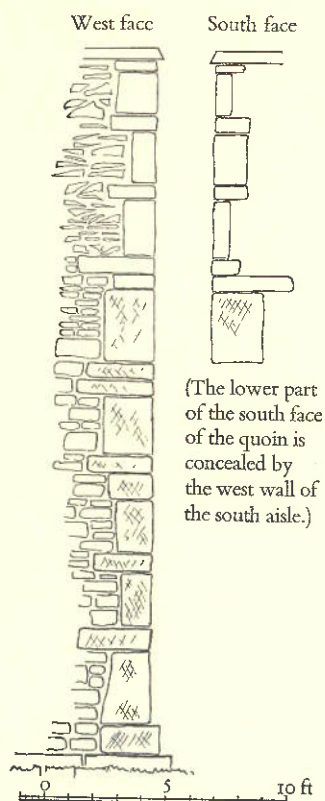


FIG. 47. BRIGSTOCK, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Details of the south-west quoin of the tower showing how its construction changes at first-floor level and showing also the change in the fabric of the walling at the same level.

the wall and so also do the two sloping stones which form the triangular head.

Baldwin Brown (p. 338) and Clapham (p. 120) both refer to this turret as having a spiral staircase of stone such as exist at Brixworth, Broughton, and Hough-on-the-Hill, but in fact no such stone stairs exist here. The lowest few steps are of wood, and above them an iron ladder leads into the belfry. We believe that the turret originally had a wooden stair, although R. H. Carpenter suggested in 1875 that the turret originally contained stone

steps which 'have all disappeared, leaving only the places in which they were let into the wall'. In our opinion, the series of square holes, which may be seen winding up the wall, do not at all suggest places where stone steps were let into the wall but strongly indicate that the turret originally contained a wooden stair, with supports in these holes; and, no doubt, also a central wooden column. The disappearance of this stairway would follow quite naturally as the result of one of the conflagrations for which Carpenter gives independent evidence. It is much more difficult to see how stone stairs could have been removed in wholesale fashion without seriously damaging the turret.

From the upper chamber of the tower a square-headed doorway, now blocked, formerly opened towards the nave. This doorway now has a flat stone lintel; but Carpenter recorded that this was inserted at the time of his restoration, in place of a wooden lintel, which had decayed so badly that the wall above had subsided and was dangerously cracked.

Inside the nave, the tower-arch presents a fine specimen of late-Saxon workmanship. Its jambs are built in 'Escomb fashion' with very massive stones, the imposts are bold rectangular blocks carried across the whole eastern face of the wall, and the arch itself is turned in sixteen well-dressed, through-stone voussoirs, with reasonably radial joints. The whole composition is outlined on the eastern face by a band of strip-work, which is carried up the wall about 2 ft clear of the jambs and round the head of the arch.

That the present walls of the nave still contain part of the original Anglo-Saxon fabric is shown by the blocked window that appears above the second arch of the Transitional north arcade, with its jambs partly cut away by this arch, but with its head intact. Both the inner and outer faces of this window can be seen, and enough remains to establish that its construction was identical with that of the two windows in the north and south faces of the tower. Along the north wall of the nave, just above the outer face of this blocked window, is a string-course of plain square section. The eastward extent of the original Anglo-Saxon building is indicated by the re-appearance of the characteristic plinth beside the pulpit, and by a

section of the south-east quoin of the nave in unmistakable long-and-short technique, rising from this plinth.¹

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 40 ft 4 in.² long internally, by 15 ft wide, and the tower 11 ft 9 in. square. The walls of both tower and nave are 2 ft 6 in. thick, the original walls of the nave were about 28 ft in height before they were raised for the insertion of the clear-storey windows, and the Anglo-Saxon part of the tower is about 45 ft high.

The tower-arch is 8 ft wide and 15 ft 6 in. high. The lower windows in the sides of the tower have their apertures in the outer face of the wall, 2 ft wide at the sill, narrowing appreciably towards the top, and about 5 ft 4 in. tall; their inner faces are splayed to a width of 3 ft 7 in. In the exterior face of the wall their sills are at a height of 11 ft 6 in. above the floor and their heads are at a height of about 17 ft.

The partially surviving window in the north wall of the nave is 2 ft wide externally, splayed to 3 ft 6 in. internally, and its external head is 17 ft above the floor.

The triangular-headed west doorway of the tower is 2 ft 6 in. wide and about 8 ft tall.

The double-splayed windows in the upper chamber of the tower have apertures 1 ft 7 in. wide and 5 ft 4 in. tall, set at 1 ft 9 in. from the inner face of the wall and about 11 in. from the outer face. They are splayed to become 2 ft 6 in. wide and 6 ft 2 in. tall in the inner face of the wall. The entrance from the stair-turret to the upper chamber is a rough square-headed doorway with a wooden lintel. The opening is 2 ft 8 in. wide at the

sill, narrowing to 2 ft 4 in. at the lintel, and is 7 ft 6 in. tall, in a wall 2 ft 8 in. thick.

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 R. H. CARPENTER, 'St Andrew's church, Brigstock', *A.A.S.R.* 13 (1875-6), 237-46. Historical and architectural account, with plans, elevations, and perspective drawings prepared during examination of church for restoration in 1875.
 C. E. KEYSER, 'Notes on the architecture of the churches of Stanion and Brigstock', *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 26 (1920), 1-21. Exhaustive collection of photographs of exterior and interior.

BRITFORD

Wiltshire

Map sheet 167, reference SU 163284

ST PETER

Nave, with arches to side-chapels, and indications of transepts: period B

Pleasantly situated beside the Wiltshire Avon, about 2 miles south-east of the city of Salisbury, Britford was a royal manor in the days of Edward the Confessor, two centuries before the city was moved from Old Sarum to its present site; and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that Harold's brother Tosti was staying here with Edward the Confessor in 1065, when the news was brought of the rebellion in Northumberland against Tosti as Earl. This royal connexion makes it easier to understand the unusual elaboration of the parish church of so quiet a village.

¹ Clapham, *Arch. J.* 90 (1933), 404, reports this quoin as belonging to the Saxon *chancel*, in which case the chancel must have been the same width as the nave. He also records the existence of the base or foundation of the north respond of a chancel-arch beside the eastern of the two piers on the north of the present nave. We have not been able to verify the evidence for this arch; but the arch could be interpreted, as at Brixworth, as a division between a nave and a presbytery, rather than as defining the unusual arrangement of a nave and a chancel both of the same width. This interpretation was, in fact, given by R. H. Carpenter in 1875 on evidence which he collected when inspecting the church prior to his restoration of it, see *A.A.S.R.* 13 (1875-6), 241.

² This is the present internal length of the nave. Mr Carpenter's plan incorrectly shows this as a figured dimension for the shorter Saxon nave which he postulated on the evidence of the cross-foundation which he discovered beside the eastern column of the arcade. According to the scale printed on his plan, the shorter Saxon nave was about 25 ft long, and the remainder of the present length formed the presbytery. Carpenter's plan also shows dotted indication of a cross-wall running northward from the eastern of the two piers on the *south* of the nave, not running southward from the corresponding pier on the *north* as mentioned by Clapham.

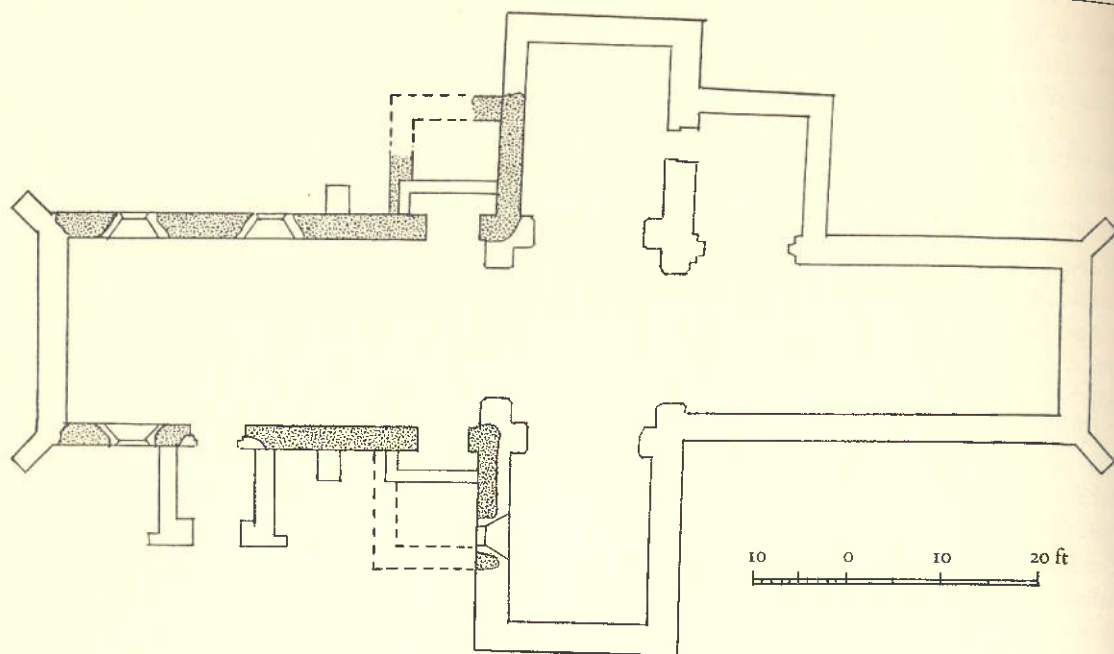


FIG. 48. BRITFORD, WILTSHIRE

Plan showing the surviving fabric of the nave and of the lateral chambers.

The church is at first sight mainly of the Decorated period, with aisleless nave, south porch, transepts, chancel, and central tower capped by a low spire; but the true character of its Anglo-Saxon nave was detected by Rickman, who included it in his first list of Anglo-Saxon churches on the evidence of two round arches, at that time blocked but visible externally, one in the north and one in the south wall of the nave. The head of the southern arch, turned in tiles and outlined by a hood-mould and pilaster-strips, was used by Rickman to date the building as Anglo-Saxon.¹

The lower and original parts of the nave walls are of plain flint; and the west wall of the north transept is of the same fabric and has been claimed as being 'in all probability part of the original building'.² The upper parts of the walls are of mixed flint and stone, followed by dressed stone, dating from restorations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the upper parts of the walls were rebuilt and the diagonal buttresses added at the west. At the restoration in 1873, the

present south entry was formed by reopening a much altered Anglo-Saxon doorway; and the north and south arches further to the east were unblocked and found to contain unusual and important details hitherto unsuspected.³ A south porch was built to protect the doorway, and small annexes were erected over the arches, which are now visible only inside the nave. Excavations have recently disclosed the foundations of the side-chapel, or *porticus*, into which the northern of these two arches originally opened, thus establishing that it was a chamber 10 ft from north to south internally, and 8 ft 9 in. from east to west, with walls of the same thickness and character as those of the nave.⁴

The opening of the arch on the south is simpler than that on the north, but nevertheless presents a number of interesting architectural features. It has a plinth, and square imposts, while the soffit face of each jamb is framed by two vertical strips of dressed stone, which rest on the plinth and are mortised into the imposts. Between these strips, the faces of the jambs are lined with dressed-stone

¹ T. Rickman, *Arch.* 26 (1836), 41-2.

² A. W. Clapham, *Arch. J.* 104 (1947), 160-1.

³ C. H. Talbot, *Wilts. A.N.H. Mag.* 17 (1877-8), 246-53.

⁴ G. E. Chambers, *ibid.* 57 (1958-60), 213.

slabs, which are recessed behind the strips and held in place by them. The arch itself is built of tiles, of which some have parallel sides while some are wedge-shaped, as though made for the purpose; but of the latter a few have been wrongly laid with their wider ends towards the centre. Finally, the whole arch is outlined on the exterior wall-face with strip-work, which runs both up the wall beside the jambs and also round the arch as a hood-mould. Similar strip-work occurs on the outer wall-face round the north arch, and there are also traces of it on the inner face of the wall beside the south arch.

The north opening is similar in general form to that on the south, but differs from it in a number of important constructional features as well as by being richly ornamented. On constructional detail it should be noted that the jambs are not mortised into the impost, and that the arch itself is not formed, like its companion, of tiles set radially, but of quite thin stones set round the circumference of the arch, more like curved tiles to line its surface than like structural fabric. In spite of this unusual and apparently unsound arrangement, the arch has stood for centuries without failure, and is still in excellent condition.

But it is perhaps in the matter of ornament that the north opening is most remarkable. On the eastern jamb, the vertical strips are richly ornamented with vine-scrolls containing a bunch of grapes at the centre of each scroll, and with a trumpet-shaped sheath at each branching point of the stems. Baldwin Brown (p. 207) dates this work to the early part of the tenth century, whereas Clapham (p. 50) and Talbot Rice (p. 90) both place it in the ninth century. The recess between the vertical slabs is not plain, as in the south arch, but alternate stones of its lining are carved with a complicated interlacing pattern and are set forward level with the vertical slabs, leaving the spaces between set back as though to form a pattern of checkers. The western jamb is treated structurally in the same fashion, but is less richly ornamented, the vertical slabs being left plain and the ornament being confined to the lower of the two raised squares in the central panel. Finally, and perhaps most remarkably, the arch itself is constructed of three parallel rows of square stone slabs, curved to the shape of the arch

and each separated from its neighbours by a thin outline of tile set on edge between the stones. Of these panels, the outer two rows have their curved surfaces set in the continuous curve of the arch, whereas the central row continues the motive of the jambs in that alternate squares are recessed.

The plinths of these two openings also deserve special mention, for they are of elaborate section (see Clapham, p. 123) much more like a Victorian skirting-board than like Anglo-Saxon plinths which were generally of simple square or chamfered section.

The central panel of the north arch has two further features that appear to have escaped general notice. The first is a curious bracket-shaped stone, which takes the place of the lowest square panel above the impost; and the second is a stone shaped like a base or an inverted corbel which takes the place of the lowest square panel of the jamb. We cannot advance any explanation for these stones.

The purpose of the two arches is discussed at length by Baldwin Brown (p. 224), with the conclusion that they led to side-chapels, or *porticus*, similar to those at Deerhurst. Clapham (p. 50 n.) reaches the same general conclusion but suggests that there were transepts at the east of the *porticus*. As mentioned above, foundations of the north *porticus* were excavated in 1951.

DIMENSIONS

Internally, the nave is 44 ft 4 in. long, measured from the inner face of the west wall to the west face of the medieval west arch of the tower; it is 20 ft 6 in. wide beside this arch, narrowing to about 19 ft 6 in. at the west. Its walls are 2 ft 5 in. thick and it is not now possible to say what was their original height. The north *porticus* is 8 ft 9 in. from east to west internally, and 10 ft from north to south, with walls about the same thickness as those of the nave.

The dimensions of the three openings in the walls of the nave are as follows:

| | Width between jambs | | Height to crown | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|
| | ft | in. | ft | in. |
| South doorway | 5 | 9 | 8 | 9 |
| Arch to south <i>porticus</i> | 5 | 7 | 7 | 8 |
| Arch to north <i>porticus</i> | 5 | 10 | 7 | 11 |

BRITFORD

The ornamented strips of stone on the east jamb of the north arch are 4 ft 1 in. high and 8 in. wide, and the two ornamented panels between these strips are each 10 in. square.

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BRIXWORTH

Northamptonshire

Map sheet 133, reference SP 747713

Figures 410-12

ALL SAINTS

Nave, west porch, presbytery, and apsidal chancel; also foundations of aisles, or side-chapels, and of west narthex: period A2

Semi-circular ambulatory at lower level round chancel: period B1

Tower over west porch, western half-round stair-turret, and rebuilt apsidal chancel: period C1

The village of Brixworth lies about 7 miles north of Northampton, astride the main road to Market Harborough; and its ancient church stands on high land at the north-west of the village, with a commanding view to the west. The church now consists of a west tower carrying a tall stone spire, a half-round western stair-turret, an aisleless nave,

a square presbytery with a large chapel at the south, and an apsidal chancel; the whole structure being about 160 ft in length from east to west. It is, however, obvious that the nave was originally flanked by aisles or side-chapels, because its lower windows are built within the blocked round arches of the former nave arcade. Another unusual feature is a deep semi-circular passage round the east end of the chancel, with its floor 5 ft 7 in. below the floor of the nave. This ambulatory is now open to the sky but was originally vaulted and communicated with the church through doorways, now blocked, in the east end of the presbytery, from which flights of steps still lead down into it.

The church is one of outstanding interest and unusual size. It is described by Clapham (p. 33) as 'perhaps the most imposing architectural memorial of the seventh century yet surviving north of the Alps', and the justification for this description can readily be grasped by noticing that, apart from minor restoration, a length of about 120 ft of the fabric from the square west tower to the east of the square presbytery is part of the original structure. There is literary as well as architectural evidence for assigning the original church at Brixworth to the seventh century, for Hugo Candidus, the twelfth-century chronicler of Peterborough, records that monasteries were founded at Brixworth and several other places by Cuthbald who became Abbot of Peterborough in 675, when the former Abbot Sexwulf became bishop of the Mercians.¹

Externally the main fabric of the church is seen to be of stone rubble with Roman bricks or tiles for the arched heads of doors and windows. Additions to the original Anglo-Saxon work can be distinguished not only by different building styles but also by the use of different material; later Anglo-Saxon work used a local porous stone known as tufa in place of tiles, while medieval additions and modern restorations have as a rule used dressed stone for window-facings.

Externally, the original church of the seventh century may be visualized by imagining, first, the removal of the south chapel, the battlements, and

¹ W. T. Mellows, *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus* (Peterborough, 1941), 8; and *The Chronicle*

of Hugh Candidus, a Monk of Peterborough (London, 1949), 15.

the half-round western stair-turret; secondly, by adding aisles or side-chapels, with lean-to roofs running up to the off-set on the north and south walls of the nave, below the clear-storey windows; thirdly, by lowering the square tower to form a two-storeyed gabled west porch, with large west door, and with one-storeyed annexes extending it sideways across the ends of the aisles; and finally, by imagining the sunken ambulatory as non-existent. The evidence for the western annexes forming a porch, or narthex, on either side of the main west porch is provided, not only by the doorways in the north and south walls of the present square tower, but also by the vestiges of walls continuing its west wall to north and south. The evidence for the aisles, or side-chapels, is provided not only by the four blocked arches of each of the north and south arcades but also by foundations of the outer walls which have been traced below ground. It is not quite clear whether these side buildings were aisles, as at present understood, or a series of *porticus*, or side-chapels, separated by walls running out from each of the piers of the nave arcade; but the latter seems much the more likely, not only because vestiges of dividing walls may be seen running outward from the piers of the arcade, but also because continuous foundation walls have been traced, running across to the outer wall as though to carry the dividing walls between the chapels.¹

Late in the eighth century the facilities of the church were increased by the provision of an ambulatory round the outer curve of the apsidal chancel at a lower level, presumably to allow pilgrims to pass round and view sacred relics, either in the recesses that are still visible in the outer walls or in a small chamber under the chancel. This chamber was probably quite small, communicating with the ambulatory by a narrow passage with an aperture in the eastern wall of the foundation of the apse. The Rev. C. F. Watkins reported that his careful excavations prior to 1867 had failed to show any evidence of a crypt under the chancel,² but he was clearly looking for an

extensive crypt such as exists at Repton and Wing. He reported the existence of a break in the continuity of the east wall 'probably caused by an interment', but it seems more likely that the break was the opening to such a small passage. The existence of a chamber of this sort not only seems necessary, to explain the ambulatory, but also would indicate why the floor of the chancel is so much higher than that of the nave and presbytery. The reason for assigning a late eighth-century date to this ambulatory and crypt is that such features are not known elsewhere before the eighth or ninth century, while the monastery as a whole seems to have been laid waste by the Danes in the raids of the ninth century.

In the tenth century, after the Danish raids, the church seems to have been restored for use as a parish church rather than as a monastery: the presumably ruined aisles or side-chapels were abandoned, and the arcades blocked; the presumably ruined chancel was rebuilt on or close to its old foundations; and the west porch was raised to form a tower. Access to the church was now through the south door of this tower, and the western door was used as an entry to the new western stair-turret. Of the rebuilt, tenth-century, apsidal chancel little but the north wall now remains, including three pilasters³ and one round-headed window; the remainder, except for a fragment of the south wall, was demolished to make way for a fifteenth-century, square chancel, which was restored to the present form in 1865. The single remaining original window in the apsidal chancel provides evidence of the date of the work, because its head is turned in blocks of tufa similar to that used in the upper part of the western stair-turret which can be dated more easily on architectural grounds to the tenth century.

Certain further points of detail should be noted on the exterior before entering the church. First, the arches of the arcade are not formed of tiles set radially round the arch, but are started with tiles set at a steep angle on the tile imposts

¹ For a full account of the recent investigation of the character of these lateral buildings, see E. D. C. Jackson and E. G. M. Fletcher, 'Excavations at Brixworth, 1958', *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd ser., 24 (1961), 1-15. Similar conclusions had been reported to us by the Vicar on the 17 October 1957.

² C. F. Watkins, *The Basilica and Basilican Church of Brixworth* (London, 1867), 45.

³ Vestiges of an arch springing from the western pilaster indicate that there was originally an arcade, as at Deerhurst and Wing.

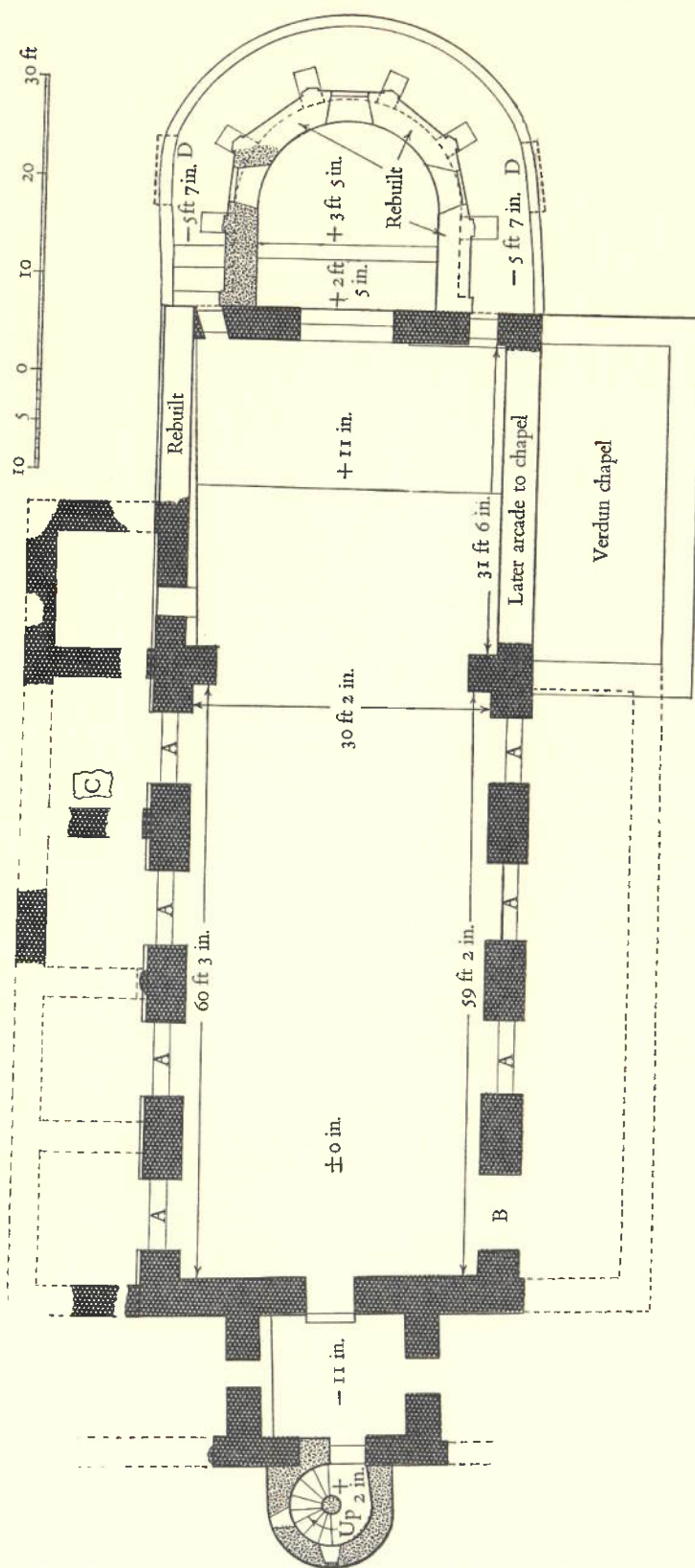


FIG. 49. BRIXWORTH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

The plan shows the levels at various parts of the church in relation to the floor of the nave; for example, the figures +3 ft 5 in. in the sanctuary mean that the level of the floor of the sanctuary is 3 ft 5 in. above the level of the floor of the nave. The results of recent excavations outside the north wall of the nave are shown in some detail. By contrast the corresponding area on the south is shown in outline only, as a simple aisle, since it has not yet been established with any degree of certainty whether or not there were cross-walls such as have now been demonstrated on the north.

The later blocking (A) of the arches of the main arcade is shown without assigning to it any specific date. The Norman south doorway in the arch B has not been drawn in detail. The letter C indicates an area of plaster flooring which was found during the recent excavations. The letters D indicate the recesses in the outer wall of the ambulatory. These do not appear to us to be original, indeed the whole of the outer wall seems to be a modern rebuilding, but perhaps on the original alignment.

In a letter dated 27 January 1964 the Reverend J. W. Burford has notified us that he has found a stone marking the north-west corner of the north 'aisle', and stones defining the north wall of the west narthex on an alignment 14 in. narrower than that of the north 'aisle'.

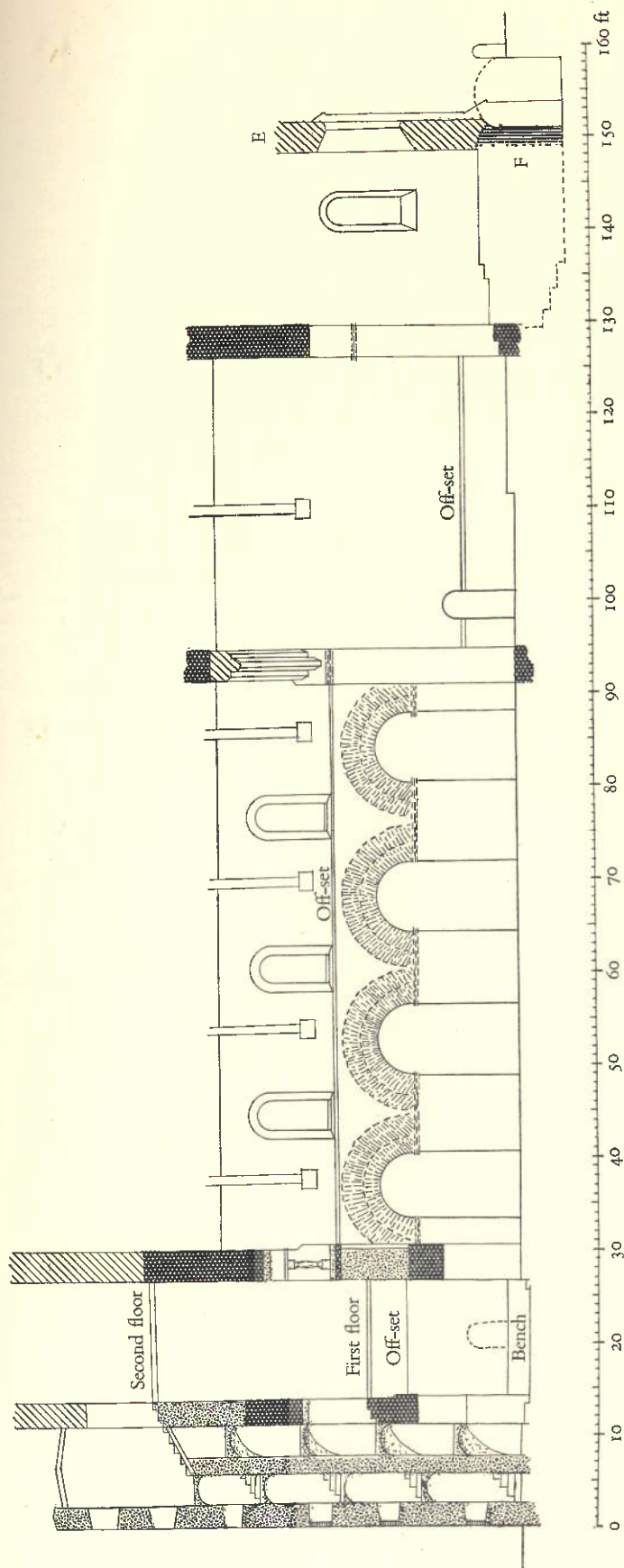


FIG. 50. BRIXWORTH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Section through the centre of the nave, looking north. This section is at the same scale as the plan on the facing page. Note that the east wall E is part of the nineteenth-century reconstruction; but its window follows the pattern of the surviving original north window of the apse. The wall beneath, at F in the ambulatory, is original. The section shows the remarkable construction of the turret-stairway, with its treads resting on a barrel vault of tufa.

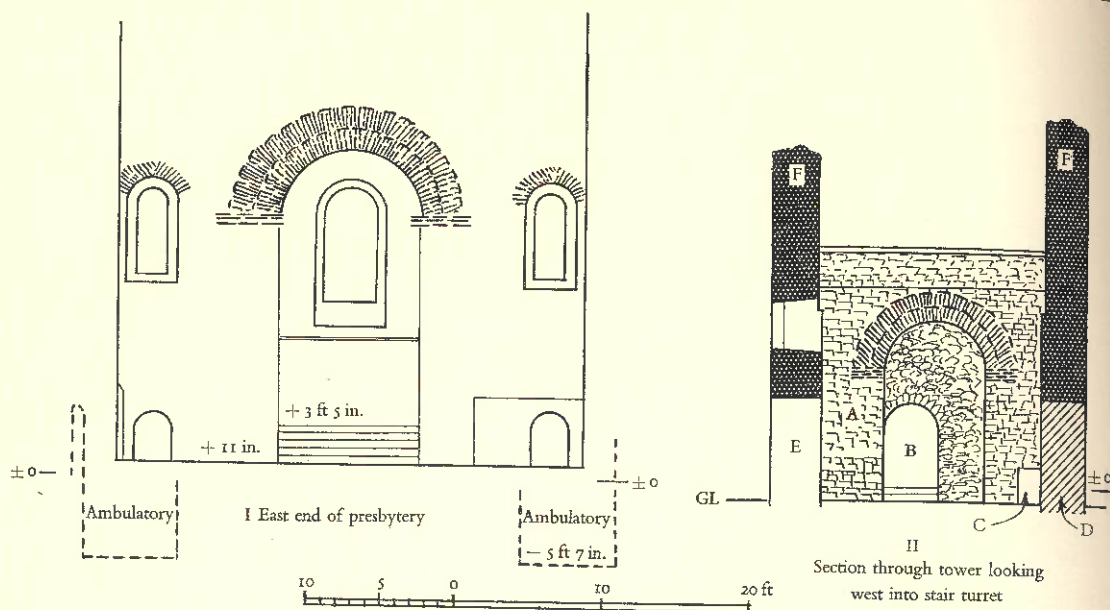


FIG. 51. BRIXWORTH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

I, section through the presbytery, looking east towards the chancel. This section also shows the level of the ambulatory passages; II, section through the tower, looking west towards the original western entrance of the church. A, seventh-century west wall and great western portal; B, tenth-century doorway built into western portal to serve as entrance to spiral stairway; C, bench of doubtful date; D, blocked north doorway; E, south doorway still in use; F, seventh-century side walls of tower.

and are continued with tiles laid roughly parallel almost the whole way round the curve. Next, the clear-storey windows on both north and south walls of the nave are three in number, placed over the three piers between the four arches of the nave arcades. Below these windows the off-set designed to receive the inner end of the roof of the aisle continues along the whole length of the nave but is absent from the presbytery, which therefore may be assumed to have had no aisle or side-chapel. Finally, on the north wall of the presbytery, a little to the east of the fourth arch of the arcade of the nave, and below a Decorated window, there will be seen a blocked, round-headed doorway.

Internally, the nave and presbytery now form a single unit about 90 ft long by 30 ft wide; but originally they were separated by a wall pierced by an arcade of three tall arches. The outer responds of this triple arcade still remain, now supporting a fifteenth-century pointed arch, and at the northern springing of this arch it is easy to see the remains of the springing of one of the original round arches in Roman tiles. The foundations

were uncovered about 1860 by Watkins who showed that the original arrangement was a triple arch supported on the existing responds and on two intervening square piers. The east wall of the presbytery is still almost in its original state: the tall, narrow chancel-arch forms the central feature; high up on either side is a round-headed window, slightly splayed internally; while low down, now partially obscured, but formerly approached down steps, the round-headed doorways led to the semi-circular low-level ambulatory. In the side walls of the presbytery, the blocked north door should be noted, and also a blocked, round-headed window in the south wall above an arch leading to the Decorated Verdun chapel.

The restoration of the chancel in the nineteenth century was initiated by Watkins, who, in the course of burials in the larger square-ended chancel, first detected the curved inner face and polygonal outer face of the old foundations, and first laid bare the ambulatory, which at that time was wholly filled with earth.

At the west end of the nave a round-headed

doorway now leads to the tower; but originally it was the main, or perhaps only, entrance to the church. Above it is a blocked doorway of similar size and shape, but with the upper part of its head cut away by a triple window inserted in the tenth century. Within the tower there may be seen both the north and south doorways which led to the narthex, and also the original tall west outer doorway, now partially blocked to form the lower and narrower tenth-century doorway which leads to the stairway. The tenth-century staircase itself is in good condition, with stone slabs as treads, and the underside arched in the form of a continuous, rubble, round vault. The stairs are well lit by a series of small windows, widely splayed within, and in many cases fitted externally with stone slabs cut to a small aperture. The stairs lead to a large doorway, cut through what was presumably a smaller, west, upper window of the original porch, and the room so entered now looks into the nave through the triple window already mentioned. This is of characteristic late-Saxon workmanship; the mid-wall shafts stand on square

bases; their stems are turned to show two rings and a bulbous centre; they have rudimentary capitals supporting the through-stone slabs; the heads of the three windows are each turned in reasonably radially laid tiles; and the outer responds have stepped imposts formed of three oversailing courses of tiles. To the south this room has been given extra light by a window whose head is turned in tufa, and which is therefore indicated as having been inserted in the tenth century to replace the light lost by the erection of the western stair-turret.

A remarkable feature of Brixworth is the wall thickness: by contrast with normal Anglo-Saxon usage of walls less than 3 ft thick, the walls of the nave and square west tower are uniformly almost 4 ft thick, and even the aisleless presbytery has walls about 3 ft 4 in. thick.

DIMENSIONS

The principal dimensions of the fabric and of its doors and windows are most conveniently given in tabular form, as follows:

TABLE I. *Principal dimensions of the fabric*

| | East-west | | North-south | | Wall thickness | | Approximate wall height above floor of nave |
|--------------------------------|-----------|--------|-------------|--------|----------------|-------|---|
| | ft | in. | ft | in. | ft | in. | ft |
| West turret | 8 | 10 (a) | 8 | 10 (a) | 2 | 0 | 48 |
| West tower | 12 | 5 | 15 | 0 | 3 | 9 (b) | 38 |
| Nave | 59 | 8 (c) | 30 | 2 | 3 | 10 | 30 |
| North range of <i>porticus</i> | — | | 10 | 0 | 2 | 10 | (d) |
| Presbytery | 31 | 6 (e) | 31 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 30 |
| Apsidal chancel | 19 | 3 | 17 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 24 (f) |
| Ambulatory | 7 | 6 | (g) | | — | | (h) |

(a) These lengths give the internal diameter of the turret. The width of the stairway from the central column to the outer wall is 3 ft 3 in., and the central column is 2 ft 4 in. in diameter.

(b) This is the thickness of the north, south and west walls. The east wall of the tower, which is also the west wall of the nave, is 3 ft 3 in.

(c) This is the average length; beside the north wall, the nave is 60 ft 3 in. long, and beside the south wall, 59 ft 2 in.

(d) Only vestiges of the lower parts of the walls remain; but the height of the roof beside the nave is determined as 20 ft by the surviving off-set in the nave wall. The outer wall would have been lower.

(e) This length excludes the space formerly covered by

the triple arch between nave and presbytery. The full length from the west wall of the nave to the east wall of the presbytery is 93 ft 9 in. beside the south wall and 95 ft beside the north wall.

(f) The floor of the chancel is about 3 ft 5 in. above the floor of the nave. The chancel walls are therefore about 20½ ft in height when measured from the floor of the chancel.

(g) The ambulatory is of a fairly uniform width of 7½ ft.

(h) The floor of the ambulatory is about 9 ft below the floor of the chancel or 5 ft 7 in. below that of the nave. The head of its barrel vault seems to have been a little above the floor of the chancel, 9½ ft above the floor of the ambulatory.

TABLE 2. *Dimensions of doors and windows*

| | Width between jambs | | Height from sill to crown | | Height of sill above floor of nave | |
|--|---------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|--|-------|
| | ft | in. | ft | in. | ft | in. |
| Original west doorway of west porch | 6 | 5 | 12 | 4 | —1 | 0 |
| Doorway to stair-turret, built inside original west doorway | 3 | 6 | 6 | 9 | 0 | |
| North door of west porch (blocked) | 3 | 6 (a) | 7 | 0 | —1 | 0 |
| South door of west porch | 3 | 6 (a) | 7 | 0 | —1 | 0 |
| West doorway of nave | 4 | 10 | 8 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Blocked first-floor doorway | 4 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 12 | 0 |
| Triple west window | 8 | 8 | 6 | 6 | c. 21 | 0 |
| Arches of nave arcade | 7 | 3 (b) | 14 | 6 (c) | 0 | 0 |
| Windows of nave clear-storey | 3 | 0 | 7 | 6 | c. 20 | 0 |
| Chancel-arch | 9 | 8 | 21 | 6 | 0 | 11 |
| East windows flanking chancel-arch | 2 | 0 | 5 | 0 | c. 14 | 0 |
| Doorways, to ambulatory, flanking chancel-arch | 2 | 8 | 5 | 6 | —3 | 0 |
| North window of sanctuary | 3 | 8 | 7 | 8 | 10 | 0 (d) |

(a) Interior width. These doorways are slightly rebated for doors opening outward.

(b) Average value. Individual values vary between 6 ft 7 in. and 7 ft 7 in.

(c) Average value. Individual values vary between 14 ft and 15 ft.

(d) The sill is about 6½ ft above the floor of the sanctuary.

The arch between the nave and presbytery is a pointed insertion of the fourteenth century, but at its springing there can still be seen on each side the remains of the round arch, turned in Roman tiles, which formed an outer member of the original triple arch. It is thus clear that the present square jambs, 25 ft 3 in. apart, represent the original outer jambs of this triple arch, whose individual members rose to about 25 ft above the floor. Watkins recorded that he laid bare the bases of the central piers of this arcade; and his plan shows a central arch about 9½ ft wide, flanked by two others, each about 5 ft wide, separated by piers about 4 ft thick from east to west and presenting faces about 2½ ft in width towards the nave.

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BROUGHTON

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 104, reference SE 960086

ST MARY

Tower, formerly body of church, with western stair-turret: period C 3

The village of Broughton, about 23 miles north of Lincoln on the Roman road known as Ermine Street, is the only village of any size on the 30 miles of this road from Lincoln to the Humber. The church of St Mary now consists of a chancel with side-chapels, an aisled nave, a west tower, and a round western stair-turret. The chancel is mainly Early English, with some remains of Norman work; the nave is Decorated, with Perpendicular aisles and clear-storey; and parts of the tower are on the borderline between Anglo-Saxon and Norman.

The upper stage of the tower, with pinnacles, battlements, and traceried windows, is Perpendicular; but the lower stage has many Anglo-Saxon characteristics, even if some of them clearly show Norman influence. The south doorway into the tower has a round head of two orders, the outer square and the inner with round mouldings which rise from square imposts supported by angle-shafts in each jamb. The side-alternate dressed-stone quoins of the tower are fairly uniform up its whole height, but the walls show four horizontal bands of roughly equal height and each of quite distinct masonry: the lowest band, from the ground to a little above the head of the south door, is of roughly coursed rubble; the second consists of rubble laid very systematically in herring-bone fashion; the third is built of roughly dressed stones of rectangular shape; and finally the top band is similar to the third, but with patches of very irregularly laid rubble. In the south face there are two small round-headed windows, with dressed-stone sills, jambs, and heads, one window being in each of the middle two bands of masonry. In the north face there is one similar window in the herring-bone band.

The western stair-turret is of quite different fabric, being built of large, roughly dressed stones averaging about 18 in. square; and the windows of the turret are all in the form of narrow, vertical, rectangular slits, framed with narrow strips of stone.

Internally, the east face of the tower not only presents to the nave the same varied bands of masonry as are seen outside but also has several other interesting features. First, its quoins run right to the floor, thus proving that the tower was wider than the original eastern structure, a deduction which was confirmed by foundations laid bare during the installation of heating plant.¹ Secondly, the round-headed tower-arch presents to the nave a single square order rising from imposts which project very boldly inward, and are supported by sturdy soffit-shafts, as though to carry a heavy inner order, which, however, does not exist. Thirdly, there is an upper doorway high above this arch, but it is unusual in having ashlar jambs and a flat head.

The chief interest of the church is, however, to be found within the tower space, for from this side the tower-arch is seen to be much more ornate.² It is of two square orders rising from jambs and imposts which are duly recessed; but, instead of the shafts being placed directly beneath the springing of their arches, each shaft is displaced about 6 in. towards the centre of the doorway and so gives the awkward appearance of supporting the impost at a point where it is carrying no load. The composition is clearly not one which would have satisfied an accomplished Norman mason; but even so it has a considerable, massive, effectiveness; and, by comparing the ornate treatment on this side with the relative simplicity of that towards the present nave, Micklethwaite deduced that here, as at Barton-on-Humber, the tower-space was originally the nave of the church, and that the original smaller eastern building was the chancel.

The turret-stairway also deserves special mention, particularly for comparison with the other pre-Conquest Lincolnshire stairway at Hough-on-the-Hill. Like Hough, Broughton has well-formed stone treads, which are quite separate

¹ J. T. Micklethwaite, *Arch. J.* 53 (1896), 335.

² See Fig. 52.

BROUGHTON

from the stone column at the centre of the stairs, a distinctive constructional feature which we have not seen except in these two stairways and in the fragmentary remains of the turret-stair at the ruined Anglo-Saxon cathedral at North Elmham, Norfolk. Unlike Hough, the stairway at Broughton has a waggon-vaulted ceiling, like that in the western stair-turret at Brixworth, Northamptonshire.

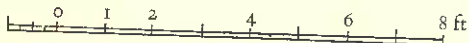
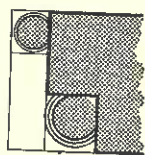
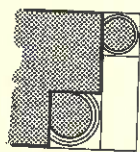
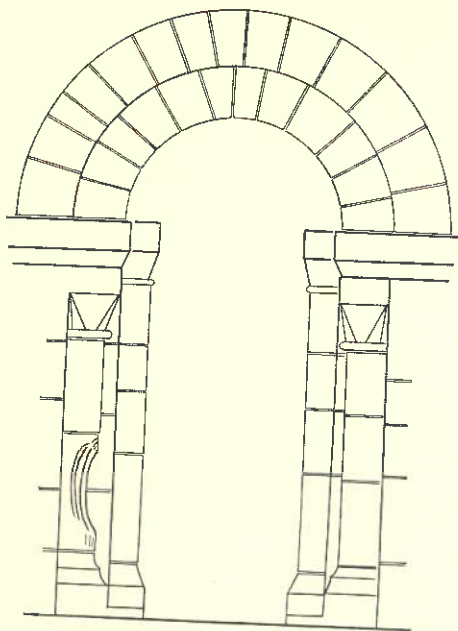


FIG. 52. BROUGHTON, LINCOLNSHIRE
Elevation and plan of the tower-arch, looking from the tower eastward towards the nave.

A tall, narrow, square-headed doorway gives access from the stair to the first-floor chamber of the tower; and, since the stairs then continue for some distance before becoming ruinous, it seems reasonable to assume that there was originally a second-floor chamber to which the stairway led.

DIMENSIONS

The tower measures 18 ft from east to west internally, and 13 ft from north to south. Its walls are 2 ft 10 in. thick and about 40 ft high to the top

of the Anglo-Saxon work. The opening between the tower and the present nave is 10 ft 6 in. tall, and is 4 ft 5 in. wide, measured across the springing of the arch; the actual passage between nave and tower is, however, only 3 ft 3 in. wide, as the result of the projection of the soffit-shafts beyond the jambs.

REFERENCES

- J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, 'Something about Saxon church building', *Arch. J.* 53 (1896), 293-351. Broughton briefly described, with plan; and tower claimed as nave, 335.
Editorial, *A.A.S.R.* 28 (1905-6), x-xii. Central column of stairway noted as independent of treads of stairs, p. x.
A. H. THOMPSON, 'Pre-Conquest church-towers in North Lincolnshire', *ibid.* 29 (1907-8), 43-70. Broughton briefly noted, 45.

BULMER

Yorkshire, North Riding

Map sheet 92, reference SE 699676

ST MARTIN

Side walls of nave: probably Saxo-Norman

About 6 miles south-west of Malton and just south of the extensive grounds of Castle Howard, the small village of Bulmer has a church which, although much altered in later periods, yet retains substantial parts of a nave which dates from close before or after the Conquest.

The present church consists of an aisleless nave and chancel, with an Early English west tower. The fabric is of rough rubble, with much herringbone work in the walls of the nave. There are no distinctive quoins; but the nave, which appears to have been lengthened eastward, originally had two doorways, one in the middle of each side wall. The south doorway, by which the church is now entered, is of well-developed Norman form, but the blocked north doorway is much simpler, with a flat lintel and a plain semi-circular tympanum beneath a round arched head, which is enclosed by a plain, chamfered hood-moulding. The jambs are of dressed stone, with some tendency to 'Escomb technique'.

Three early, round-headed, single-splayed win-

dows have survived, one in the north wall, east of the doorway, and two in the south wall, separated by the doorway. They do not serve to define the date with certainty but suggest either Anglo-Saxon workmanship or at least Anglo-Saxon influence. Their heads are of single rough stones, with their lower faces cut to form the round opening; and their jambs are each built of three roughly squared stones. But in all three windows the most distinctively early feature is the way in which the splays of the jambs and head are carried through the full thickness of the wall, with no external splay or rebate for the fixing of the glass. Indeed, even the present windows are simply inserted in the openings and held in place by dowels.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 50 ft long internally by about 15 ft wide, with walls 2 ft 9 in. thick and about 19 ft high. The north doorway is 2 ft 2 in. wide externally and 6 ft tall, to the lower face of the stone lintel. The windows are 6 in. wide by 2 ft 4 in. tall externally, splayed internally to 2 ft 4 in. by 5 ft, with sills 8 ft 9 in. above the floor

BURCOMBE

Wiltshire

Map sheet 167, reference SU 073311

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

South wall of chancel: period C

The village of Burcombe, about 2 miles west of Wilton, is now wholly on the south bank of the Nadder, with its church standing isolated, across the river, on high land beside the main road from Salisbury to Shaftesbury. Rickman included the church in his first published list of twenty pre-Conquest churches, and at that time the original east end of the chancel still remained, as well as both side-walls. But later in the nineteenth century the insertion of a large east window caused the failure of the east wall and necessitated its rebuilding, along with much of the north wall, both of which are now of squared-flint and stone construction. These rebuilt walls are in marked contrast with the rough flint construction of the

south wall in which there is also a rough bonding course of large stones, a little below the line of the eaves.

Both eastern quoins have fortunately survived, showing the well-defined long-and-short formation to which Rickman called attention. The upright pillar stones are of roughly uniform size, about a foot square in plan, and from 30 to 36 in. in height; while the flat bonding stones are from 6 to 9 in. in height and about 2 ft in length along each wall-face. (See Fig. 53, p. 118.)

DIMENSIONS

The walls are 2 ft 3 in. thick and about 17 ft high, and the chancel is 15 ft long internally, by 9 ft 6 in. wide.

REFERENCES

- T. RICKMAN, 'Ecclesiastical architecture of France and England', *Arch.* 26 (1836), 26-46. Burcombe briefly described, 40-1. Elevations of east end and north and south walls. It is worth recording that Rickman's east elevation shows that the wall then standing had no east window of any sort, at least none visible externally.
- Sir STEPHEN GLYNNE, 'Notes on Wiltshire churches', *Wilt. A.N.H. Mag.* 42 (1922-4), 180. Burcombe visited August 1849. He says 'The east window is closed'; and he normally uses the word 'closed' to mean 'blocked but visible'.

BURGH CASTLE

Suffolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 474044

Cemetery, and evidences of early settlement probably to be associated with St Fursey's mission

Bede (*H.E.* III, 19) records how after the accession of Sigebert (c. 631) a holy man of the name of Fursa came from Ireland, was honourably received by the king, and converted many of the people to Christianity. He built a monastery within the walls of a fort, pleasantly situated near woods and the sea, at a place called *Cnobheresburg*. This place has long been regarded as probably, but not certainly, to be identified with *Gariannonum*, one of the Roman forts of the Saxon shore, at Burgh Castle, about 3 miles west of Great Yarmouth, close beside the east bank of Breydon

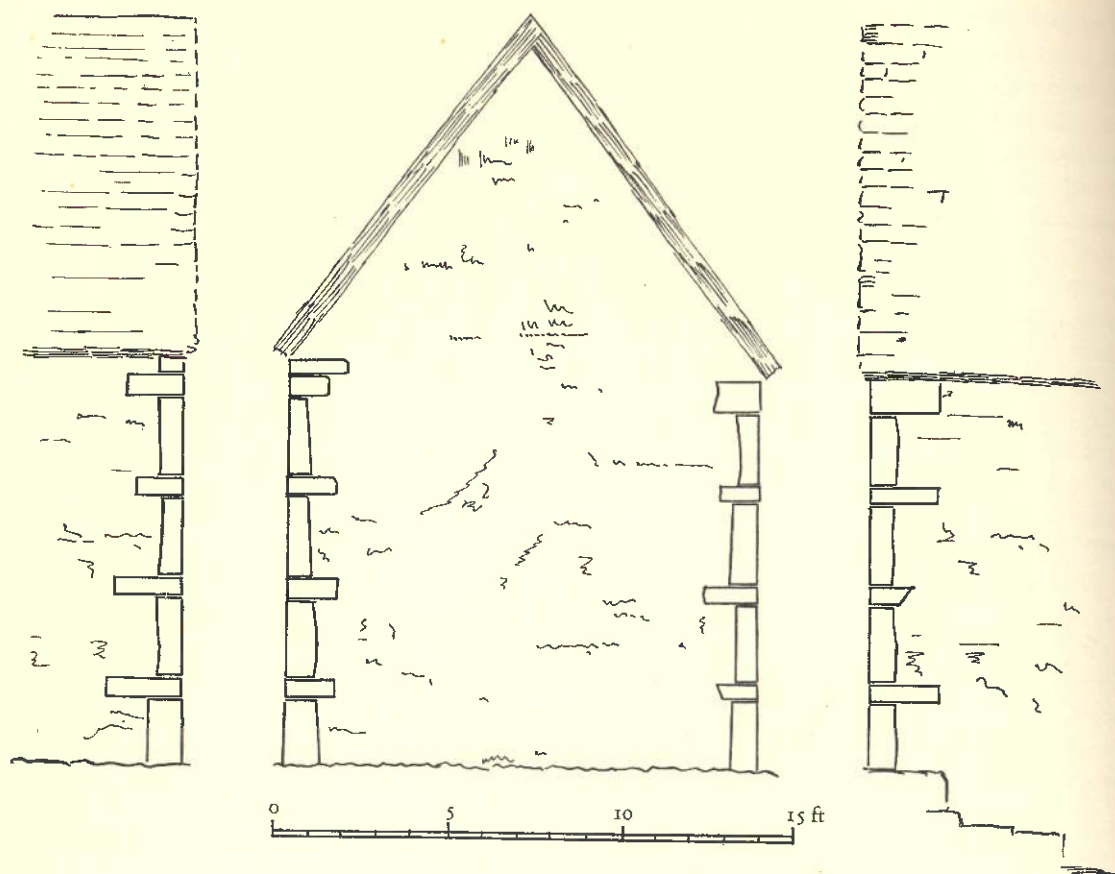


FIG. 53. BURCOMBE, WILTSHIRE

The east end of the church as illustrated by Rickman in 1836 before reconstruction. Note that there is no indication of the existence of an east window.

Water, at the junction of the rivers Yare and Waveney.

This identification of Fursa's monastery has recently been greatly strengthened by the discovery of a Christian cemetery within the walls of the fort; further support is given by the discovery of some early plaster and of the post-holes of wooden buildings.

A Roman and pagan Anglo-Saxon burial ground has long been known in the field outside the eastern wall of the fort, the period of use being dated by a third-century flask, some Anglo-Saxon burial urns, and a sixth-century brooch.¹ The

Christian cemetery recently found within the north-east corner of the fort contained some 350 graves in which the remains had been buried without any grave goods.² Fragments of coloured plaster found further south in the fort are not of Roman character but resemble the plaster used in King Ine's work at Glastonbury.³ Excavations in the southern part of the fort revealed post-holes of early wooden buildings, but neither their character nor their extent can be identified with certainty, because that part of the fort has been greatly disturbed by the construction of an early Norman motte.

¹ *Burgh Castle, Suffolk* (H.M.S.O., London, 1957), 2.

² *British Archaeological Association Bulletin*, 126 (May 1961), 1-2; *ibid.* 132 (March 1962), 2.

³ For the information about the plaster and the post-holes we are indebted to Mr C. A. R. Radford.

BURGHWALLIS

Yorkshire, West Riding

Map sheet 103, reference SE 537120

Figure 413

ST HELEN

*Nave and chancel: period C**West tower: probably post-Conquest*

Burghwallis is about 6 miles north-north-west of Doncaster, in the angle formed by the two main roads to Selby and Tadcaster. The church of St Helen has a very secluded setting in the grounds of the Hall, and now consists of a west tower, aisleless nave with south porch, and chancel with a much later north chapel.

The nave and chancel are built of rubble, almost all of which is laid in herring-bone fashion; all six quoins are of very large stones, well laid in side-alternate technique; and a simple square plinth of undressed stones runs round the whole of the nave and chancel. The tower is of quite different fabric, mainly carefully coursed, small, rectangular pieces of stone, but with a considerable admixture of large squared stones. There is no herring-bone work in the tower; its quoins are of stones which, while large, are much less so than those of the nave; and its tall plinth is of dressed stone, with a simple chamfer. Finally, the tower is not in bond with the west wall of the nave.

It is very unfortunate that no original windows have remained in the nave and chancel of this church; for its simple plan, its plain square plinth, its massive side-alternate quoins, and its walls, only 2 ft 9 in. thick, all combine to give a clear impression of Anglo-Saxon work, notwithstanding the use of herring-bone technique in the walls. The south door is round-headed with square jambs, and a single square order; but it has no features that would serve to differentiate between Anglo-Saxon and Norman. There is a blocked square-headed doorway in the north wall of the nave, and a blocked doorway in the south wall of the chancel, with a monolithic head cut to somewhat pointed form.

The tower is undoubtedly later than the nave,

on the evidence both of its being built against, and over, the west wall of the nave, and also of its more developed plinth. But it is square, without any buttresses; its three stages are separated by square string-courses chamfered below; and each stage is set back about 6 in. from the one below. The tower is therefore unlikely to be later than Norman. The belfry stage has four double windows which at first glance look like late-Saxon work with mid-wall shafts; but on further inspection each through-stone is seen to be supported by two shafts instead of one. In three faces both shafts in each window are cylindrical, and in the fourth face, to the east, the outer one is cylindrical and the inner one is a large slab. Further proof that this is no normal late-Saxon belfry is provided by the window heads, which have pointed pseudo-arches cut from stone slabs. In the north face of the second stage there is a small circular window, cut through a single square stone; and in the lowest stage there are no early openings, but an indistinct vestige of a blocked west doorway.

Internally, both chancel-arch and tower-arch are pointed. Above the tower-arch, but displaced far to the south side of the wall, is a round-headed doorway to an upper room in the tower.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 35 ft long internally, by 20 ft 5 in. wide, with walls 2 ft 9 in. thick and about 17 ft high. The original internal length of the chancel must have been about 18 ft, and its width is about 15 ft. The tower is 17½ ft square externally, and about 55 ft high to the top of the later battlements.

BURNHAM DEEPPDALE

Norfolk

Map sheet 125, reference TF 805442

ST MARY

Round west tower, and western part of nave: period C3

The interesting church of Burnham Deepdale, about 2 miles east of the Roman fort of *Brannodunum*, beside the Brancaster Marshes and Scolt Head, has a number of unusual features which may

be assigned with some confidence to a date close to, and most probably before, the Conquest.

The flint-built church now consists of an aisleless chancel, a nave with north aisle and south porch, and a round west tower. The later windows are faced with dressed stone; but the original, narrow, round-headed windows of the tower have plain flint jambs and heads, the latter being rather carelessly laid in non-radial fashion. A further distinctive feature of pre-Norman character is the use of quarter-round pilasters, also built of flints, in the re-entrant angles at the junction of the nave and tower.

In the belfry stage, the tower has three tall, narrow, round-headed windows, facing north, south and west respectively; the stage next below originally had the same arrangement, but the window to the north is now blocked. The next lower stage has only one window, facing west; and the ground stage also now has a single window, facing west, but this is clearly a later insertion in a section of wall that blocks a former tall, narrow, west doorway, of which there is very clear evidence internally.

A striking and unusual feature of the tower is an off-set about 8 in. in width at a height of about 9 ft from the ground, above which height the remainder of the tower rises sheer without any external marking of the internal stages. A further unusual feature, less immediately apparent, but clearly to be seen on careful inspection, is an ornamental inlay of darker stone, probably brown carstone, to form a sort of arcading round the tower, at a level a little above the sills of the belfry windows; and a double line is then taken up beside each of the windows and over their heads in the characteristically Anglo-Saxon form of triangular-headed arcading. Thus the full height of the tower is to be assigned to the original building period, about the time of the Conquest.

The nave shows no external evidence of early construction, but internally an off-set is carried across the west wall and along the western part of the south wall, at the same height as the curious external off-set on the tower. The internal off-set is carried across the soffit faces of the tower-arch in place of imposts, so that the arch itself is set back 8 in. behind the jambs. Above the tower-arch, a triangular-headed upper doorway opens

from the nave into an upper chamber of the tower; and in this doorway the arch is set back from the jambs like that below, but by a smaller amount, perhaps only 2 in. The whole interior of the nave is plastered, so that all evidence of constructional detail is obscured, but one may assume that the jambs and heads of the tower-arch and upper doorway are formed of flints without the use of dressed stone.

Within the tower it is apparent that the present west window is set in a thin wall which blocks an original, tall, narrow, round-headed, west doorway. The outer face of this doorway is less easily seen; but it can be traced without undue difficulty when it has been appreciated that the arched head is above the off-set, like the head of the tower-arch in the west wall of the nave.

DIMENSIONS

The original nave must have been 16 ft in width internally, and the surviving part of the original south wall, about 20 ft high, is only 2 ft 4 in. thick below the off-set, narrowing above to about 1 ft 8 in.

The tower is about 9½ ft in internal diameter, with walls almost 5 ft thick below the off-set, narrowing above to about 4 ft. Its total height is about 45 ft.

The tower-arch is 11 ft 9 in. high to the crown, the jambs being 8 ft 6 in. high to the off-set, and the opening 4 ft 9 in. wide in clear between the jambs. The blocked western doorway now survives as a recess 11 ft 6 in. tall and 3 ft 6 in. wide in the west wall of the tower.

BYTHAM, LITTLE

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 123, reference TF 013180

ST MEDARD

*South wall of nave with long-and-short quoins:
period C*

The pleasant church of Little Bytham, about 7 miles north of Stamford, on high land beside the main railway line from King's Cross to

Scotland, has an unusual dedication to St Medard, a sixth-century Bishop of Noyon. The church now consists of an aisleless chancel, nave with south aisle, and west tower with spire. The south angles of the originally aisleless nave have Anglo-Saxon long-and-short quoins resting on a square plinth, while the round-headed south door of the chancel and north door of the nave are Norman, the former with an early square-sectioned hood-mould, square chamfered imposts, and ornamented tympanum pierced with a circular window. The lower part of the tower is also of Norman workmanship of a simple early type; the upper part and the spire are Early English work of the beginning of the thirteenth century; and the south aisle, south porch and chancel-arch are also Early English, but of later in the thirteenth century.

The south-east angle of the nave, standing on a simple square plinth, shows five well-developed and neatly jointed pairs of long-and-short quoining. These are visible only on the east face, because the south face is hidden by the later aisle wall. The long upright stones, averaging nearly 3 ft in height, are of irregular width; and the full extent of the short, or flat, stones is hidden behind the south wall of the chancel, so that one can say with certainty only that they bond more than 1 ft into the angle of the nave. The south-west angle now shows only three pairs of long-and-short quoining, but stands on a similar plinth; while the wall between the two quoins, now cut through by the Early English arcade, is 2 ft 6 in. in thickness.

The tower is clearly of early Norman date, and the round tower-arch, of a single square order, is of the sort which is difficult to date with certainty; but above the tower-arch an indication of the survival of Anglo-Saxon traditions is shown by the presence of an upper doorway leading to the first floor of the tower.

REFERENCES

- A.A.S.R. 13 (1875-6), xvi. Note of recent restoration. Saxon nature of south-east quoin noted.
Ibid. 20 (1890-1), xii. History of St Medard. Picture of south door of chancel and south-east quoin of nave.
 C. E. KEYSER, 'Notes on the churches of Little Bytham and Eggleton', *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 19 (1913), 45-54. Good illustrations.

BYWELL

Northumberland

Map sheets 77 and 78, reference NZ 048615

Figure 414

ST ANDREW

West tower, and western part of nave: period C

The two pre-Conquest churches of Bywell stand in lovely surroundings close to the north bank of the Tyne, about 4 miles downstream from Corbridge. There is now practically no village of Bywell, but the two ancient churches serve the Halls of Bywell and Stocksfield.

St Andrew's church stands in a well-kept circular churchyard beside the east entry to Bywell Hall. The church now consists of a west tower, aisleless nave, transepts, chancel, and north vestry, principally in the Early English style. The church is mainly built of roughly dressed red-brown local stone: and the Anglo-Saxon workmanship of the fine tower is made clear by the massive stones used in its side-alternate quoins, by its characteristically ornamented belfry stage, and by the contrasting severe simplicity of the lower stage, which occupies about three-quarters of the total height and is entirely free from off-sets, string-courses, or ornament of any sort other than four openings.

In the tall, lower stage the north face is entirely plain. The west face has two windows: that in the ground floor is modern; but that lighting the first floor has a round head cut from a single stone, and is probably original, although its internally splayed jambs are built of stones that roughly match the coursing of the wall. The south face has a similar window lighting the ground floor, and, at the level next below the belfry, has a large round-headed doorway outlined in strip-work. The head of this opening is cut from a single square stone; its unsplayed jambs are built from stones rather larger than those of the walling, with simple flat imposts and bases, all of which project slightly from the wall-face; and the strip-work which outlines the whole opening has further corbel-like bases and imposts, resting on those of the jambs.

The belfry stage is defined both below and above by a simple string-course of square section;

and in each face it has not only a double window with mid-wall shaft, through-stone slab, and outlining frame of square-sectioned strip-work, of the sort so characteristic of Northumbrian belfry towers, but also a trio of small circular windows each pierced through a single stone. The unsplayed jambs of the double windows, like those of the doorway below, have simple flat bases and imposts, and are built of stones somewhat larger than those of the walling but not in 'Escomb technique'; round mid-wall shafts without bases or capitals support simple through-stone slabs; and the head of each double window is formed of two square stones resting on the imposts and through-stone slabs, each stone shaped below into the round head of one window of the pair. The strip-work surrounding each double window springs from bases and imposts projecting from the wall above those of the window-jambs, and the semi-circular tympanum enclosed by its hood-mould contains a square stone, which is placed immediately above the two window-heads and is pierced by a circular hole of about the same diameter. The other two circular openings in each face are placed very slightly higher, and about mid-way between the hood-mould and the angles of the tower; in the west face one of these outer circular openings is cut through one of the very large quoin stones.

Above the upper string-course of the belfry stage, the tower is ended most effectively by a plain, low parapet, which continues the line of the tower and hides its roof.

On either side of the tower, the west quoins of the nave project about 2 ft 3 in., and also continue several feet above the present eaves of the nave, like buttresses flanking the east wall of the tower. They are of the same side-alternate technique as those of the tower, and are built of similar, massive stones.

Internally, the tower-arch has been replaced by a plain pointed one, of the thirteenth century; but the square jambs may be original and, if so, the arch was 8 ft 6 in. in width. Inside the tower there is an opening to the nave at first-floor level, but the original dressings of this doorway have been removed. The walls of the nave are plastered; but, in their western part at least, they may be

assumed to be those of the original church, for they continue the alignment fixed by the western quoins, and, although they are only 2 ft 9 in. thick, they were originally over 20 ft high.

Gilbert¹ has given reasons for believing that the west tower at Bywell may, like those at Corbridge and Monkwearmouth, originally have been a western porch of appreciably earlier date than period C.

This tower at Bywell should be compared with the other examples which have double belfry windows enclosed by the characteristically Northumbrian hood-mouldings; namely, Billingham, Monkwearmouth, Ovingham, Wharram-le-Street, and York, St Mary Bishophill Junior. In addition to the belfry windows, Billingham, Bywell and Ovingham have the doorway in the south face of the next lower floor, and at Billingham and Bywell it is outlined by strip-work. The same three have circular openings in the tympanum space; but only at Bywell are there also circular openings between the hood-mould and the quoins.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is 10 ft long internally from east to west, and 11 ft 1 in. wide from north to south, with walls 2 ft 6 in. in thickness and about 55 ft high. The nave is 15 ft 9 in. in width, with walls 2 ft 9 in. thick and originally over 20 ft high.

REFERENCES

See under Bywell, St Peter.

BYWELL

Northumberland

Map sheets 77 and 78, reference NZ 049614

Figures 415, 416

ST PETER

*Considerable parts of nave and chancel walls:
period A 2*

The church of St Peter stands immediately beside the north bank of the River Tyne, within a

¹ E. Gilbert, *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., 24 (1946), 163-6.

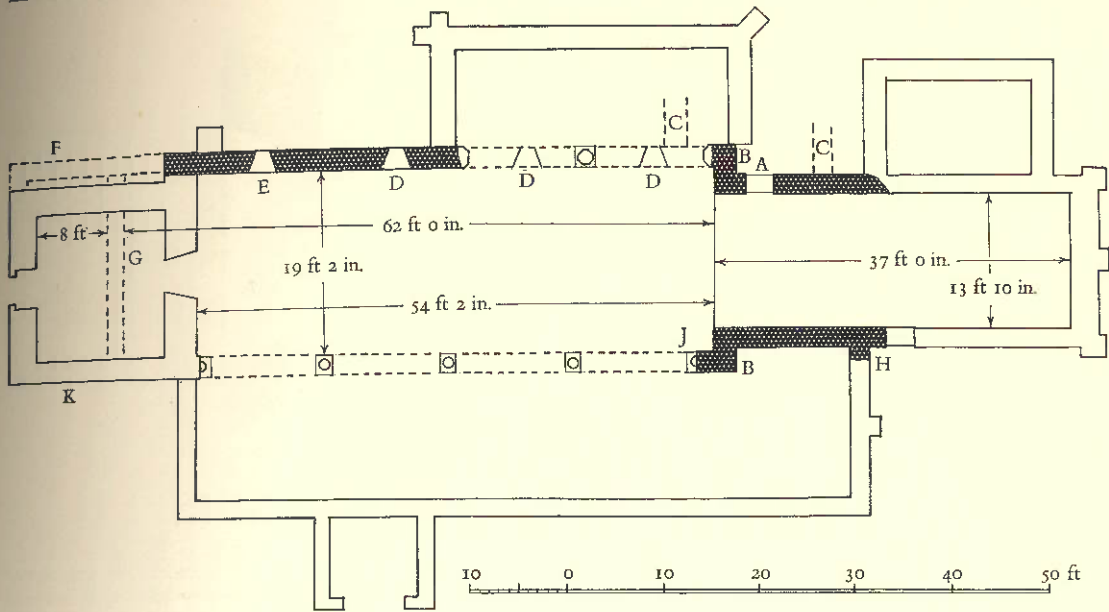


FIG. 54. BYWELL ST PETER, NORTHUMBERLAND

A, blocked early north doorway; B, side-alternate megalithic quoins at east of early nave; C, conjectural side-walls of north *porticus*; D, early north windows; E, much altered western window originally similar to windows D; F, foundations visible beside wall of tower; G, conjectural cross-wall; H, stump of early wall running southward from chancel; J, base of eastern respond, of early Norman character; K, south wall of tower possibly on early foundations.

few hundred yards of the church of St Andrew, which is described above. Both were included in the list of Anglo-Saxon churches in the later editions of Rickman's *Styles of Architecture in England*, but Hodges, writing in 1893, said that a very careful examination of St Peter's church had 'failed to reveal anything that may be dated before the Norman period'. He added that the windows in the north side had misled archaeologists by their lofty position, but that 'the details and proportions of the windows, as well as the masonry, are, however, distinctly Norman'.¹ Neither Baldwin Brown nor Clapham make any reference to St Peter's church and, although the excellent pamphlet by the late Canon R. E. Holmes referred to much of the evidence of its pre-Conquest date, it was not until 1946 that this evidence was published in a comprehensive form by E. Gilbert.² In addition to the evidence recorded in Gilbert's article we verified in 1956 that the original south-east quoin of the nave is visible within the organ chamber, showing clearly the megalithic side-alternate construction, which is

indicated but not absolutely confirmed, by the north-east quoin described by Gilbert.

The present church consists of a massive, thirteenth-century, west tower, a nave flanked on the south by an aisle and partly on the north by a chapel, and a thirteenth-century chancel with a modern north vestry. The tower is built partly on and partly within what was formerly the nave, and itself overlies some of the Anglo-Saxon foundations. The existing Anglo-Saxon fabric of the nave is the north wall, except where it is cut away by the arcade to the north chapel, the eastern and western parts of the south wall and the walling beside and over the medieval chancel-arch.

The evidence for the Anglo-Saxon character of this fabric is as follows:

(a) Externally in the gap between the northern chapel and the vestry there can be seen the east face of eight stones of the north-east quoin of the nave. These stones average 1 ft 5 in. in height, and those that present their longer horizontal faces average 2 ft 5 in. along the east wall. Above the chapel, the whole remaining height of the quoin seems to be original, in good side-alternate technique.

¹ C. C. Hodges, *Reliquary*, 7, n.s. (1893), 15.

² *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., 24 (1946), 167-74.

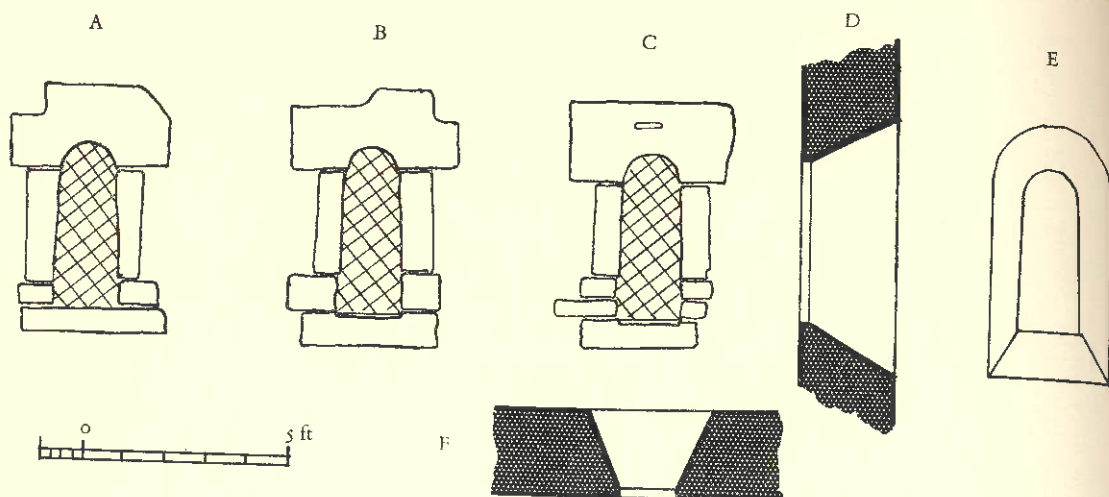


FIG. 55. BYWELL ST PETER, NORTHUMBERLAND

Details of the three early windows in the north wall of the nave. A, exterior of the easternmost window; B, exterior of the second from the east; C, exterior of the third from the east; D, section, typical of all three windows; E, interior elevation, typical of all three windows; F, plan.

(b) Internally, in the organ chamber, both faces of the corresponding south-east quoin are visible, and are seen to be built in careful, side-alternate technique up the full height of the wall. The lower stones average about 1 ft 6 in. in height, their longer horizontal faces average about 2 ft 6 in., and their shorter faces about 1 ft.

(c) The nave walls are thin and very high, the north wall being 2 ft 6 in. thick, the south 2 ft. 2 in., and both being about 26 ft high.

(d) The nave is exceptionally long and narrow. The present nave is 19 ft 2 in. wide and 54 ft 2 in. long; but the tower overlaps part of the original nave, whose old foundation may be seen in line with the present north wall, beside the tower, and returning to meet the west wall of the tower. From the chancel-arch to the inner face of the west wall of the tower is a distance of 71 ft 11 in., so that one must visualize a nave of this length, or, if one accepts an indication given by a transverse foundation visible externally, a nave 62 ft long with a narrow western annexe. Either of these is closely comparable with the early nave at Monkwearmouth which is thought to have been about 65 ft by 19 ft.

(e) Perhaps the best evidence is given by the round-headed north windows of the nave, which were so summarily dismissed by Hodges. There are four of these, with their sills about 20 ft above the floor. The western window has been enlarged in later times, and is of little further interest; but the other three are all strikingly similar in construction and may be accepted as original. Externally the aperture is about 4 ft high by 1 ft 6 in. across, narrowing slightly to the top. Internally the jambs are splayed so that the aperture becomes about 3 ft wide. The inner faces are heavily plastered, so that no detail of

construction is visible; but the exterior faces are bare, and the detail is not at all Norman. The head of each window is cut from a large, roughly rectangular stone about 4 ft across and 1 ft 6 in. high. The sills are also of large stones of about the same width, but about 6 in. high. The jambs are all constructed in a uniform fashion: a tall narrow stone comes next to the head, and rests on a short stone (in one window two short stones) extending a little farther along the face of the wall. Each of the tall narrow stones is over 2 ft high. The windows are therefore much more in the Anglo-Saxon tradition than the Norman.

On the basis of these facts Gilbert dates St Peter in period A and suggests that it was in this church that the consecration of Egbert as Bishop of Lindisfarne took place at Bywell, as recorded by Symeon of Durham.¹

Gilbert has also demonstrated convincingly that the western parts of the chancel walls are of the same early pre-Conquest date as those of the nave. His arguments may be summarized thus:

(a) The side walls of the chancel are in bond with the east wall of the nave and are of the same fabric, as may be verified both on the south, within the organ chamber, and on the north, outside the church in the space between the northern chapel and vestry.

(b) In the north wall of the chancel, between the chapel and the vestry, a blocked doorway may be seen, with 'Escomb fashion' jambs and flat monolithic head. That this formerly led from the chancel to a northern annexe

¹ Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelm. Ecclesiae*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series, 75, 1) (London, 1882), 52. Symeon gives the date as 11 June 802.

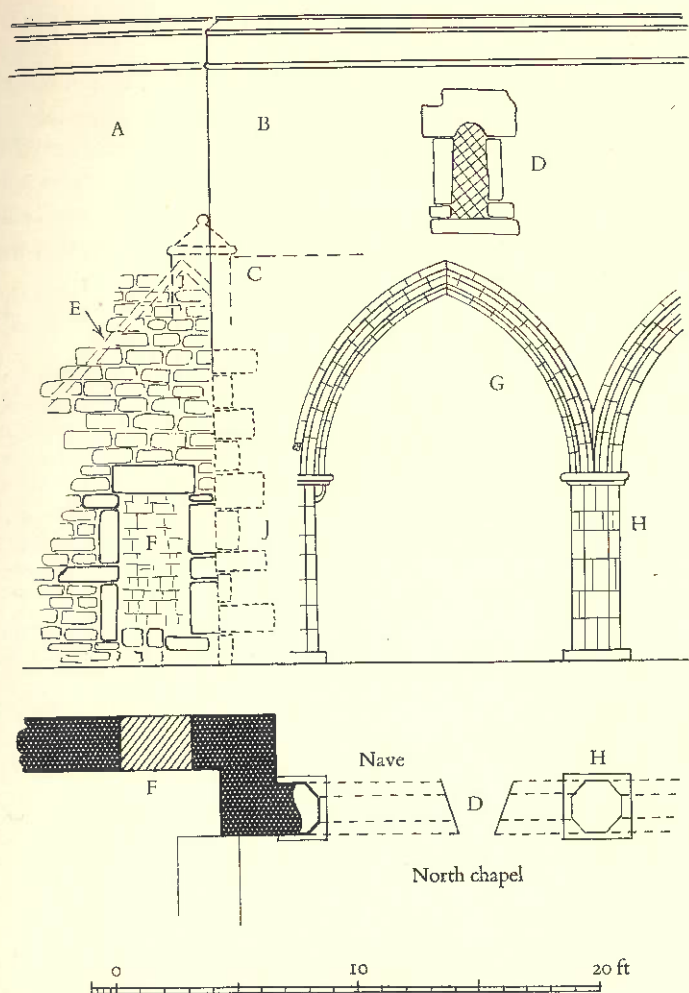


FIG. 56. BYWELL ST PETER, NORTHUMBERLAND

North elevation of the north walls of the nave and chancel, imagining the later medieval north chapel removed. A, north wall of chancel. Note that it is of the same height as the north wall of the nave, a most unusual arrangement; B, north wall of nave; C, parapet of east wall of north chapel, and ridge-line of roof of chapel; D, early Anglo-Saxon north window, easternmost of the group of four such windows; E, roof-raggle of roof of early Anglo-Saxon north *porticus*; F, blocked early Anglo-Saxon doorway which originally led from the chancel to the *porticus*; G, much later medieval arcade opening to north chapel; H, central pier of this later arcade; J, north-east quoin of the Anglo-Saxon nave, of megalithic side-alternate construction: this face of the quoin is hidden by the plaster and by the later wall of the north chapel; but the eastern face is visible externally in the space beside the doorway F, and the drawing is based on the measurement of the eastern face.

may be deduced from the vestiges of a gable-line on the wall above. The position of the gable indicates that the annexe overlapped the nave as well as the chancel, like the *porticus* of the early Kentish churches. It would be of very great interest if the inner face of this doorway, and of a blocked doorway beneath the western windows of the nave, could be exposed, by stripping the plaster from the interior of the walls.

(c) The existing south aisle overlaps the chancel for a distance of about 11 ft, as measured from the eastern quoin of the nave, within the aisle; Gilbert suggests that this unusual arrangement represents the survival, or a

rebuilding on the old foundations, of the corresponding south *porticus*, whose entrance would have been from the nave and would therefore have been destroyed by the cutting of the south arcade.

(d) The side walls of the chancel are of the same height as those of the nave, about 26 ft, an altogether exceptional height for a chancel.

We have revisited Bywell to verify these observations and we have also noted that a section of the east wall of the south aisle, adjoining the south

wall of the chancel, is in bond with it; and that this section not only appears to be of the same construction as the adjoining wall of the chancel, but also to be appreciably different from the remainder of the walling of the aisle, thus giving support to Gilbert's hypothesis that this aisle represents a rebuilding of a south porticus. A little to the east of the aisle, the south wall of the chancel contains vestiges of a blocked doorway; and, a little beyond this point, the character of the walling changes, roughly opposite the point where a similar change may be seen in the north wall of the chancel. We accordingly accept Gilbert's hypothesis that the chancel walls westward from this region are of the same date as the nave, and that the church had *porticus* overlapping the junction of the nave and chancel on the north and south.

DIMENSIONS

The present nave is 54 ft 2 in. long internally, by 19 ft 2 in. wide, with side walls between 2 ft and 2 ft 3 in. thick and about 26 ft high. If the early nave originally comprised also the space now within the tower, its length would have been 71 ft 11 in.; or, if one accepts the vestige of a cross-foundation visible beside the north wall of the tower as evidence for a cross-wall between the nave and a western narthex, then the nave would have been 62 ft long, with a 2 ft wall, and an 8 ft wide narthex. The present chancel is 37 ft long internally and 13 ft 10 in. wide. It is not now possible to say how long the original chancel was; the eastern parts of its side walls, about 25 ft in length, are apparently of the same Early English fabric as the windows of the chancel, but the whole of the chancel is built on a very plain square plinth, which has an early look.

Without excavation there is no indication of the width of the *porticus*; but the gable on the north wall of the chancel indicates a building at least 13 ft in length from east to west, while the position of the vestige of the east wall of the south *porticus*, overlapping 11 ft of the chancel, suggests a building with greater length, perhaps as much as 20 ft.

The windows in the north wall of the nave are placed with their sills about 20 ft above the ground. With the exception of the western window, which has subsequently been enlarged, their apertures in the outer face of the wall are about 4 ft 3 in. in height, by about 1 ft 10 in. in width at the sill, narrowing markedly, by about 4 in., towards the top. Internally, they are splayed to a width of about 3 ft.

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- W. FEATHERSTONHAUGH, 'Saxon sculpture at St Andrew's, Bywell', *Arch. Ael.*, new (2nd) ser., 3 (1859), 33-5. Tower claimed as Saxon; sketch plan. St Peter's also claimed as Saxon.
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- E. GILBERT, 'New views on Warden, Bywell, and Heddon-on-the-Wall churches', *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., 24 (1946), 157-76. St Andrew's, 163-7; tower suggested as probably of two dates, the first early in the Saxon period. St Peter's, 167-74; windows illustrated and dated early, like Corbridge; blocked north door of chancel illustrated; church claimed as early-Saxon.
- E. GILBERT, 'Anglian remains at St Peter's, Monkwearmouth', *ibid.* 25 (1947), 140-78. St Peter's, Bywell, compared with Monkwearmouth and dated about the same period. Chancel at Bywell claimed as the same period as the nave. Arguments advanced for former existence of north and south *porticus*.

CABOURNE

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 104, reference TA 139018

ST NICHOLAS

Lower stage of west tower, and perhaps parts of nave: period C3

About 2 miles east of Caistor, the Grimsby road drops steeply into Cabourne and turns sharply in the village, close beside the church of St Nicholas. The small aisleless nave and chancel of this church were drastically restored by Blomfield in 1882, when he also raised the tower by 12 ft and added the present pseudo-Saxon belfry stage; but the original, lower part of the tower is clearly of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, with walls built of roughly dressed, but now much weathered, blocks of light-brown stone, set in courses and provided with side-alternate quoining of larger stones.

The principal evidence for the pre-Conquest character of the church is, however, given by the similarity of its west doorway to that at the neighbouring church of Rothwell, by the small, internally splayed, keyhole window higher up in the west face, and by the fine, tall tower-arch.

The west doorway has a round, arched head of a single square order, outlined by a hood-mould of square section. As at Rothwell, the head is filled by a plain semi-circular stone tympanum, set flush with the wall and forming the head of a rectangular doorway. The square jambs are built of large blocks of stone and carry heavy impost, of plain square section, which project boldly not only on the soffit but also on the wall-face where they are carried well beyond the ends of the hood-mould.

The keyhole window above the door is now much weathered; but it appears to have had its internal splay carried through the full thickness of the wall, so that the actual aperture was in the outer wall-face. The tall jambs are each built of two stones which bond deeply into the wall, while the head is cut in the lower face of a single rectangular stone.

The tall, narrow tower-arch has massive, square, chamfered impost, each formed of a

single stone, which is carried through the full thickness of the wall and returned a short distance along its face towards the nave. The square jambs and round, arched head, of a single square order, are faced with well-laid, well-dressed stones, which do not extend through the thickness of the wall but leave an intermediate area faced with plaster.

The font, which was discovered, buried under the floor, during the restoration, is a simple cylinder, whose vertical face is enriched with a broad band of wheat-ear ornament round the upper edge and a row of cable ornament round the lower. Rising from the cable ornament and extending over the lower two-thirds of its surface is a curious, intersecting pattern of strap-work, in the shape of circular arcs of varying radius.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 10 ft square internally, with walls 3 ft 9 in. thick. The tower-arch is 6 ft wide and about 15 ft high, while the rectangular opening of the west doorway is 2 ft 8 in. by 7 ft 6 in.

REFERENCES

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 Editorial, 'Report', *A.A.S.R.* 11 (1871-2), lxxviii. Note regarding Blomfield's restoration, and discovery of font.
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CAISTOR

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 104, reference TA 116012

ST PETER AND ST PAUL

Lower part of west tower; and possibly side walls of nave, above later arcades: period C3

The interesting church of St Peter and St Paul stands within the boundaries of the Roman walled camp at Caistor, on the western slopes of the high ridge which runs from Lincoln to the Humber, overlooking the broad valley of the

Trent. Caistor was a Roman station of some importance, on the site of an earlier British fortified settlement referred to by Camden as *Caer Egarry*. The Roman camp, in extent about 100 yd by 300 yd, was enclosed by a stone wall, of which the best preserved section may be seen along the south side of the churchyard.

The church, now consisting of a large west tower of many dates, an aisled nave, and an aisleless chancel, is a building of such complexity that a proper interpretation of its history would require much more detailed study than was possible for us in a single hurried visit in the cold spring of 1957.

The lower stage of the tower appears to be Anglo-Saxon, but with Norman insertions; the middle stage is Early English; the belfry and the series of flanking buttresses are of the Decorated period; while the battlemented parapet and finials are Perpendicular in style.

The tower is built of roughly coursed large blocks of local ironstone now much weathered, with side-alternate quoins of larger blocks, now mainly obscured by the later buttresses. The original western angles of the early aisleless nave project about 18 in. on either side of the east wall of the tower, with side-alternate quoins of very large stones; and in the angle between the south wall of the tower and the west wall of the south aisle an excavation was made in 1957 to show the original, double, chamfered plinth of the tower, about 2 ft below the present level of the churchyard.

In the centre of the west face of the tower a simple Norman doorway, now flanked by two later buttresses, cuts into the springing of an archaic, round-headed, blocked arch in the southern half of the face, thus proving that the arch is earlier than the doorway. A similar blocked arch may be seen in the western half of the south face of the tower, both arches constructed of long thin rough slabs of stone, which are only 2 to 3 in. in breadth along the curve of the arch but about 18 in. in length along the radius. Both arches have the appearance of pre-Conquest workmanship; but it is difficult to see any reason for two such openings close to the corner of the tower, and even more difficult to understand how the comparatively light pier separating them at

the south-west angle of the tower could have carried the outward thrust of the two arches under the superimposed weight of the tower.

In the centre of the north face, another blocked opening is outlined by a completely different type of arch; or possibly a hood-mould, of stones like those of the west doorway at Corbridge, set with their greater length along the curve of the round head. To add to the complication, there is a further outline, higher up, of a taller and narrower blocked opening, whose form and position appear to correspond with a tall, narrow, blocked doorway which is visible in the interior. Above these blocked openings, a small, narrow, internally splayed window is probably an original keyhole window whose head has weathered into its present roughly pointed form.

Internally the tower is markedly rectangular in plan, 15 ft 6 in. from east to west, by 17 ft 4 in. from north to south, with side and west walls about 4 ft thick and east wall no less than 5 ft 11 in. thick. Tall narrow blocked openings in the side walls appear to have been doorways about 3 ft 7 in. wide, of an unusual height of 10 ft 8 in. which strongly suggests Anglo-Saxon workmanship. The tower-arch, of broad Norman proportions, is heavily plastered on the face towards the nave, and on the soffit; but its face towards the tower is bare, showing its well-laid voussoirs and its square chamfered imposts which are returned into the tower, but not into the nave, as a string-course.

The nave is 21 ft 6 in. wide internally, with fine Early English arcades cut through side walls, which are only 2 ft 7 in. thick. Considerable sections of these walls remain as western responds for the arcades; and, as the walls are in the alignment of the early western quoins already noticed beside the tower, it is reasonable to assume that they represent the original walls of the aisleless nave, probably of pre-Conquest date.

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Editorial, 'Report', *ibid.* 20 (1890-1), xxiv. Note of fall of south-east angle of tower.

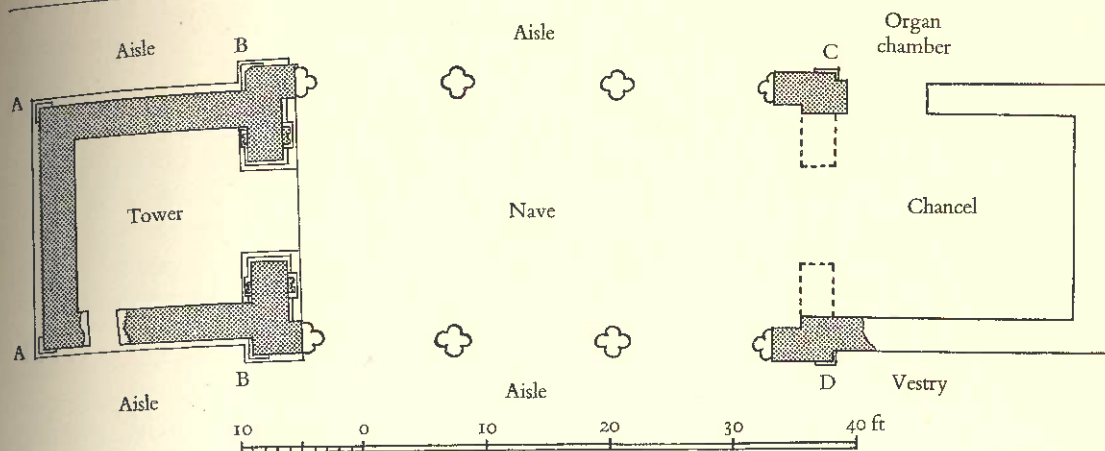


FIG. 57. CAMBRIDGE, ST BENE'T

A, surviving west quoin of tower, showing the projecting bases set on the plinth; B, surviving west quoin of the nave, also with projecting bases set on the plinth; the north quoin has later been chamfered as shown in the plan; C, surviving east quoin of nave, in organ chamber, also with projecting base; D, partially surviving east quoin of nave, in vestry.

A. H. THOMPSON, 'Pre-Conquest church-towers in North Lincolnshire', *ibid.* 29 (1907-8), 43-70. Caistor, 62-3. Brief architectural description.

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CAMBRIDGE

Map sheet 135, reference TL 449583

Figures 417, 418

ST BENE'T

*West tower, nave walls above later arcades:
period C*

The church of St Bene't, or St Benedict, stands in the heart of Cambridge, immediately beside University laboratories where work is in progress on all branches of modern science. The church is well known for its late-Saxon west tower and for the unusual ornament on its tower-arch; but few visitors realize that all four quoins of its Anglo-Saxon nave are still visible, and that until 1872 its Anglo-Saxon chancel was largely complete. At present the church consists of the west tower, a nave whose aisles are carried westward to flank the tower, and a chancel with northern organ chamber and southern vestry.

The tower, about $20\frac{3}{4}$ ft square externally, and about 65 ft high, is now bare of plaster and is seen to be built of stone rubble, with well-dressed long-and-short quoins at all four angles. In the west face there is some admixture of flints in the lower region where the walls have been restored, no doubt in connexion with the insertion of medieval windows. Until 1840 the rubble faces of the walls were wholly covered with plaster; and the quoining then showed as bands of masonry of uniform width outlining each plastered face of the tower. To this end most of the long, or pillar-shaped, stones are carefully squared, with their faces set about an inch forward from the face of the rubble wall, and those parts of the short or clasping stones which now continue deeper along the face of the wall are cut back so as to receive the plaster covering. In a few cases where the pillar stones are abnormally wide, the extra width of their faces has been similarly cut back for the plaster. The tower is divided by two simple square string-courses into three stages, of which the lowest occupies about two-thirds of the total height and corresponds to two floors internally. The face of each of the upper stages is set back about 6 in. from that of the stage below, and the tower is capped by a simple square cornice and a small lead-covered spire.

At ground level, the west face of the tower rises from a simple square plinth of undressed

stones projecting about 6 in. from the wall-face; and each of the western quoins is further emphasized by starting from above the plinth on a projecting base about 20 in. square and 6 in. high, into which the lowest quoin-stone is mortised for further strength. The ground floor of the tower is now lit by a Perpendicular window of three lights, below which the wall-surface has been too much disturbed to show with certainty whether or not there was originally a west door. The floor above has a medieval window, with four-centred head and rectangular frame; but

flanking the double belfry windows. These new round-headed windows were cut straight through the wall, and their jambs were given no facings other than the rubble fabric of the wall. Their heads, however, were formed of thin curves of stone, some of which have survived, and one of which bears the inscription R 1586 P.¹

The rough squares of stone which serve as frames for the small circular windows are only of the nature of facings in the outer part of the wall, through the remainder of which the windows are carried in the form of internally splayed circular openings with heads roughly turned in flattish slabs of rubble. The remains of the inner face of the northern circular window of the east face can still be seen from inside the belfry, its head still intact, but its lower curve cut away by the sixteenth-century builders in forming the round head of their new window.

Externally, on the south face of the tower, the circular openings are enriched with a ring of cable-ornament, which is now heavily weathered. If the other faces ever had any such ornament it has now completely disappeared.

The double belfry windows have jambs which differ slightly from face to face, but which are in general built in 'Escomb fashion', with two upright and three flat through-stones, of which the upper and lower project slightly to form imposts and bases; the mid-wall shafts are turned balusters with several bands separated by longer, slightly bulbous sections; and the through-stone slabs are thin, like the imposts, and perfectly plain.² On three faces the head of the double window is formed by a single rectangular stone which spans both lights and has the two round heads cut in its lower face. On the south side, however, the head is formed of two separate square stones each with its lower face cut to form the round head of one light of the pair. Immediately above the window-heads, a square corbel projects and supports a thin pilaster-strip which runs up to the eaves. It seems probable that each face of the tower originally rose to a gable, and that the tower was then capped with a German-helm roof as at Sompting. If this were so, the pilaster-strips would have run to the tops of the

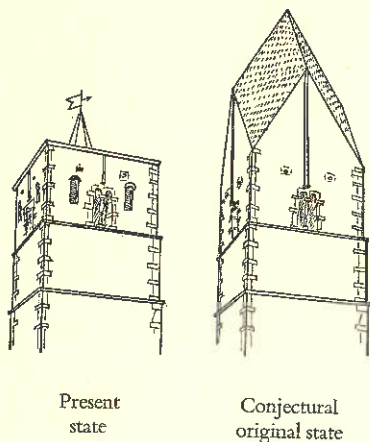


FIG. 58. CAMBRIDGE, ST BENE'T

The west tower, showing its present appearance and a conjectural restoration of its original form.

the masonry above shows signs of an earlier arch, which may represent the vestiges of an original, round-headed window. The north and south faces of this lowest stage of the tower are entirely devoid of opening and so are all four faces of the second stage.

The belfry stage originally had three windows in each face: a central double window, flanked on either side by a very small circular window, or sound-hole, each of which was cut in a single slab of stone. In the eastern face of the tower, there is now only one of these small circular windows; but, for reasons given below, it seems clear that there were originally two, and that the northern one was destroyed in the sixteenth century, when two further windows were inserted in each face,

¹ L. Cobbett, *P. Camb. A.S.* 28 (1927), 83-90.

² See Fig. 206.

gables and would have been a more intelligible feature than they are at present (see Fig. 58).

From within the nave, the most striking feature is the tall, solidly built tower-arch. The jambs rise from a plinth of two square orders and are of through-stones laid in 'Escomb fashion'. The jambs and the arch are both of carefully dressed stone, and the thirty voussoirs of the arch are through-stones, laid with radial joints. On both its eastern and its western face the arch is outlined by a double hood-mould, carried down beside the jambs as a pilaster-strip, of which the inner moulding is half-round and the outer square in section. The eastern face of the arch is emphasized as the more important not only by the use of broader, outlining strip-work (about 15 in. across the double band by comparison with 11 in.), but also by the provision of a rudely carved beast as a feature at each end of the hood-mould just above the imposts. On both east and west faces of the wall the imposts are carried across to the north and south walls as a broad string-course, which has separate projections, rounded and square respectively, to serve as capitals for the two lines of strip-work. It is interesting to note that the round and square mouldings of the outlining strip-work are both cut on single sections of stone, and that this is true not only of the vertical pilaster sections which are in long-and-short formation but also of the hood-mould which surrounds the head of the arch and is cut from seven curved sections of stone. It is also interesting that a small section of rubble walling intervenes between the dressed-stone jambs and the pilaster-strips, whereas no rubble walling intervenes between the extrados of the arch and its encircling hood-moulding. The detail of the outlining hood-mould and pilaster-strips should be compared and contrasted with that of the similar work at Skipwith, Yorkshire, Stow, Lincolnshire, and Wittering, Northamptonshire.

Above the tower-arch, and leading to the first floor of the tower, is a round-headed doorway with 'Escomb-fashion' jambs, square chamfered bases and imposts, and head arched in through-stones with very non-radial joints. The floor of the nave and aisles is slightly higher than the plinth at the western face of the tower and therefore hides the plinth, which no doubt runs along the

north and south walls of the tower, inside the present western extensions of the aisles; but the western quoins of the nave are clearly to be seen in the aisles, in well-formed long-and-short technique, and with separate projecting bases like those of the western quoins of the tower. It is, however, particularly to be noted that the north-

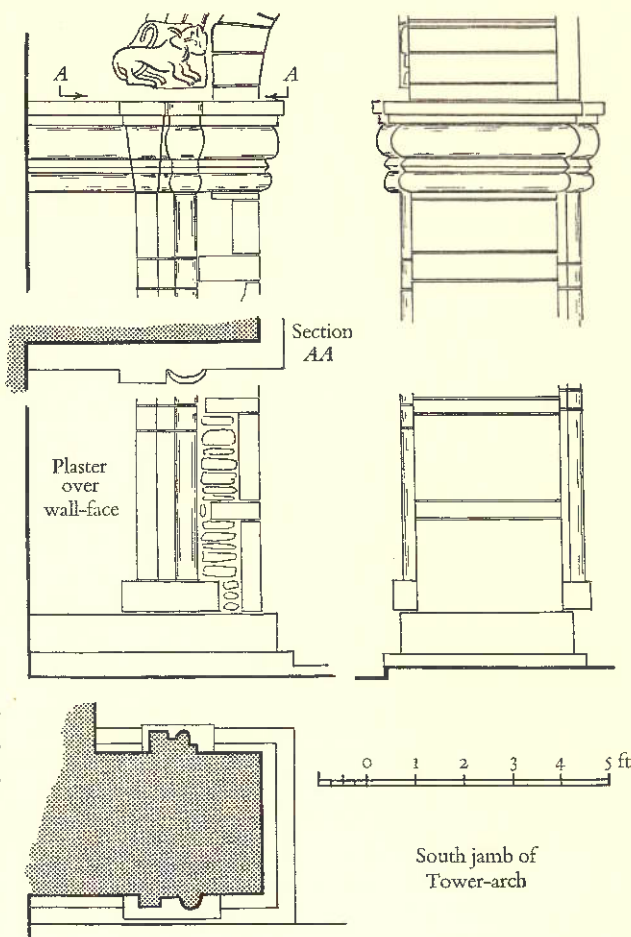


FIG. 59. CAMBRIDGE, ST BENE'T
Details of the south jamb of the tower-arch.

west quoin has later been chamfered on its angle and that none of the stones of either quoin projects beyond the face of the nave wall. By contrast with the tower, it therefore appears either that the quoins of the nave were intended to be covered by the plaster of the wall, or that the walls of the nave were intended to be left bare of plaster.

The north and south walls of the tower inside the church have had various openings cut through

them in later days but show no original openings. The north and south walls of the nave have been cut through by later arcades for the north and south aisles, and the walls above are now so heavily plastered as to show no distinctive features; but, as they are about 2 ft 8 in. in thickness and as the eastern quoins can also be seen in the organ chamber and the vestry, it is possible that the original walling still stands above the later arcades.

The northern jamb of the tower-arch may be seen to contain a number of modern stones, quite differently tooled from the remainder of the arch. These replace part of the jamb which had at some earlier time been very roughly cut about, but which has been preserved and re-erected in the south aisle against the south wall of the tower.

Until 'restorations' in 1858 and 1872, the east and north walls of the chancel were most probably Anglo-Saxon, and, although the south wall has been very greatly altered, it may still contain much of its original fabric.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 37 ft 8 in. long internally, and 18 ft 2 in. wide, with side walls 2 ft 8 in. thick and now about 30 ft high. It is probable, however, that the original side walls were appreciably lower, since the long-and-short western quoins of the nave do not extend above the roofs of the aisles, and since the present moderately pitched roof comes within a few feet of the lower string-course on the east face of the tower.

The tower is 14 ft 6 in. square internally, with walls 3 ft thick and about 65 ft high. The double belfry windows are about 3 ft 3 in. in width between the square jambs, and about 6 ft 6 in. tall.

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 T. WRIGHT, 'Anglo-Saxon architecture', *Arch. J.* 1 (1845), 24-35. Belfry stage mentioned and illustrated, 30.
 Editorial, 'Restorations', *The Ecclesiologist*, 14 (1853), 450. No intention of clearing away the gallery which obscured the tower-arch.
Ibid. 15 (1854), 414. Quoins at east end discovered.

R. WILLIS and J. W. CLARK, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, 1 (Cambridge, 1886), 272-81. Good architectural description. A sketch is given on p. 279 of the south-east quoin of the chancel as it was seen during the rebuilding in 1872. *Ibid.* 4 (Cambridge, 1886), 10. Plan.

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CAMBRIDGE

Map sheet 135, reference TL 445591

ST GILES

*Rebuilt chancel-arch, now at east of south aisle:
period C3*

The nineteenth-century brick church of St Giles at the foot of Castle Hill stands beside the site of a much earlier church whose chancel-arch has somewhat unexpectedly been preserved in the Victorian structure as an arch separating the south aisle from an eastern chapel. The arch is clearly one of some importance and dignity, even in its present setting, and notwithstanding its having been re-erected with its more elaborate face towards the altar instead of facing westward towards the congregation. The square jambs give a clear impression of 'Escomb technique', although not wholly built of through-stones; and the massive imposts have plain vertical faces, separated by a cable-moulding from sloping chamfers which are richly ornamented with double lines of simple diaper pattern. The round arch of a single square order has no through-stones; and between the eastern and western rings of voussoirs the intervening soffit is filled partly with rubble and partly with dressed stone. The face towards the aisle is completely plain; while that to the east is of two orders both in the same plane, the inner undecorated and the outer decorated with two concentric mouldings, separated by a double groove in the form of a W.

The old church of which this arch formed part had retained most of its early fabric until 1875, although a large northern annexe with a gallery had been opened into the nave through a wide

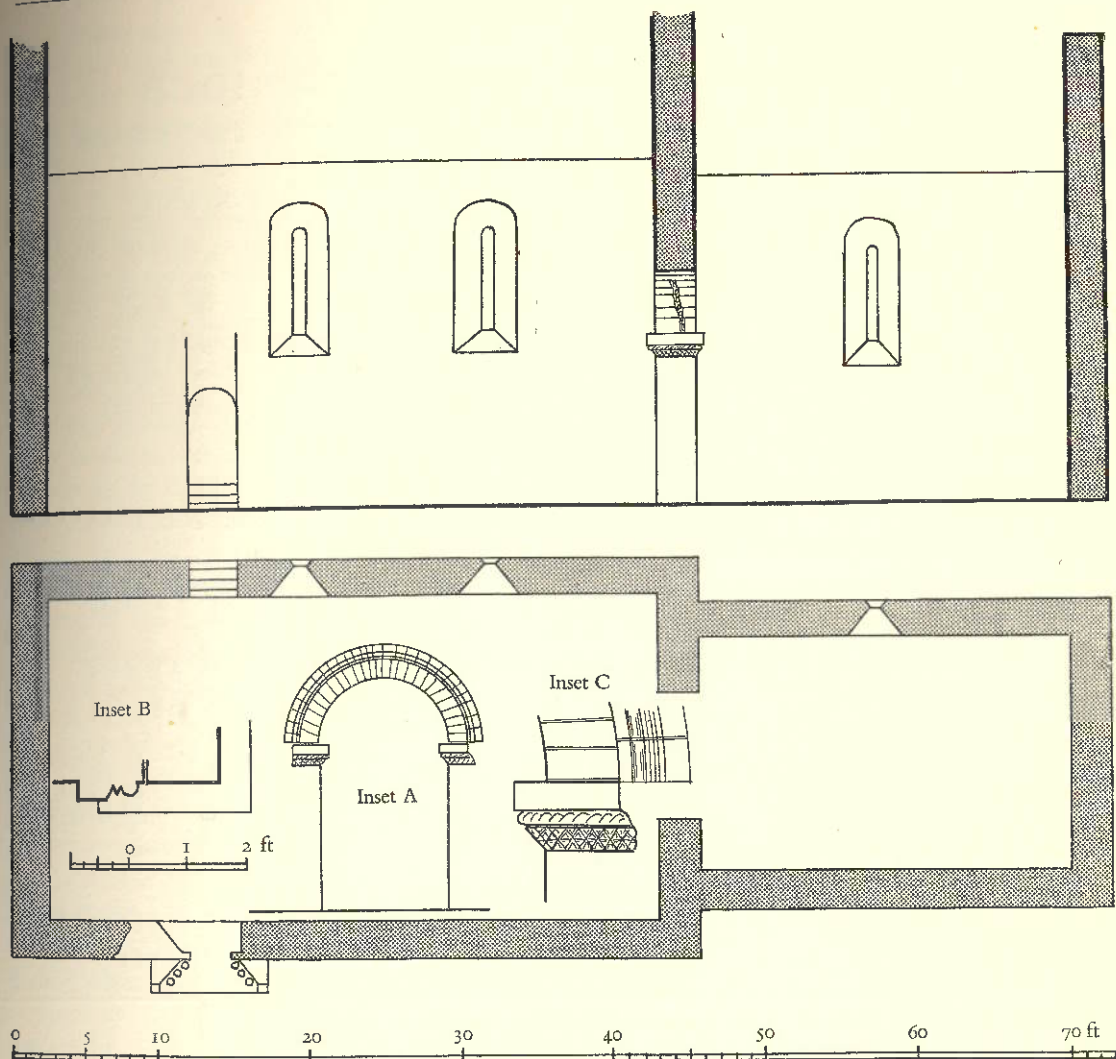


FIG. 60. CAMBRIDGE, ST GILES

Elevation and plan of the destroyed church of St Giles, based on Thomas Kerrich's drawings (British Museum Add. MS. 6755). The insets are measured from the surviving arch, rebuilt in the modern church. Inset A, elevation of original chancel-arch, on same scale as plan and elevation; inset B, plan of south impost and mouldings of arch, enlarged four times from scale of inset A; inset C, detail of north impost and mouldings, also enlarged four times.

arch in the north wall early in the nineteenth century. After the present church had been completed close beside its predecessor, the old church was pulled down and the materials sold.

There is some uncertainty about the date of the surviving arch and the church of which it formed part, although there seems little doubt that they were at least as old as 1092, when Picot, the first Norman Sheriff of Cambridge, and Hugoline his wife, installed Augustinian Canons in a monastery which they founded beside their castle. This does

not, however, rule out the possibility that Picot and Hugoline used for their monastery a church which was already standing on the site. This is, indeed, more than a possibility, since the oldest part of the town was on the west of the river. In any event it seems safe on the evidence of the structural detail of the arch to date it in period C3.

DIMENSIONS

The surviving arch is 8 ft 7 in. wide, measured between its plain square jambs, and about 14 ft

CAMBRIDGE

6 in. tall, in a wall 2 ft 9 in. thick. On the evidence of dimensioned drawings, now preserved in the British Museum, it can be said with some certainty that the nave of the church destroyed in 1875 was 40 ft 9 in. long internally, and 21 ft 9 in. wide, with walls between 2 ft 3 in. and 2 ft 6 in. thick and 22 ft 7 in. high. The chancel was 24 ft 3 in. by 15 ft 9 in., with its floor on the same level as that of the nave, and with walls about 20 ft in height originally, later raised to 21 ft 6 in. The nave had two tall, narrow, round-headed, internally splayed windows on the north, and the chancel had one. On the south, the windows had been altered.

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- T. KERRICH, British Museum Add. MS. 6755, fos. 45-51. Dimensioned plans and elevations drawn and measured in 1812, with very brief notes.

CAMBRIDGE

Map sheet 135, reference TL 445593

DEDICATION UNKNOWN

Although no fabric of a church has survived, important finds of pre-Conquest grave-slabs were made within the grounds of Cambridge Castle in 1810, when the ramparts of the Norman bailey were levelled. These seem too far away from St Giles's church to have formed part of its cemetery, and they therefore indicate the former existence of another pre-Conquest church in this area.

REFERENCE

- C. FOX, 'Anglo-Saxon monumental sculpture in the Cambridge district', *P. Camb. A.S.* 23 (1920-1), 20-1 and 44-5; and pls. III-V.

CAMBRIDGE

Map sheet 135, reference TL 448579

LITTLE ST MARY

No pre-Conquest fabric has survived in Little St Mary's church, but some stones carved with rough interlacing patterns are built into the south wall of the vestry, beside the buildings of Peterhouse. These have been described and illustrated by Fox (*loc. cit.* 21 and pl. VI).

CANTERBURY

Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 155577

ST AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY

- Ruins of church of St Peter and St Paul*
Nave and flanking 'porticus': period A1
Enlarged northern 'porticus': period A3
Western extension, somewhat conjecturally interpreted as a narthex, vestibule, fore-court and tower: period C1
Rotunda linking main church with eastern chapel of St Mary: periods C2 and C3
Monastic buildings, cloister, etc.: probably periods A3 to C
Ruins of chapel of St Mary
West wall and doorway: period A1
(For the chapel of St Pancras, see pp. 146-8)

INTRODUCTION

The precincts of Canterbury cathedral are bounded on the east by the city wall; beyond and parallel to which lie Broad Street and Monastery Street, from the latter of which a medieval gateway building gives access to the ruins of St Augustine's Abbey.

The written history of the abbey begins with Bede's account of its foundation by Augustine, and of King Ethelbert's building of its church soon after his conversion. The history is continued with unusual completeness, albeit with tantalizing gaps, by subsequent writers, to give a picture of at least two periods of major additions

or reconstructions in Anglo-Saxon times; followed by complete rebuilding, after the Conquest, but before the close of the eleventh century. Until the twentieth century it was thought that the great Norman abbey begun by Abbot Scotland in 1070 and finished by his successor Wido about the close of the century had effectively destroyed all trace of the original church built by King Ethelbert; and there were serious difficulties in the way of exploring even the ruins of the Norman abbey church, since only part was accessible, while the remainder was covered with buildings belonging to the County Hospital. Early in the twentieth century, however, an area containing the eastern section of the ruins having been purchased and vested in trustees, work was begun; and, by dint of patient excavation and careful comparison of the results with the written history, it has now been established beyond doubt that there is preserved beneath the Norman abbey a substantial part of Ethelbert's original church, with various interesting Anglo-Saxon additions, most of which can be dated with reasonable certainty.

A particularly interesting feature of the ruins that have been laid bare in the grounds of St Augustine's Abbey is the survival of the ground plans of no less than three seventh-century churches, all aligned roughly on a common axis.¹ The western two of these—that is the church of St Peter and St Paul built by King Ethelbert and the chapel of St Mary built by his son King Edbald—were later joined into a single enlarged abbey church by Abbot Wulfric and they are accordingly both described in this section devoted to St Augustine's abbey. The third church, further east, known by late tradition as a heathen temple of King Ethelbert, has remained a separate building, and is described under 'Canterbury, St Pancras'. The distance from the west doorway of St Pancras to the west doorway of St Mary is about 240 ft, and to the original west doorway of St Peter and St Paul about a further 130 ft. The clear space between the east end of St Mary's chapel and the west end of the church of St Pancras

may have been something like 200 ft, while the corresponding clear space between the east end of the original church of St Peter and St Paul and the west front of the chapel of St Mary must have been quite small, certainly not greater than 50 ft, and possibly much less, depending on the length of the chancel of the main church and the extent of the western *porticus* or narthex before St Mary's chapel, about neither of which is there now any detailed information.

This axial arrangement of two or more churches within a single monastery was a characteristic feature of early Anglo-Saxon monasteries and is substantiated at several places both by written history and by surviving ruins, but nowhere more fully than at St Augustine's.

WRITTEN HISTORY

Bede records that Augustine and his companions, on their first arrival in Canterbury, used the church of St Martin to the east of the city.² After King Ethelbert had been converted, he gave them land within the city, no doubt the site of the present cathedral church; but Augustine also built a monastery outside the city, not far from the walls, to the east. In this monastery Ethelbert, at Augustine's counsel, 'erected from the foundations and endowed the church of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul in which the bodies of Augustine and all the bishops of Canterbury and kings of Kent might be laid'.³ Augustine died between 604 and 609 before the church was consecrated, and he was at first buried outside it; but when it was consecrated by his successor Lawrence, he was brought inside and buried in the north *porticus* in fitting manner.⁴ All the succeeding archbishops up to Bede's time were also buried in this *porticus* save only Theodore and Berhtwald, whose bodies were buried in the church itself because the *porticus* could not take any more.⁵ To the east of this church of St Peter and St Paul there stood a smaller chapel built about 620 by King Edbald, Ethelbert's son and successor, who dedicated it to St Mary;⁶ and

¹ Since this description was written, details have become available of yet a fourth church or chapel, probably later than the others, but in the same axial alignment, and to the

west of the church of St Peter and St Paul; *Med. Arch.* 2 (1958), 186.

² *H.E.* i, 26

³ *H.E.* i, 33.

⁴ *H.E.* ii, 3.

⁵ *H.E.* ii, 3.

⁶ *H.E.* ii, 6.

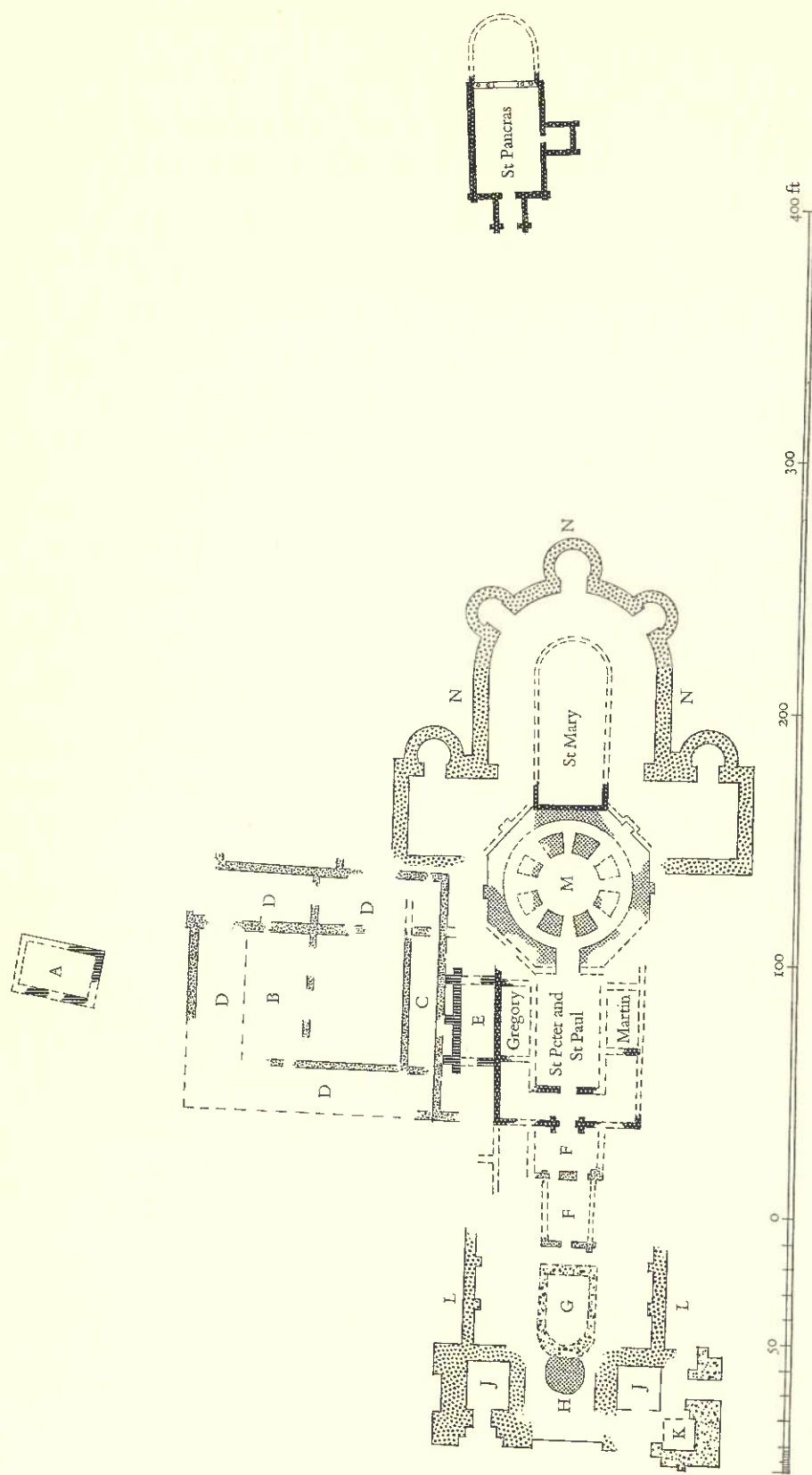


FIG. 61. CANTERBURY, KENT, ST AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY

A, early foundations, possibly of an eighth-century frater; B, probable north walk of tenth-century cloister; C, probable south walk of tenth-century cloister; D, ranges of buildings surrounding tenth-century cloister; E, additional north *porticus*, probably of mid-eighth-century date; F, additional western *porticus*, probably of tenth century; G, separate western church of unknown dedication, possibly built early in the eleventh century; H, foundation for western stair turret, probably added about the middle of the eleventh century; J, western towers of Norman abbey; K, foundation of bell tower of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, probably built early in the eleventh century; L, side aisle walls of Norman nave; M, Abbot Wulfric's octagon or rotunda, built about the middle of the eleventh century; N, Norman apsidal chancel built by Abbot Scotland. This plan takes into account the results of the excavations of 1957 (*Med. Arch.* 2 (1958), 186-7). It therefore differs from the plan published by Peers and Clapham (*Arch.* 77 (1927), pl. xxx), particularly in the western details F, G, H, J, and K. Reference should, however, be made to the larger-scale plan of Peers and Clapham for all details of the church of St Peter and St Paul, and of Wulfric's octagon, M. By an oversight, our plan omits to show the half-round foundations on the north and south of M (see p. 141, column 2).

further to the east again was the church of St Pancras, which tradition said had formerly been used by King Ethelbert for pagan worship.

The first additions to the original church seem to have taken place about the middle of the eighth century when the north *porticus* dedicated to St Gregory was enlarged northward so as to provide space for the burial of further archbishops; but there is no contemporary account of this work, which is dated to between 731 and 760 by arguments described below. No archbishops were, in fact, buried in the enlarged *porticus*, and the first recorded burial in it took place when Wulfric used it in the eleventh century to provide a fitting home for the body of St Mildred, when she was displaced from before the high altar by his building operations.

The next additions are probably to be associated with a rededication of the church recorded by a fourteenth-century chronicler William Thorne.¹ No details were given of the alterations but they were presumably extensive, since the church was rededicated by Archbishop Dunstan in A.D. 978 in honour of the holy Apostles St Peter and St Paul and of St Augustine the Apostle of the English. On architectural grounds this tenth-century rededication may be associated with a westward extension of the church, including the buildings which were somewhat conjecturally interpreted by Peers and Clapham as a new western narthex and probably a forecourt of considerable extent.²

Finally, an eleventh-century chronicler, a monk of the name of Gocelin, has provided a vivid account of the radical changes which were effected in the early buildings by Wulfric, fortieth abbot, and of the subsequent destruction of the early church by Abbots Scotland and Wido to make room for their more ambitious Norman building which seems, however, to have been designed to cover exactly the same extent from east to west.³ Gocelin's book, giving a detailed account of the intentions and actions of Wulfric, Scotland and Wido, appears from internal evi-

dence to have been written about 1097, and it is clear that Gocelin was an eyewitness of the works carried out by the latter two and possibly also of the works of Wulfric (abbot, 1047-59).

The principal church of the abbey having become too small, it was Wulfric's intention to enlarge it by coupling it by an intermediate octagonal structure to Edbald's smaller eastern chapel of St Mary. On a visit to Rheims he obtained leave from Pope Leo IX to carry out his purpose, and on his return home he cleansed the cemetery between the two churches and then demolished the eastern part of the main church as well as the western part of the chapel of St Mary 'and the *porticus* with which it was surrounded'.⁴ Before demolishing the east part of the main church he moved into the enlarged north *porticus* of St Gregory the body of St Mildred which had been placed before the high altar after its translation in 1030 from Minster in the Isle of Sheppey; but, as his plan did not involve the demolition of the chapel of St Mary but only its incorporation into the new enlarged church, he did not move the kings and saints buried in the chapel. Gocelin does not record how far the work had advanced before Wulfric's death in 1059, except to say that it was incomplete; but, since he mentions columns, whereas the existing remains in the crypt have massive stone piers, it is reasonable to assume that the work had advanced to the main storey in which columns were used, by contrast with the masonry piers of the crypt. It was believed that Wulfric's death had been due to the displeasure of the Virgin Mary at his destruction of the west end of her chapel, and the work begun by Wulfric was left unchanged by his successor Egelsig, the last of the Anglo-Saxon abbots.

After the Conquest, the first Norman abbot, Scotland by name, found the church both inconveniently small and also in a state of considerable decay. Knowing the circumstances of Wulfric's death, he took care to obtain further papal blessing before interfering with the sacred build-

¹ W. Thorne, *Chronicle of St Augustine's, Canterbury*, ed. A. H. Davis (Oxford, 1934), 38.

² *Arch.* 77 (1927), 201-18. Narthex and forecourt, 210-11. Suggested western tower, 211.

³ Gocelin's *Book of the translation of St Augustine the*

apostle of the English and his followers is in British Museum manuscript Cotton MS. Vesp. Bxx. Latin transcripts, and English translations of relevant passages, are given by W. St J. Hope in *Arch. Cant.* 32 (1917), 1-26.

⁴ ...cum porticibus quibus circumcingebatur...

ings; but, having obtained authority from Pope Alexander, he began his plan of replacing all the early buildings with a new structure of the same length but of greater width and in the new Norman style. Since his plan involved the complete destruction of both early churches, and of Wulfric's connecting octagon, he began systematically at the east, and his first operation was to remove from St Mary's chapel the bodies of the bishops, abbots, and kings who had been buried there. St Adrian, seventh abbot, was given a new temporary home in the enlarged north *porticus* not far from St Mildred, while the others, including King Edbald the founder of the chapel, were housed in a western tower of the monastery, before an altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary, until they could be reburied in the new church. By the time of Scotland's death in 1087 the chancel of his new church was complete, with a crypt beneath, thus sweeping away all trace of Edbald's chapel except its west wall; the transepts were also complete, but only a beginning had been made on the nave. Scotland was buried in his crypt, where in due course he was to be joined by the group of saints, bishops and kings, shortly to be translated by his successor Wido from the *porticus* of St Gregory and St Martin.

Gocelin recounts how in 1091, as the work of destruction of the early church proceeded, the tombs of the saints in the north *porticus* were accidentally overwhelmed by part of the falling masonry but 'when such great heaps of stones, beams, and leaden roofs... had been removed, all the monuments, although they were fragile and of tilework, and also the sculptures and angelic images, with the Majesty of Our Lord... appeared unhurt, while all acclaimed the wonderful works of God'. The actual translation of the saints to their new home was safely effected in 1091 and, although nothing whatever is known of their subsequent history, it is now possible, as the result of Gocelin's careful description, to fix the precise original positions of the tombs of the first eight archbishops in and beside the *porticus* of St Gregory; and to say with certainty that three cavities preserved in the original seventh-century cement, beside the Norman sleeper wall, were

the resting places of the second, third and fourth archbishops, Lawrence (d. 619), Mellitus (d. 624) and Justus (d. c. 630). The tombs of Augustine, and of Honorius and Deusdedit, who succeeded Justus, are permanently hidden beneath the sleeper wall which carries the north arcade of Wido's Norman nave (see Fig. 62).

It is of interest to set out in detail the evidence which enables us to identify the surviving fabric with such certainty. In the first place, Gocelin's chronicle gives a detailed description of the positions of the individual tombs in the north *porticus*, and an equally detailed description of how they were opened. Next, he describes how, when the site had been cleared, the building of the new nave caused the tombs to be covered over, and a column of the new north arcade to be erected exactly over the original site of the tomb of St Augustine. Gocelin then adds:

Moreover, lest our posterity, those who shall be sons of the love of so great a father, shall grieve that henceforth they know not the place as described of his ancient monument, let him note who will that this column which we have described a little before... is the third from that which is arched for the eastern tower.

For more complete extracts from Gocelin's long description of the position of the coffins and the method of their translation, the reader is referred to Sir William Hope's original account of the discoveries in 1915.¹ Of the record of position it is sufficient here to say that the tombs were arranged in the *porticus* with Augustine on the south of the altar of St Gregory, and Lawrence on the north; to the west of Lawrence lay Mellitus and Justus, along the original north wall; to the south of Justus lay Honorius and Deusdedit, beside the west wall; and there was no burial between Deusdedit at the west of the south wall and Augustine at the east because in between came a doorway to the nave close to the dividing wall; finally, Adrian and Mildred were in the extended north *porticus* separated from Lawrence only by the original north wall. Of the removal of the coffins in 1091 it is sufficient to summarize Gocelin's account by saying that the tomb of Lawrence was broken open from the south by taking up the pavement before the altar of St Gregory.

¹ W. St J. Hope, *Arch.* 66 (1914-15), 377-400; reprinted in *Arch. Cant.* 32 (1917), 1-26.

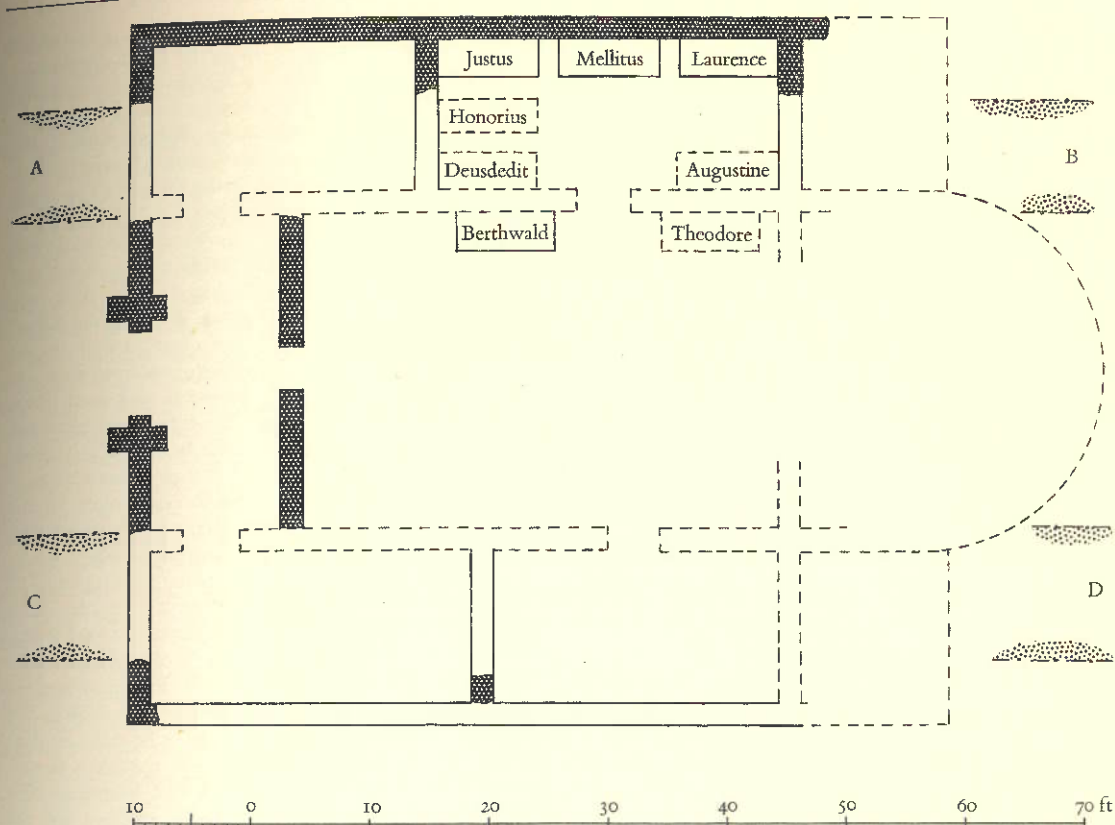


FIG. 62. CANTERBURY, KENT, ST AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY

Detailed plan of the church of St Peter and St Paul. In the drawing of this plan a sharp distinction has been maintained between walls which are definitely located by surviving remains, walls whose position can be inferred with some degree of certainty either from other surviving remains or from the literary evidence, and walls which are conjectural. The full outline and internal shading shows the walls which were discovered by excavation and the full outline without any internal shading shows the parts of these same walls which may be regarded as fixed with certainty even though they have vanished. The broken double outline shows walls which have no such definite evidence for their position but which are nevertheless in very little doubt. The broken single outline of the eastern apse and its flanking *porticus* indicates that these are wholly conjectural.

It should be remembered that the sleeper wall of the Norman north arcade runs across the ruins from A to B and the south sleeper wall from C to D, thus removing all evidence of parts of the earlier church in those areas.

The tombs of archbishops are shown in full outline when they have been found and in broken outline when their positions are based solely on the literary evidence.

It remains now to record how the excavations of 1915 confirmed these records and made possible a precise identification of the remains of the *porticus* of St Gregory. The three tombs of Lawrence, Mellitus and Justus may be seen beside the north wall of the *porticus*, a short distance to the north of the Norman sleeper wall that carries the north arcade of the Norman nave. The tomb of Lawrence is partly cut away for the foundation of a thirteenth-century screen wall, but it is otherwise intact and shows not only the opening cut in its south side, as recorded by Gocelin, but

also the actual shape of Lawrence's coffin round which, clearly, liquid mortar had been poured after his burial. To the west is the tomb of Mellitus, also opened on the south; while west again is that of Justus, opened on the north, no doubt because the tomb of Honorius lay to the south. In order to complete the story it must now be said that about 5 ft to the south of the tomb of Lawrence, and therefore over the site of the tomb of Augustine, there stands what remains of the third Norman column west of the central tower.

DESCRIPTION OF THE EXISTING REMAINS

It appears, both from Gocelin's account and from the excavated ruins, that the Norman builders cut away the Anglo-Saxon work where it lay in the course of the foundations of their new building but that otherwise they suffered the Anglo-Saxon fabric to remain beneath the level of their floors.

Of the chapel of St Mary nothing remains except its west wall, built of Roman brick, 1 ft 10 in. to 2 ft in thickness, with a doorway 6½ ft wide in the centre, rebated towards the west. The plan, like that of other early Kentish churches, probably included an apsidal east end which we may assume to be fairly closely followed by the line of Abbot Scotland's apsidal crypt. From Gocelin's statement about the *porticus* surrounding the west end we may perhaps assume that the original building had *porticus* to the north and south of its nave as well as to the west, in a manner similar to the plan of Reculver church after its eighth-century additions.

By contrast with the scanty remains of Edbald's chapel of St Mary, the fabric of Ethelbert's church of St Peter and St Paul has survived to a remarkable degree, so that it is possible to piece together the plan of the nave and of its flanking *porticus* with considerable certainty. There is, however, considerable doubt about the form of the east end, which was almost wholly swept away by Wulfric to make way for the lower stage of his octagon, or rotunda. The existing remains are of four principal dates:

(a) *The original church begun by King Ethelbert about 598 and consecrated by Lawrence about 613.* This is clearly defined by the existing remains as having had a nave 39 ft long by 27 ft broad, with walls 21 in. thick, built of Roman bricks neatly laid in pebbly mortar. The eastern part of the nave was flanked to the north by the *porticus* of St Gregory for the burial of the archbishops, and to the south by the *porticus* of St Martin for the burial of King Ethelbert and Queen Bertha; to the west of the nave was a narthex, extending across the full width, and opening on either side to flanking *porticus*, west of those dedicated to St Gregory and to St Martin.

To the east the plan is uncertain, the only evidence given by the ruins being a short length of wall extending eastward from the *porticus* of St Gregory in the same align-

ment as its main north wall. Since this indicates an eastern part of the same overall width as the main structure, a width of about 60 ft, Peers and Clapham suggested that a transept intervened at this stage between the nave and the eastern termination; which, by analogy with all the other early Kentish churches, they assumed to have been an apse.¹ The plan so suggested, in the form of a Tau-cross, was compared by Peers and Clapham with the Romano-British church whose foundations have survived at Silchester, in a form which is remarkably similar except that it is much smaller and is oriented to the west. The only other example of this form of plan is found in the ruined church at North Elmham, again on a smaller scale. In the other early Kentish churches the apse opens from the nave, often with *porticus* flanking it to north and south; but, while not ruling out the possibility that this might have been the form of the original church built by King Ethelbert, Peers and Clapham favoured their alternative suggestion and pointed out that the greater importance of this church might reasonably have been reflected in some greater elaboration of plan as well as by its greater size.

Within the nave there is still preserved a great part of its original flooring of plaster, coloured pink by an admixture of pounded brick in the way almost always found in the early group of churches. At the west, the wall between nave and narthex remains, of the same thin construction, in Roman brick, with a doorway about 4 ft wide in the middle of the wall. Further west again the outer wall of the narthex is of the same construction, with a central doorway 7½ ft wide, flanked by small buttresses that are so common in the early Kentish churches but are otherwise almost unknown in Anglo-Saxon architecture. The side walls of the nave are everywhere destroyed or overlaid by the Norman sleeper walls; but the eastern and western walls of the several *porticus* remain in part, as well as the outer wall of that to the north, and parts of that to the south, so as to fix the plan of the *porticus* with certainty and to show that the *porticus* of St Gregory, 28 ft long by 12 ft wide, was about 5 ft longer than the corresponding *porticus* of St Martin on the south.

Finally, there remain the three tombs already mentioned in the *porticus* of St Gregory; and its north, east, and west walls, which have been to some extent protected by the tombs. Sir William Hope's article already referred to gives detailed descriptions of the tombs and of the reconstructions that were made of the coffins of Lawrence and Justus from the impressions that have been preserved in the cement walls of the tombs. It is therefore sufficient here to say that the tombs extended about 2 ft below the floor and 1 ft 6 in. above, in the form of solid blocks of mortar containing pieces of embedded tile; and that, when the *porticus* was later extended to the north by breaking down its north wall beside these tombs, the new plaster floor of the same pink character was brought up to the side of the tombs, and their north faces were rendered in plaster.

(b) *The eighth-century extension of the north porticus.* The northward enlargement of the north *porticus* seems to

¹ Arch. 77 (1927), 201. It should be noted that, although the apsidal east end may be regarded as a reasonable assumption,

there is at present no evidence which would justify a confident assertion that it was so.

have been the first addition to the original church, and the surviving foundations show rather thicker walls of stone rubble instead of Roman brick, enclosing a space about 26 ft long by 15 ft wide, the east wall being roughly in line with the east wall of the original *porticus*, but the west wall markedly out of alignment. The foundations clearly show buttresses at the angles and in the middle of the north wall; and, on architectural grounds, this would place the addition among the early group of churches. Further evidence for its date can be deduced from the history, since it may be assumed from Bede's record that it was not built when the seventh and eighth archbishops, Theodore (d. 690) and Berhtwald (d. 731), were buried in the nave. The ninth and tenth archbishops, Tatwine (d. 734) and Nothelm (d. 739), are thought to have been buried in the church, although nothing is known of the place of their burial; but the eleventh archbishop, Cuthbert (d. 760), is known from the records of Canterbury Cathedral to have built there a place in which he and subsequent archbishops were buried. Thus there was no need for the north extension after 760; and it was certainly not built by 731, and probably not by 739; so that its building can be placed near the middle of the eighth century.

(c) *Tenth-century westward extensions.* Little but foundations remain of the westward extensions; but the megalithic nature of these foundations, so characteristic a feature of many tenth-century works, may serve to give support to the assignment of these extensions to the latter half of the tenth century on the evidence of the reconstruction of the church in 978 by St Dunstan. The additions and alterations attributed to this period comprise the removal of the wall between narthex and nave so as to enlarge the latter; the construction of a new narthex to the west, with a vestibule beyond, and apparently opening to it through two doorways that were separated by a central pier (an arrangement otherwise unknown except at South Elmham); and finally the enclosure of a forecourt beyond the vestibule to the full width.¹ The arrangement is ambitious and in many ways reminiscent of the later development of Glastonbury abbey under Dunstan, a fact which would give further support to the assignment of these works to Dunstan's tenure of the archbishopric.

(d) *The eleventh-century alterations of Wulfric.* Wulfric's ambitious scheme provided for uniting the church of St Peter and St Paul to the chapel of St Mary by means of an octagonal rotunda, with a crypt beneath, most probably for the tombs of the archbishops, and with a central opening through the main floor above, to give a free view of the crypt below. The following paragraphs describe the pre-Norman fabric as it now stands after demolition by the Normans to below their floor level.

The area between the west wall of St Mary's chapel and the east wall of the nave of the church of St Peter and St Paul having been cleared and excavated below the level of the earlier churches, a new floor or foundation of rammed chalk was laid at a level about 3 ft below that of

the floor of the main church. On this foundation the walls and internal piers of the rotunda were built, of ragstone rubble laid in mortar, and set out with a precision unusual for Anglo-Saxon masons. The outer shell of the rotunda appears as a building octagonal in form externally and circular internally with a diameter of 54 ft. An aisle 6 ft wide runs round the interior, separated by a ring of eight massive piers from the circular central space, which is about 25 ft in diameter. The piers are set out with straight sides radiating from the common centre, and their inner and outer faces are circular and concentric in plan. The piers now stand to a height of about 5 ft above the floor; and near the top they show a tendency to curve out as though for the springing of barrel vaults over the spaces between the eight piers, linking with a single barrel vault carried round the whole outer aisle, or ambulatory.

Wulfric's crypt was apparently to be approached from the main church by a stairway down the centre, for which a ramp of rammed chalk now runs down through the opening, 9½ ft wide, in the west wall of the rotunda. There would no doubt have been stairways up from the nave to the main upper floor of the rotunda, on either side of the stairway down into the crypt; but of these nothing remains. Externally, however, there are now visible the remains of a flight of stairs leading up in the angle between the north-west side of the rotunda and the east side of Wulfric's new east wall for the nave. During the course of the excavations these stairs were at first mistaken for remains of a tenth-century apse of wide diameter spanning the whole east end of the original church, and they were so indicated in Hope's plan;² but their true nature has become apparent after further excavation, and was described by Peers and Clapham,³ namely as stairs giving direct access from outside to the main floor-level of the rotunda.

The fabric shows that during the course of erection the plan of the exterior of the building was changed by thickening all the walls with an outer skin about 2 ft in thickness, with a pilaster or buttress up the centre of each face, except on each of the north and south faces, where its place was taken by a large semi-circular mass about 15 ft in diameter, of solid masonry in the height now standing, but no doubt intended at a higher level to carry a circular stairway.

At the east, the work of Wulfric's masons ends

¹ Excavations in 1957 have, however, thrown doubt upon the existence of what was formerly regarded as a western entrance-tower, *Med. Arch.* 2 (1958), 186.

² *Arch. Cant.* 32 (1917), 26.

³ *Arch.* 77 (1927), 216.

against the west wall of St Mary's chapel, which serves as the east wall of the rotunda. At the west, the remains are more complicated: the west face of the rotunda is divided by the opening for the stairway down from the church; on either side, although much has been cut away by Scotland's sleeper wall, it is possible to see the adjoining faces of the outer wall of the rotunda running away to the north-east and south-west; but to north and south of the west wall it is also possible to see the remains of a further wall of Wulfric's period, apparently intended as the new east wall of a rebuilt or enlarged nave.¹ If this wall was indeed intended as the east wall of a new nave, the building implied by it would have been about 70 ft wide from north to south; and it was suggested by Peers and Clapham that Wulfric's intention was probably to have a transept of this width beside his rotunda, with an aisled nave to its west.

Writing of the progress of the work before Wulfric's death in 1059, Gocelin says that 'Kent rejoiced in the new work, although the want of skill of the builders had made it unsuitable for a monastic habitation'. It will be clear from what has been said that there is no evidence of lack of skill in the execution of the work so far as may be judged from what remains. It may be that Gocelin was criticizing the plan as unsuitable for a monastic church, or that some lack of skill had been displayed in keeping the church fit for services while the extensive rebuilding was in progress.

MONASTIC BUILDINGS

Extensive and complicated remains of monastic buildings are to be seen in the area of the Norman cloister to the north of the original abbey church. These were described by Clapham in 1934 as 'amongst the earliest remains of a monastic cloister north of the Alps'. Clapham suggested that the pre-Conquest foundations in this area could be divided into three groups, of which the first represented domestic buildings of a sort dating from before the development of a rectangular claustral plan, while the two subsequent

groups represented a cloister perhaps begun as part of Dunstan's tenth-century development of the abbey and later replanned in conjunction with the steps which led into the north side of Abbot Wulfric's octagon.

Of the early first group, foundations of only one building remain, underlying the twelfth-century refectory, about 28 ft by 17 ft, and at an angle to the axis of the abbey. By comparison with the scattered buildings at Whitby, Clapham suggested that this (shown at A in Fig. 61, p. 136) was one of the pre-Danish monastic buildings.

Of the second group, tentatively dated to Dunstan, are walls of a cloister, within the area of the later medieval cloister, and carefully laid out so as not to interfere with the northward extension of the *porticus* of St Gregory. The internal area of this cloister seems to have been about 42 ft square, with walks about 11 ft wide on all four sides. It was flanked on the east, north, and west by ranges of buildings of which the western was about 15 ft wide, the eastern 18 ft, and the northern a little wider.

Of the third group, tentatively dated to Wulfric, only the thicker walls of the east, north and west sides of the court remain. The arrangement of walls suggests that this cloister had no south walk, and that it was formed by an enlargement of its predecessor westward and perhaps also northward.

DIMENSIONS

These have been given fully in the text.

REFERENCES (select list)

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¹ The outside steps already referred to are in the acute angle between the northern section of this wall and the north-west face of the rotunda.

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- R. U. POTTS, 'The plan of St Austin's abbey, Canterbury', *Arch. Cant.* 46 (1934), 179-94. Good dated architectural plan. Note by Sir A. W. Clapham of the pre-Conquest cloisters, 191-4.
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- W. THORNE, *Chronicle of St Augustine's, Canterbury*, ed. A. H. Davis (Oxford, 1934). Reconsecration by St Dunstan, A.D. 978, ch. v, §12, p. 38.
- GOCELIN, *Historia Translationis S. Augustini Episcopi Anglorum Apostoli*, ed. Migne, 155 (Paris, 1854), 14-46. Wulfric's rebuilding of the church, 31.
- D. M. WILSON, 'Medieval Britain in 1957', *Med. Arch.* 2 (1958), 186-7. Brief account of the discovery by A. D. Saunders of a further detached chapel, in the same alignment as the main church, but further to the west.

CANTERBURY

Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 158577

ST MARTIN

*Chancel, formerly nave of earliest church:
period A1*

Nave of slightly later date: period A1

Bede (*H.E.* 1, 26) records that there was on the east side of the city of Canterbury a church dedicated in honour of St Martin, and built while the Romans were still in the island, wherein the queen used to worship before the coming of Augustine, and in which Augustine and his companions first began to meet, until King Ethelbert, being converted to the faith, allowed them to preach openly and build or repair churches in all places.

On a slight hill about half a mile to the east of Canterbury cathedral the church of St Martin stands to this day, now consisting of a west tower, an aisleless nave and chancel, and a north vestry. The tower is of the fourteenth century; the nave has been argued as of Roman date, but is now generally accepted as Anglo-Saxon, of later date

than the western part of the chancel; this western part of the chancel is generally accepted as having extended somewhat further to the west than at present, and as having been the nave of the church referred to by Bede, in which Queen Bertha worshipped, although probably of sub-Roman or early Anglo-Saxon rather than of Roman construction; the eastern part of the chancel is a later medieval extension and the vestry is modern.

Within the present chancel there may be seen in the south wall, close beside the pointed chancel-arch, a blocked square-headed doorway, apparently part of the original fabric, with brick-built jambs cut straight through the wall, and a heavy stone lintel. It opened to a very small south *porticus*, which has disappeared, but which has left traces of the bonding of its east and west walls on either side of the doorway. A fragment of the western wall of the *porticus* may still be seen, projecting about 5 in. from the south wall of the chancel, in the angle beside the east wall of the nave; and when excavations were made between 1895 and 1900, considerable parts of the side walls were found, running south from the chancel, with an area of *opus signinum* flooring beside the doorway. No trace was found of the south wall, which seemed to have been totally destroyed by later graves; but it was found that the west wall lay partly beneath the east wall of the nave.

A few feet further eastward is a blocked round-headed doorway of different workmanship, in which the jambs narrow slightly to the top, the imposts are formed of two projecting tiles, and the springing of the arch is rather wider than the jambs. A break in the masonry all round this doorway shows that it is a later insertion; but its construction is characteristically Anglo-Saxon, and the doorway is accordingly regarded as a later Anglo-Saxon insertion, probably of the same date as the present nave.

Externally it will be seen that this section of wall is well-laid Roman brick or tile, and that there is a pilaster or buttress of low projection a little to the east of the blocked round-headed door, with a straight joint just beyond it, between the early masonry and that of the medieval eastern extension. By analogy with the neighbouring church of St Pancras, it has been suggested that at this point the original nave ended and the

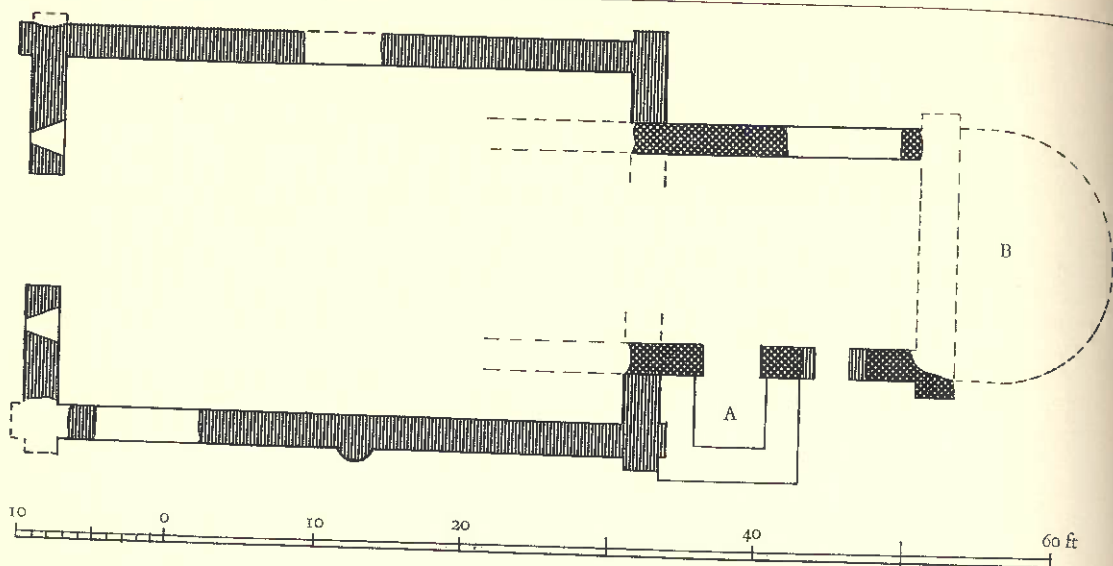


FIG. 63. CANTERBURY, KENT, ST MARTIN

A, south *porticus*, excavated by Routledge between 1895 and 1900: it is probably contemporary with the earliest part of the church; B, the east end is conjectural: we have followed other writers in showing an apse, but there is no structural evidence for this.

narrower chancel began, probably as an apse. Unfortunately, it has been impossible to verify this by recovering the early foundations, because these appear to have been wholly removed by excavation for interments within the later chancel.

Returning next to the nave of the present church, we see that the fabric is of mixed stone and Roman brick, not in the regular courses that represent Roman building, but with single bands of brick that are neither continuous across the walls nor even always horizontally laid. The appearance is, therefore, much more characteristic of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, and an early Anglo-Saxon date is also suggested by the small pilasters or buttresses at the external angles, as at St Pancras, Canterbury, and St Peter, Bradwell-on-sea.

On the inner face of the west wall of the nave, the outline of a blocked, round-headed opening may clearly be traced, high up above the present pointed west doorway. This must indicate the former presence of a very tall west doorway; or possibly of a west window, like that at Bradwell, above a doorway of more normal size. On either side of this enigmatical central opening, and about level with it, is a tall, round-headed window, now blocked, and apparently cut through the wall without any proper arching for the head. On closer inspection it appears that these windows

were originally less tall and then had heads that were properly arched in Roman tiles, of which the springing courses may still be seen about half-way up the present jambs.

It will be clear from this description that the church has undergone many changes, even before the Norman Conquest; the proper interpretation of its history is now difficult to achieve with certainty because of the destruction of evidence by subsequent centuries of interments within the church and of modification or restoration of its fabric. But it seems reasonably clear that the present chancel represents part of the fabric of the church in which Queen Bertha worshipped before the coming of Augustine, and that the present nave is a later addition, perhaps from just after King Ethelbert's conversion, when Augustine and his followers were allowed to 'preach openly and build or repair churches in all places'.

The font is also worthy of inspection. It has been claimed as being that in which King Ethelbert was baptized, but this is unlikely. The bowl is not cut from a single block of stone, but is built from twenty or more pieces. Its cylindrical outer surface is ornamented by an arcade of intersecting round arches above two rows of complicated interlacing strap-work in which the individual strands are broad and flat, with a row of beads or pellets

between the narrow raised mouldings which outline each edge. The interlacing has been advanced in support of a pre-Norman date for this font; but the treatment with pellets is distinctly Norman, as also is the arcade round the top.

DIMENSIONS

The present nave is 38 ft long internally and 24 ft wide, with side walls 1 ft 10 in. thick and about 20 ft high. The chancel is 14 ft 4 in. wide, and about 18 ft of its early side walls, 2 ft 2 in. thick, remain to the east of the present chancel-arch; but there are indications that they originally continued further westward.

The destroyed south *porticus* was probably roughly square in plan, with sides only 4 ft 9 in. internally, and walls 2 ft 2 in. thick. The flat-headed doorway opening into it is 3 ft 3 in. wide and under 6 ft tall. The round-headed doorway further east narrows from 2 ft 4 in. at the sill to 2 ft 1 in. at the imposts, and is 6 ft 1 in. tall.

The central round-headed outline on the west wall of the nave defines an opening 7 ft 6 in. wide and 16 ft 6 in. high overall, while the blocked windows on either side have their sills 10 ft above the floor and their openings are 2 ft 4 in. wide and 5 ft tall in the wall-face, narrowing to 1 ft 8 in. wide against the later blocking wall which forms the back of the recess. Before these windows were enlarged upward, their height from sill to crown must have been about 4 ft, or slightly less, and their apertures in the outer face of the wall about 1 ft wide.

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- C. R. PEERS, 'Saxon churches of the St Pancras type', *Arch. J.* 58 (1901), 402-34. Good account of discoveries at St Martin's, with plan, 413-18.

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Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 155577

ST MARY

Foundations and lower courses of west wall and doorway: period A1

Except for its west wall, the chapel of St Mary, built by King Edbald about 620, has been swallowed up in the crypt below the chancel of Abbot Scotland's early Norman church of St Augustine's abbey. The surviving west wall, of Roman bricks carefully laid, is between 1 ft 10 in. and 2 ft in thickness, with a doorway 6½ ft wide in the centre, rebated for dressed-stone facings towards the west, in a manner similar to the treatment of several of the doorways at Reculver. For a full account of the history of the incorporation of this chapel into the abbey church of St Augustine, see 'Canterbury, St Augustine's Abbey' (pp. 134-42).

DIMENSIONS

The surviving foundation indicates a church 23 ft in width internally. If Abbot Scotland's crypt followed the outline of the early building, as seems quite probable, then its internal length must have been about 61 ft.

REFERENCES

These are fully given under Canterbury, St Augustine's Abbey (pp. 142-3).

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Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 145575

Figures 5 and 419

ST MILDRED

South quoins of nave: period doubtful

St Mildred's church is unromantically situated in Stour Street beside the gas-works, and there is no Anglo-Saxon detail to be seen in its fabric except

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for the quoins of the south wall, both of which are of decidedly megalithic character. The wall itself is of stone rubble and uncut flint, and the stones of the quoins are laid without any systematic plan except that all of them are big; one is nearly 4 ft high and others, although less than 2 ft high, extend for 2 or 3 ft along the walls. Nothing now remains visible to enable any other part of the church to be claimed as pre-Conquest.

DIMENSIONS

The south wall, 2 ft 10 in. thick and about 18 ft high, is no less than 61 ft in length externally, thus indicating a church originally of some importance.

REFERENCES

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- R. U. POTTS, 'St Mildred's church, Canterbury. Some further notes on the site', *ibid.* 56 (1944), 19-22. Arguments against Ward's suggested site and date. Church dated in mid-eleventh century.

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Map sheet 173, reference TR 155577

Figure 420

ST PANCRAS

Ruins of apsidal chancel, nave with western porch of entry, and flanking side-chapel or 'porticus' period A1

In the grounds of St Augustine's abbey, about a quarter of a mile east of the cathedral, the ruins of the Anglo-Saxon church of St Pancras are now carefully preserved and open to the public, having been recovered from private ownership about the beginning of this century. Apart from the apsidal chancel, most of which was destroyed in the Middle Ages for the building of the Perpendicular

east end, the lower parts of the walls survive round the whole of the original building. The plan can thus be seen to have been an apsidal chancel, separated by a triple arch from a nave which had small rectangular chapels or *porticus* on the north and south, and a similarly shaped porch of entry at the west.

Only small vestiges remain from the original walls of the chancel, and it is not easy from those vestiges to visualize its original form; but careful measurement convinced Peers in 1901 that it had had the unusual plan of a stilted, elliptical apse.¹ The side walls run straight eastward for about 10 ft from the nave, then a small buttress marks the junction of the straight and the curved sections, and finally the east end is formed of a half-ellipse rather than the usual semicircle.

Between the nave and the chancel, the sleeper wall, which still remains, carried an arcade of three unequal arches supported on four circular columns. Later, but still early in the Anglo-Saxon era, the two narrower arches flanking the main central arch were bricked up, perhaps to give greater strength; and, in the continuous wall so formed, there has survived the lower section of the most southerly column, a section about 3 ft high, with a properly formed base, indicating that it was a re-used Roman column, probably originally about 11 ft in height.

The north *porticus* has vanished, and its doorway seems to have been blocked in the Middle Ages; but when Hope cleared the site in 1901 he reported that the abutment of the walls of the *porticus* could clearly be seen on the north wall of the nave by breaks in the external plastering of the wall.² The walls of the south *porticus* still stand for a height of 2 ft or more, showing clearly that it had no external doorway, and so was entered only from the nave; moreover, they are not in bond with the wall of the nave, thus indicating that the *porticus* was a later addition. Finally, its east and west walls are carried southward slightly beyond the south wall so as to form shallow buttresses or pilasters.

The eastern angles of the nave may have had buttresses which projected to the north and south, while at the western angles of the nave

¹ C. R. Peers, *Arch. J.* 58 (1901), 402-34.

² W. St J. Hope, *Arch. Cant.* 25 (1902), 222-37.

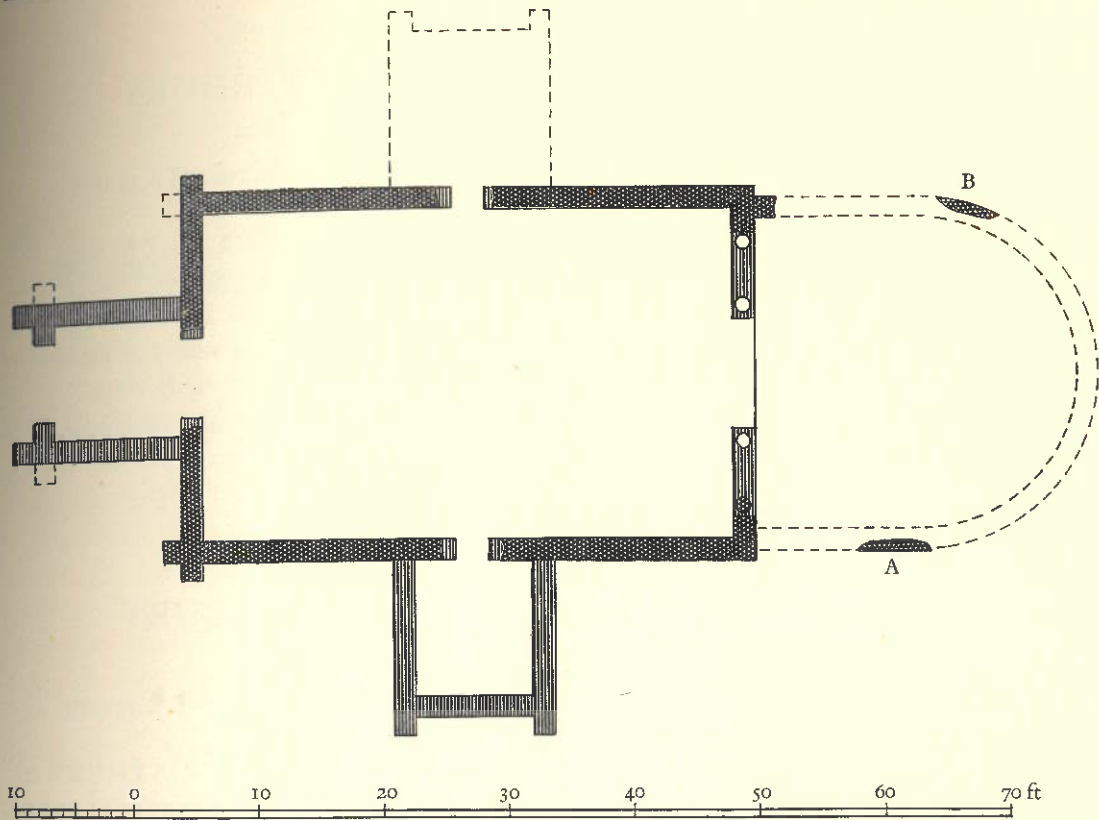


FIG. 64. CANTERBURY, KENT, THE CHURCH OF ST PANCRAS IN ST AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY

Following Clapham we have shown the eastern apse of semi-circular form. Hope and Peers both thought that the fragments of walling at A and B could be interpreted as defining an apse of elliptical shape, but it is now very difficult to be certain of this, and the semi-circular shape is both easier to draw and more probable in practice. Compare the plan in *Arch.* 77 (1927), 205, which shows buttresses at the east, and an elliptical apse.

each wall is carried onward so as to produce at each quoin a pair of buttresses flanking the angle. The west face of the nave appears to have been designed originally with a central doorway, flanked by two similar shallow buttresses; but, in the course of building, the plan seems to have been changed so as to include the western porch of entry which now survives, with its walls built in continuation of the original shallow buttresses. For the first 3 ft of walling, a straight vertical joint separates the original buttress from the wall of the porch; but thereafter the two are properly bonded, thus showing that the change of plan had been made before that point was reached. The western angles of the porch have twin buttresses like those of the nave; and the north wall of the porch still stands to a height of about 11 ft, with the whole of the north jamb of the outer western doorway, including a simple impost formed of

two projecting courses of bricks, and also the springing of the arch.

By a careful study of the mortar used in the various sections of the building, and by reference to absence or presence of bonding, Hope was able to develop a complete history of its erection in stages. First, he noted that the surviving walls of the chancel and the lower part of the nave were all set in yellow mortar, while the blocking of the arch, the walls of the south *porticus* and west porch, and the upper wall of the nave and west porch where in bond, were all built in white mortar. Secondly, by great good fortune, he laid bare some fallen fragments of the actual arch between nave and chancel, all of which he found to be jointed with the earlier, yellow mortar; by contrast a mass of masonry fallen from the upper wall of the nave beside the doorway to the *porticus* was found to have the later, white mortar.

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Hope therefore deduced that the chancel and the arcade separating it from the nave were first built to their full height, and that meanwhile the walls of the nave, without any flanking *porticus* or west porch, were built only a few courses high; then came a change of plan, and after a pause, perhaps only a short pause, the building was continued, but with white mortar instead of yellow, and with the three additional chambers to north, south and west.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 42 ft 7 in. long internally, and 26 ft 7 in. wide, with walls 1 ft 10 in. thick. The chancel, according to the plan deduced by Peers, was about 30 ft long and 22 ft wide. The south *porticus* has its greater length north and south, and is 10 ft 6 in. by 9 ft 4 in. internally, while the west porch has almost exactly the same dimensions, but with the longer axis east and west; and both buildings have walls 1 ft 10 in. thick.

The triple arcade had a central arch 9 ft wide and side arches each 4 ft wide; the west doorway of the nave was originally set out 7 ft 9 in. in width but was narrowed to 6 ft 6 in., and the outer doorway of the west porch is about the same width and was originally about 11 ft high, with a round arch of a single square order. The doorways to the north and south *porticus* are much narrower, only 3 ft 2 in. wide.

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- W. ST J. HOPE, 'Excavations at St Austin's Abbey, Canterbury, I, The Chapel of St Pancras', *Arch. Cant.* 25 (1902), 222-37. First account of complete excavation. Detailed argument for architectural history.
- W. THORNE, *Chronicle of St Augustine's, Canterbury*, ed. A. H. Davis (Oxford, 1934). Fourteenth-century tradition that King Ethelbert originally used the building as a heathen temple, 6.

CANTERBURY

Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 155577

ST PETER AND ST PAUL

Ruins of an extensive church built by King Ethelbert at the advice of St Augustine, and modified at various times before its complete rebuilding at the close of the eleventh century: periods A1 to C3

A complete account of the history and fabric of this important church is given under 'Canterbury, St Augustine's Abbey' (pp. 134-42).

CANTERBURY

Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 151579

THE PRE-CONQUEST CATHEDRAL

No pre-Conquest remains are now to be seen in Canterbury Cathedral, but much is known from literary evidence.

Bede (*H.E.* 1, 33) records that Augustine, having his episcopal see granted him in the royal city, restored therein a church, which he was informed had been built of old by the Roman Christians, and consecrated it in the name of our holy Saviour, and there established a residence for himself and his successors. We know that this church was modified by archbishops Cuthbert (740-60) and Oda (942-58). In 1067 it was ruined by fire, and seems to have been cleared away by Lanfranc to make way for his building, of which much now remains.

REFERENCES

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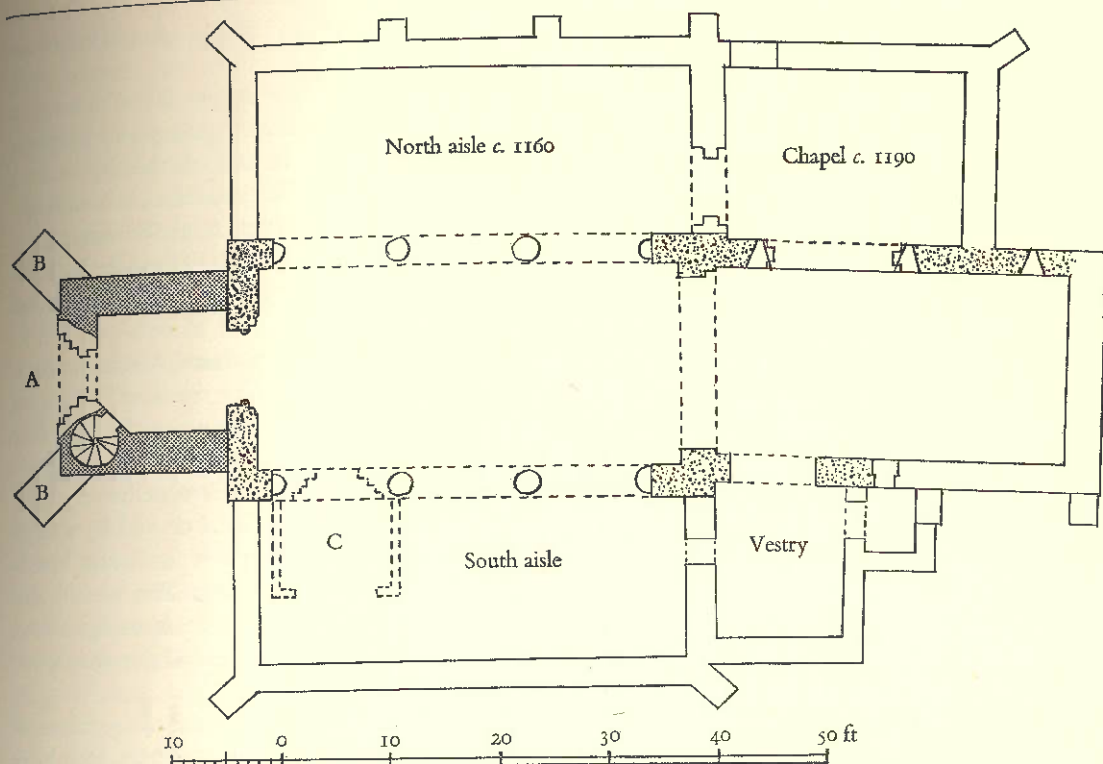


FIG. 65. CARLTON-IN-LINDRICK, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

A, Norman doorway removed in 1831 from the position C in the south wall of the nave and inserted in the west face of the Anglo-Saxon tower; B, buttresses added to the tower when the Perpendicular belfry was erected and the newel staircase inserted. Our plan does not imply that the staircase is an Anglo-Saxon fabric.

CARLTON-IN-LINDRICK

Nottinghamshire

Map sheet 103, reference SK 588839

Figures 421-3

ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST

West tower: period C

*West wall of nave, and possibly also side walls:
earlier than tower*

Travellers by the main road from Worksop to Doncaster might not suspect when passing through the modern village of Carlton, about 3 miles north of Worksop, that so much of the ancient village had survived quite close to this modern development. In the older part of the village, beside the wooded park-land of the ruined Carlton Hall, stands the church of St John, now consisting

of a tall west tower, an aisled nave, and an aisleless chancel with north chapel and south vestry.

The tower has massive Perpendicular buttresses set diagonally at each corner; but these are easily seen to be later additions, designed to strengthen a much older structure when the tall belfry stage was added in the fifteenth century. Until 1869, the Anglo-Saxon features in the lower parts of the tower remained hidden beneath plaster, and quite unsuspected. When the plaster was removed during restoration, the blocked outlines of the eastern and western double belfry windows were revealed; and, in an able account of the church, the Rev. J. Stayce claimed not only the tower but also the nave and chancel as of pre-Norman construction.¹ In 1936, the masonry which had until then blocked the eastern and western belfry windows was removed, and the simple but massive dignity of the Anglo-Saxon tower thus made

¹ J. Stayce, *A.A.S.R.* 10 (1869-70), 165-9.

plain.¹ The north and south windows were left undisturbed, because they are, in any event, covered by the faces of the clock; but internally they may be seen to be of the same construction as the others.

The Perpendicular belfry can be dated with some certainty, since the church has a record of the gift of a bell by a rector who held office from 1417 to 1443. The excellence of the Anglo-Saxon fabric beneath is well shown by its good state of preservation, notwithstanding the addition of this massive upper storey with its added load of heavy bells; but perhaps even more remarkable is the fact that the fifteenth-century builders not only added this extra storey but also cut out the whole of the south-west corner of the tower in order to construct in its place a stone spiral stairway to give access to their new bell-chamber. They did, indeed, add buttresses at all corners in order to strengthen the tower; but it is a remarkable testimony both to the quality of the original work and also to the skill of the fifteenth-century craftsman that there are no signs of subsidence in the tower, even after the further ill-treatment which it suffered in 1831 when the Norman doorway was inserted in its west face. Moreover, in considering the support which is offered to the tower by the later buttresses, it should be noted that, while those at the west are carried up from the ground, those at the east rest on the tops of the original side walls of the nave, and that the south wall of the nave was drastically cut about in 1831 when the south aisle was built and an arcade opened to it, in imitation of the Norman north arcade.

Apart from the dressed stone of the fifteenth-century additions, the fabric of the tower is of stone rubble, which has been laid in a variety of ways, almost as though to mark the four storeys of the tower. The lowest storey and the west wall of the nave are of carefully coursed, undressed rubble in rather thin blocks; the second storey is of roughly dressed rectangular blocks, also laid in regular courses; the third is of much rougher blocks, almost all laid in herring-bone fashion; and the fourth storey, containing the double belfry windows, is of much the same texture as

the lowest, but with occasional areas of herring-bone work.

The four storeys of the Anglo-Saxon tower are divided into two roughly equal stages by a string-course of plain square section which may be seen to pass behind the added buttresses, whereas the string-course between the Anglo-Saxon tower and the Perpendicular belfry is of moulded section and may be seen to be carried round the added buttresses.

The angles of the Anglo-Saxon tower are concealed up their full height by the later buttresses; and any early doors or windows in the west face below the belfry stage have been replaced by the Norman west doorway which was moved from the south wall of the nave in 1831, and by a large rectangular window with a Perpendicular hood-moulding, at first-floor level. The north and south faces of the tower have no openings below belfry-level, and this is also true of the east face as seen from outside.

By contrast with the standard pattern of Lincolnshire late-Saxon belfry towers, which have a tall lower stage separated by a string-course from a much shorter upper stage in which the belfry windows rest on the string-course, Carlton's two stages are of roughly equal height, and the belfry windows are high above the dividing string-course. The belfry windows themselves are of much simpler and earlier appearance than is common in Lincolnshire; for the plain cylindrical mid-wall shafts have no capitals and rest on very simple, splayed bases; the jambs, cut straight through the wall, are lined with through-stones laid in something like 'Escomb fashion'; the imposts and through-stone slabs are plain rectangular blocks, hollow-chamfered below; and each light is covered by a rough stone lintel cut away below to form the round head. At no point, therefore, do the belfry windows give any feeling of Norman influence.

The rugged simplicity of the belfry windows is, however, in marked contrast to the delicate and advanced detail of the eastern face of the tower-arch, which is of two orders, with a separate hood-moulding. The orders, recessed and moulded, are supported by recessed shafts, with

¹ P. Dare, *The Church of St John Evangelist, Carlton-in-Lindrick*, 2nd ed. (Worksop, 1951), 4.

capitals logically placed beneath the orders which they support; and the capitals, although of simple conical or bell form, are enriched with a pattern of upright leaves, the palmette ornament so characteristic of Lincolnshire late-Saxon work, and are separated from their shafts by fillets of cable-ornament.¹ The hood-moulding is of a simple, chamfered section, without ornament, but the labels which stop it on each side, a few inches above the capitals, are carved on the chamfered surface with palmette ornament like that on the capitals. The arch, moreover, shows none of the tall narrow proportion that is so clear a guide to Anglo-Saxon work, and, of the detail so far described, perhaps the palmette ornament is the only feature that points to Anglo-Saxon date rather than Norman. But the arch itself is perhaps decisive in settling the matter; first, there is the soffit roll on the inner order, of which Baldwin Brown (pp. 398-401) cites many examples on the Anglo-Saxon side of the boundary, and quotes a French writer as authority for the absence of this feature from Norman architecture; secondly, and in our opinion even more conclusively, it should be noted that the separate orders of the arch are not laid in the proper constructional fashion with the inner order supporting each of the outer, but that the three orders are really three quite independent arches, each supporting one-third of the thickness of the wall. This is not a Norman feature, although arches of this type were inserted, probably about the end of the eleventh century, in the church at Wharram-le-Street and in the chapel of St Regulus at St Andrews.

By contrast with the elaborate treatment of the eastern face of the tower-arch, the western face is severely plain, both arch and jambs being square in section and the imposts having no enrichment beyond a plain chamfer. Above the tower-arch, a gallery obscures the west wall of the nave, but it is interesting to note that access to the gallery is by way of a stair to the first floor of the tower and thence through a doorway in the west wall of the nave; the doorway no longer shows any early features, but it almost certainly represents a survival of an early opening.

The walls of the nave and chancel contain no

doorways or windows of a sort which would serve to settle with certainty whether the walls were built before or after the Conquest. Three early windows in the north wall of the chancel are certainly earlier than the Transitional arch which cuts away part of the jambs of two of them, but this would not require the windows to be earlier than Norman. In the north wall of the nave, a somewhat similar round-headed, single-splayed window is almost certainly earlier than the Norman arch beneath it, for if the two had been built at the same time the window would surely have been put directly over the arch; but again this might only mean that the window is of earlier Norman construction than the arcade. Indeed all these windows may be Norman, but it can be shown conclusively that the west wall of the nave, with its side-alternate quoins of exceptionally large stones, is certainly pre-Norman; and, indeed, of an earlier period than the tower. This follows because it can be seen that the side walls of the tower are not in bond with the west wall of the nave, and are, indeed, built up against it with a straight vertical joint until, higher up, the tower is built on top of the wall of the nave. The side walls of the nave, of the same thin construction as the west wall, are most probably contemporary with it, since they are correctly aligned with the quoins.

The jambs of the chancel-arch are Norman, but the arch itself is a tall, pointed, fifteenth-century insertion, no doubt designed to give an uninterrupted view of the fine Perpendicular east window. The southern impost of this arch is ornamented with interlacing strap-work which, although Norman, shows some survival of Anglo-Saxon traditions.

Yet another interesting stone, probably also re-used, is to be seen as a lintel over the south doorway of the chancel. Recessed within a semicircular moulding, this stone shows what seem to be the sun, the moon, and two stars, while the spandrel spaces outside the semicircle are filled with fan-shaped sprays of foliage, or feathers like those of birds' tails. At the head of the semicircular moulding a cross has been deeply carved, possibly when the stone was re-used in its

¹ See Figs. 422 and 423.

present position, to which it does not seem to belong, particularly because, instead of being symmetrical, it is taller on the right than on the left.

Outside the west doorway is a great block of stone roughly shaped like the base of a cross-shaft, and hollowed out above to form a socket for the shaft. Local legend is said to have asserted that, when the church was first being built, all the stones but this were moved away by the devil, and that this was subsequently known as the devil's stone. Having been lost for some considerable time, it was recovered by the Worksop Archaeological Society in 1937.

The church is mentioned in Domesday Book, where it is also recorded that in the time of Edward the Confessor six thegns had halls in Carlton.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 38 ft long internally, by 18 ft 5 in. wide, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick; and the chancel is 31 ft 3 in. long by 16 ft 10 in. wide, with side walls only 2 ft 3 in. thick and east wall 3 ft 3 in.

The tower is 11 ft square internally, with side and west walls 3 ft thick, by contrast with the east wall (west wall of nave) which is only 2 ft 6 in. The Anglo-Saxon part of the tower is about 64 ft high.

The tower-arch is 6 ft 9 in. wide and 10 ft 4 in. high. The double windows of the belfry are 7 ft 2 in. tall and 4 ft 4 in. wide, each light being 1 ft 8 in. wide, and the central shaft 1 ft in diameter.

REFERENCES

- J. STAYCE, 'On certain very early remains in the church of Carlton-in-Lindrick, Nottinghamshire', *A.A.S.R.* 10 (1869-70), 165-9. Good architectural account, with first description of the old features brought to light a few months earlier by removal of plaster from the tower and the chancel.
- Editorial, 'Carlton-in-Lindrick', *ibid.* 21 (1891-2), lxxii. Note of restoration in 1892 and of insertion of Norman doorway in tower when south aisle and vestry were built about 40 years earlier.
- C. LYNAM, 'Laughton-en-le-Morthen church, Yorkshire', *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 10 (1904), 195-8. Carlton briefly described and contrasted with Laughton. Plan of tower and elevation of arch.

A. DU B. HILL, 'Pre-Norman churches and monuments of Nottinghamshire', *Arch. J.* 73 (1916), 195-206. Carlton briefly noted, 198.

P. DARR, *The Church of St John the Evangelist, Carlton-in-Lindrick*, 2nd ed. (Worksop, 1951). Full architectural and historical account, with pictures and plan.

CASTLE FROME

Herefordshire

Map sheet 143, reference SO 667458

ST MICHAEL

Simple two-cell church: Saxo-Norman, but probably post-Conquest

About 10 miles east-north-east of Hereford, beside the upper waters of the Frome, the church at Castle Frome stands on rising ground beside a substantial farm and without any neighbouring village. It is of the simplest, aisleless, two-cell pattern, with a bell-cote on the west gable. In later times a porch has been built over the south doorway, where it almost obscures the Anglo-Saxon sundial.¹ The fabric is of big, roughly squared stones, with very big side-alternate quoins; and a simple, chamfered plinth runs round the whole of the lower part of the walls.

Three original doorways and a number of windows have survived, all of a character that suggests a date close to the Conquest, but after rather than before. The west and south doorways of the nave have massive lintels and round-arched heads which enclose tympana that are built of squared masonry like the walls. The priest's doorway in the south wall of the chancel is of taller and narrower form, with a monolithic head in which has been cut a semicircular depression as though to imitate the tympana of the other doorways. The windows are of simple, round-headed, single-splayed form, which gives little decisive evidence as to date.

A chamfered string-course runs across the base of the west gable, and from it a square pilaster-strip runs upward almost to the apex of the gable. But while the arrangement is Anglo-Saxon in principle, the detail is Norman in character, for

¹ A. R. Green, 'Anglo-Saxon sundials', *Ant. J.* 8 (1928), 501.

the pilaster is constructed like a Norman buttress with courses consisting alternately of single stretchers and pairs of headers.

The round-headed chancel-arch is of broad, Norman proportions, of two plain square orders. It has recessed jambs, also of two plain square orders, and its imposts are chamfered.

The font is a fine example of the Herefordshire Norman workmanship which nevertheless shows distinct traces of Anglo-Saxon influence. The bowl is carved in high relief with interlacing patterns which surround panels carved to show the emblems of the four evangelists and a representation of Christ's baptism.

DIMENSIONS

The walls are 3 ft 3 in. thick and over 20 ft high. The nave is roughly 42 ft long internally by 24 ft broad, and the chancel roughly 24 ft by 18 ft.

CAVERSFIELD

Oxfordshire

Map sheet 146, reference SP 581252

Figure 424

ST LAURENCE

Lower part of west tower: period C

The tiny church of St Laurence, standing in the lovely grounds of Caversfield House close beside the Banbury road about 2 miles north of Bicester, has a Norman nave with later aisles, an Early English chancel with a north chapel, and a gabled west tower, of which the lower stage is Anglo-Saxon and the upper modern.

The Anglo-Saxon tower is built of coursed rag-stone, with dressed quoins that have a modern look. The late-Saxon date of the walls is settled by two small, round-headed, double-splayed windows, one in each of the north and south faces of the tower. The southern window is heavily plastered both within and without, but even so the irregular, rubble arch of its head can be seen externally. The northern window is not plastered externally, and it can be seen that the actual aperture, about 6 in. wide and 1 ft 6 in. high, is cut through a stone mid-wall slab. The widely

splayed jambs are built of the same material as the walls, the sloping sill is made of two large flat stones, and the round head is very roughly arched with large flattish stones, the first of which on each side is not laid flat, but steeply tilted, while the remainder on that side are laid roughly parallel to it. Both windows are splayed to a width of about 2 ft 6 in. on both outer and inner faces, and the walls themselves are about 3 ft 6 in. thick.

CAXTON

Cambridgeshire

Map sheet 134, reference TL 300578

ST ANDREW

Indications of the former existence of a stone pre-Conquest church

The former existence of a pre-Conquest church of stone at Caxton, about 9 miles west of Cambridge, is indicated by the survival of a turned stone baluster within the church and by the presence of a number of pre-Conquest wrought stones in the fabric.

CHEAM

Surrey

Map sheet 170, reference TQ 243639

ST DUNSTAN

Chancel, preserved as Lumley mausoleum when the main body of the church was demolished in 1864: possibly period C

The greater part of the ancient church of St Dunstan was demolished in 1864 in preparation for building the new and larger church which now serves the needs of this busy parish; but its chancel was suffered to remain as a separate chapel to house the magnificent monuments of the Lumley family, a few yards south of the new church, in the north-west angle between the Croydon-Leatherhead and Mitcham-Reigate roads.

In repairs during 1918, parts of the sills, jambs, and arched heads of two early windows were discovered and left exposed to view in the north wall

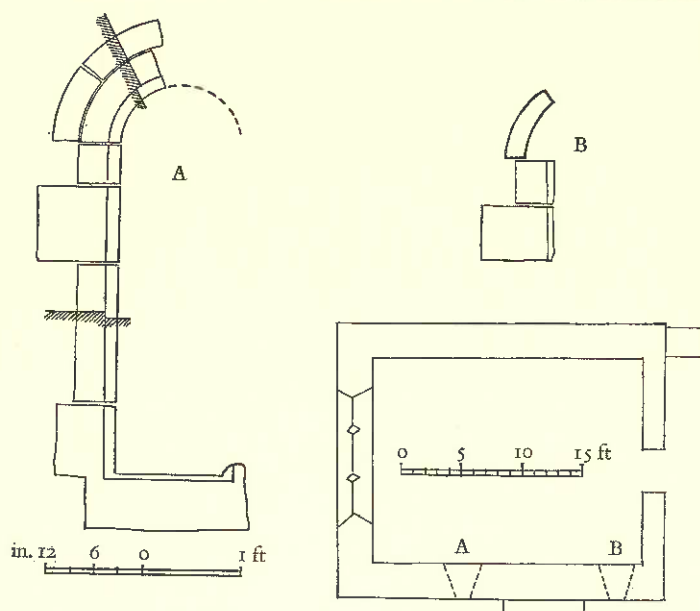


FIG. 66. CHEAM, SURREY

Plan of the chapel, and larger-scale details of the surviving fragments of two windows.

of the old chancel. Only three stones remain of the western window, B; but of that to the east, A, rather more than half of its outline has survived. The sill is a single stone, the east jamb is built of four stones, and the round head appears to have been arched with three stones, of which one survives. Surrounding the head, and of separate stones, is a hood-moulding, now cut back flush with the wall, so that it is impossible to say more about its original form than that it measured 4 in. across. The window is blocked right up to the wall-face, but it may be seen that its opening was framed by a 2 in. square rebate, such as is found on many early windows, possibly as a housing for a wooden shutter. The wall itself is of uncut flints, with some blocks of clunch.

The evidence is far from conclusive that these windows are Anglo-Saxon, particularly as their sills are only 5 ft 6 in. from the ground; but the hood-mould and the rebate give some such indication, and we have accordingly included the church in this list in the hope that further investigation may settle the matter.

DIMENSIONS

The apertures of the windows were about 1 ft 1 in. wide and 4 ft tall, and their sills about 5 ft

6 in. above the ground. The wall itself is 2 ft 3 in. thick and about 15 ft high. The chapel is 23 ft 6 in. long internally and 16 ft wide.

REFERENCES

- J. C. COX (revised E. F. Peeler), *Sussex* (Methuen's Little Guides), 7th ed. (London, 1952), 58.
H. DUNK, 'The Lumley monuments in the ancient church of St Dunstan at Cheam, Surrey', *T. Anc. Mon. S.*, n.s., 2 (1954), 93-107.

CHEDDAR

Somerset

Map 165, reference ST 455526

*Site of palace with evidence of
wooden and stone buildings*

As an exception to the general rule of including only material that is based on our own observation this note records the publication on 30 March 1963 in the *Illustrated London News* (pp. 462-5) of details of excavations at Cheddar by P. Rahtz on behalf of the Ministry of Public Building and Works. These excavations disclosed evidence of buildings of three pre-Conquest periods, of which the first was before 930, the second was between

930 and about 1000, and the third was probably in the reign of Aethelred II, soon after 1000.

The first period showed a long wooden hall with several smaller buildings nearby. The second period, probably in the reign of Athelstan, involved a complete rebuilding, including a small chapel of limestone rubble with thick stucco which was painted to simulate ashlar. There was also a new and much larger wooden hall, and a corn-mill and bakery. The third period involved much further rebuilding. A new chapel was provided on a larger scale with a long, narrow nave and a narrower rectangular chancel. Some remains of the earlier chapel have been recovered from a ditch on the site and they provide the evidence for its painted stucco and its doors and windows of freestone.¹

CHERITON

Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 189366

ST MARTIN

West wall of nave: period C

Through the years since St Martin's church was built, great changes have taken place in the distribution of the parish which it serves. Cheriton has now become almost a western suburb of Folkestone, and has grown away from the church towards its larger neighbour; Shorncliffe Camp, on the Plain of St Martin, has itself become a township of some importance; and St Martin's church is now, by virtue of its situation, more obviously the church of Shorncliffe Camp than of Cheriton. It is, however, fortunate in standing outside the built-up area of the camp, with a good view towards the sea between Hythe and Sandgate.

The church, built mainly of brown ironstone rubble, now consists of a buttressed west tower; a nave with fourteenth-century south aisle, wide modern north aisle, and north porch; and an aisleless chancel built on land that falls away steeply to the east, so that the east end of the chancel has a tall lower storey beneath it. The chancel

has a fine, Early English, blind arcading carried right round its interior walls; but its main fabric is of Norman date, as may be seen externally from its shallow Norman buttresses, and from the blocked, round-headed doorway in the north wall, near the nave.

The early character of the west wall of the nave was first pointed out in 1889 by Canon Robertson, who drew attention to the rough, wide-jointed masonry; the tall, narrow, west doorway; and the small, round-headed window above, with its sill no less than 16 ft 6 in. above the floor of the nave. He also recorded that the north wall of the nave had been of the same rough rubble construction until 1873, when it was demolished to give place to the arcade of two bays which open to the new wide north aisle.²

Internally, the church is heavily plastered, except for small areas which have been left bare beside the west doorway and window. The original doorway is seen to be a tall, plain, round-headed opening, cut straight through the wall, and wholly built in the same rough rubble construction as the main walling itself. The jambs have neither bases nor imposts, and the arched head is formed of rubble laid with reasonably radial joints. A smaller, round-headed doorway has subsequently been built within the western part of the original opening, to provide for the hanging of the present door; but the whole eastern face of the original doorway, and its soffit for a depth of 14 in., remain unaffected by this later work.

The window, high above, is splayed both inward and outward, and, like the doorway, its jambs and round head are formed of the same rubble as the walling. The placing of the church in period C rests on the double-splayed character of this window, for otherwise there are no features in the fabric to show whether the church was built early or late within the pre-Conquest period.

The western tower has several interesting features. From outside, it may be seen that the diagonal western buttresses are later additions, and that the pointed western doorway has been built within an earlier round-headed arch, which, like

¹ See also *Med. Arch.* 6-7 (1962-3), 53-66.

² *Arch. Cant.* 18 (1889), 353.

CHERITON

that of the west doorway of the nave, is built of roughly laid thin pieces of rubble. There seems, therefore, considerable reason for regarding the lower part of the tower, perhaps up to the off-set above the modern west window, as having originally formed a western porch of entry, possibly of the same date as the west wall of the nave.

Short sections of both original side walls of the nave remain as western responds to the arcades, thus serving to fix the width of the original nave.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 14 ft wide internally, with side walls 2 ft 3 in. thick, and about 20 ft high. The west doorway is 3 ft 7 in. wide and 9 ft 4 in. tall, in a wall 2 ft 10 in. thick. The aperture of the west window is 8 in. wide and 2 ft 6 in. tall, splayed to become 2 ft 6 in. wide and 5 ft tall in each wall-face, with sill about 16 ft 6 in. above the floor.

REFERENCE

- S. ROBERTSON, 'Cheriton church', *Arch. Cant.* 18 (1889), 353-68. Architectural description, with interior and exterior photographs.

CHICHESTER

Sussex

Map sheet 181, reference SU 862048

ST OLAVE

Possibly part of south wall: period doubtful

The church of St Olave, now a book-shop in North Street, Chichester, was somewhat drastically restored in 1852, when a number of interesting features which came to light were fully described by the Rev. P. Freeman. The opening then discovered in the east wall was regarded by Freeman as clear evidence of pre-Conquest date, but was unfortunately destroyed. The tall narrow doorway in the south wall has survived, but is heavily plastered internally, and is inaccessible from outside, so that no details of its construction can be seen. The opening is recessed for the hanging of a door, both arches being of plain semicircular form and rising from square-sectioned jambs without imposts. The smaller, blocked arch

is 2 ft 1 in. wide by 7 ft high, while the inner, recessed arch is 2 ft 8 in. wide by 8 ft 4 in. tall. Unless the plaster can be removed for inspection of the stonework, there seems little chance of settling with any certainty whether this doorway shows any reliable pre-Conquest features. Freeman's picture of it suggests a Norman rather than an Anglo-Saxon date.

REFERENCES

- P. FREEMAN, 'On some antiquities lately discovered in St Olave's Church, Chichester', *Sussex Arch. C.* 5 (1852), 213-28.
V.C.H., Sussex, 3 (London, 1935), 162. Plan, and brief architectural description. Nave assigned to the end of the eleventh century.

CHICKNEY

Essex

Map sheet 148, reference TL 574280

Figures 6 (c) and 425

ST MARY THE VIRGIN

Nave and west part of chancel: period C3

The church of St Mary stands in fields beside Chickney Hall, about half-a-mile from the winding road which connects Elsenham to Thaxted. There is no trace of a village of Chickney and it is not at all easy to find a public path leading to the churchyard; although it can be approached by private roads either from the sharp bend in the main road (573276) or from a little further west (570276).

The church consists of a fourteenth-century west tower, with square, shingled spire, and an aisleless nave and chancel which, apart from later windows and an eastern extension of the chancel, are of late-Saxon date. The fabric is of uncut flints, partly plastered, and it has the distinctively pre-Norman feature that the quoins are formed wholly of flints, without the use of dressed stone. Another pre-Norman feature is the exceptional disregard of the right-angle in the ground-plan of the church, whose east and west walls are more than 10° out of square with the side walls.

The nave has north and south doorways in its side walls, probably survivors of original doorways, but no longer possessing any distinctive

features. But to the east of these are two double-splayed, round-headed windows, one in each wall, both of similar construction, and both now glazed and in good repair. That in the south wall still retains an old oak frame to carry the glazing; and in the outer splays of both windows it may be seen that the jambs and heads are constructed of the same coursed flint rubble as the walls, without any special arching for the heads. The apertures have parallel, vertical jambs; but the splayed outer and inner faces narrow towards the top, an effect which is particularly marked on the inner faces.

The eastern extent of the original chancel is indicated by straight vertical joints in its north and south walls about 15 ft from the nave.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 31 ft long internally, and 19 ft wide at the east, narrowing to 18 ft at the west. Its walls vary between 2 ft 6 in. and 2 ft 9 in. in thickness, and are about 14 ft high. The original part of the chancel is about 14 ft square internally.

The double-splayed windows have apertures 8 in. wide and 2 ft tall, splayed to about 3 ft wide by 4 ft tall in the wall-faces, with sills about 9 ft above the floor.

REFERENCES

- R.C.H.M., *Essex*, North-West (London, 1916), 62-3.
 F. F. KOMLOSY, 'The parish and church of Chickney', *Essex R.* 36 (1927), 161-3.
 F. W. STEER, 'Chickney church', *ibid.* 60 (1951), 93-102.
 Good architectural description with pictures and plan.

CHITHURST

Sussex

Map sheet 181, reference SU 842230

ST MARY

Main fabric: period C3

About mid-way between Petersfield and Midhurst, and a mile north of the main road, Chithurst church is most attractively situated beside the River Rother, in a raised churchyard, near to a very fine house. Apart from the insertion of larger

windows and the provision of a small porch over the west door, the church stands now much as it was built about nine hundred years ago; its walls are lightly plastered over the main fabric of stone rubble, which is laid roughly in courses, but with some herring-bone work; and all six quoins are of large stones laid in side-alternate fashion. The church is one of the smallest described in this book, consisting simply of an almost square chancel, a tall, rectangular nave, with western bell-cote, and a later, half-timbered, west porch.

An original, tall, narrow, round-headed, single-splayed window has survived high up in the north wall of the chancel. Its outer face is in stone, with the head cut in the lower face of a rectangular lintel; its inner splay is plastered, apparently without any use of dressed stone; and the inner splay continues through the wall, with no external splay or rebate.

The tall, narrow chancel-arch is of slightly horseshoe form, with chamfered imposts and bases, of which the former are returned for about their own length along the east and west faces of the wall. The imposts and bases are through-stones, but this is not so for any other stones of the jambs or arch.

The church is difficult to date, and has recently been denied a place in the Anglo-Saxon list because of the use of herring-bone work in its walls.¹ For reasons explained fully under Diddlebury, we do not regard this as a valid conclusion; but this still leaves the question of date undetermined. The arguments in favour of Anglo-Saxon workmanship are the tall, thin walls; the large quoin-stones; the tall, narrow chancel-arch; and the simple window with its inner splay continued right through the wall.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 26 ft 8 in. long internally, by 15 ft 2 in. wide, with walls only 2 ft 2 in. thick and about 15 ft high; the chancel is 11 ft 10 in. long and 10 ft 10 in. wide, with walls of the same thickness as those of the nave; and the chancel-arch is 5 ft 5 in. wide and 11 ft 11 in. tall as measured from the floor of the nave.

The north window in the chancel is 7 in. wide

¹ A. L. Poole, *Sussex Arch. C.* 87 (1948), 71.

and 2 ft 9 in. tall externally, splayed to about 2 ft by 5 ft internally, with its sill about $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft above the floor of the chancel.

REFERENCE

H. L. JESSEP, *Anglo-Saxon Church Architecture in Sussex* (Winchester, undated), 49-50.

CLAPHAM

Bedfordshire

Map sheet 147, reference TL 035525

ST THOMAS À BECKET

West tower, with Norman belfry: period C

The tall tower of Clapham church forms a prominent land-mark, beside the main road to Kettering, about 2 miles from the centre of Bedford. The body of the church, rebuilt by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1861, now consists of a nave with aisles, all under one roof; and an aisleless chancel. Fortunately the western bay and the tower escaped restoration, and the chancel-arch, although taken down, was rebuilt more or less in its original form, with much of the original fabric.

The tower is of rubble without dressed stone facings except those of the west door and tower-arch. The belfry stage at the top is clearly Norman, with its recessed double belfry window in each face, but the whole of the lower stage, about 60 ft in height, is Anglo-Saxon, representing three storeys internally, and rising sheer from the ground to the summit without string-course or off-set to break its simple dignity. It was one of the two churches which first served to convince Thomas Rickman early in the nineteenth century that there really did survive in England buildings erected before the Norman Conquest. The other which shared this distinction was St Peter's church, Barton-on-Humber; Rickman's argument in both cases being that, while the upper stage appeared to be early Norman, the fabric beneath was of a distinctly different type and must therefore be pre-Norman.

Externally, the east face of the Anglo-Saxon tower has only one opening, a round-headed,

double-splayed window at the level of the uppermost floor. The other three faces each have a similar window at the same level and a wider, double-splayed, round-headed window on the floor below. All these openings have jambs of rubble, and round heads roughly arched in rubble.¹ On the ground floor there are no exterior openings except the west door, whose jambs are built of large stones without any special characteristics which would serve to fix its date, while its arched head is segmental, and has probably been rebuilt.

Internally, both tower-arch and chancel-arch are round-headed and of slightly greater diameter than the width between their jambs. Both arches and jambs are square in section, but are not of through-stones; although this is perhaps no criterion of date in a district so devoid of building stone. The imposts are of simple square section, chamfered below. Above the tower-arch, and now partly obscured by the lowered roof of the nave, is a triangular-headed upper doorway into the first floor of the tower.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is 15 ft 3 in. from east to west, and 16 ft 3 in. from north to south, internally, with walls about 4 ft thick. The Anglo-Saxon part of the tower is about 60 ft high, and the total height, including the Norman belfry, is about 85 ft. The tower-arch is 7 ft 6 in. wide and 12 ft 6 in. high.

The small sections of walling which project eastward from the tower to form responds for the later arcades are each 2 ft 8 in. thick, and define a nave originally 12 ft 7 in. in internal width, with walls about 25 ft high. It should be noted that the tower was appreciably wider than the nave, projecting about 3 ft to north and south beyond the side walls of the nave.

REFERENCES

- T. RICKMAN, 'Ecclesiastical architecture of France and England', *Arch.* 26 (1836), 26-46. Clapham described, 39.
G. G. SCOTT, *Medieval Architecture*, 2 (London, 1879), 54. Brief architectural description, with reference to the chancel-arch and the 'bonnet-shaped' window in the chancel.

¹ Sir Gilbert Scott recorded (*Medieval Architecture*, 2 (London, 1879), 54) that a similar window had survived in the chancel 'until destroyed recently by a stupid builder'.

W. AIRY, 'On the ecclesiastical architecture of the northern portion of the county of Bedford', *A.A.S.R.* I (1850-1), 144-54. Clapham described, with a reference to the chancel window, 146-7.

V.C.H., Bedfordshire, 3 (London, 1912), 131-2. Brief architectural description, and picture.

CLAYDON

Suffolk

Map sheet 150, reference TM 137498

ST PETER

Nave: period C3

About 4 miles north of Ipswich, on the main road to Norwich, Claydon is flanked on the east by a ridge of higher land on which the church stands, about half-a-mile from the village.

The Anglo-Saxon nave now forms part of a picturesque medieval church which consists of a west tower, nave, transepts and chancel. The date of the nave is indicated by long-and-short quoins at both its western angles, beside the tower. Like some others in East Anglia these quoins have their long, or upright, stones markedly rectangular in plan rather than square, and alternate uprights are laid with the longer of their horizontal faces along alternate walls. The flint rubble walls of the nave are plastered; and the quoins have been so laid that in general the whole of the faces of both long and short stones show beside the plaster, except that on some of the long stones part of one face has been cut back so as to be covered by the plaster. Four pairs of the long-and-short stones have survived on the north quoin, and five on the south.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 15 ft wide internally, and 27 ft long, with side walls 2 ft 8 in. thick and about 15 ft high. The long stones in the quoins average about 2 ft 6 in. in height, and the short ones average about 4 in.

CLAYTON

Sussex

Map sheet 182, reference TQ 298139

Figures 426, 427

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

Nave and west part of chancel: period C

After crossing the Downs, about 6 miles north of Brighton, the road to Hayward's Heath drops steeply into Clayton, where the interesting church of St John stands close beside the foot of the Downs. In spite of changes both in the Middle Ages and more recently, the church does not now look very different from the aisleless nave and chancel which were built about nine hundred years ago. The chancel has been lengthened, but the original, massive quoin-stones seem to have been re-used; side chapels were later added to the nave, but these have disappeared, and their former existence is now indicated only by the blocked arches which used to open to them; and a large modern south vestry is hidden from view if the churchyard is entered by the main gate to the north.

The fabric is of whole flints, which show through a thin coating of plaster on the north face, but are completely covered on the south. The quoins are of massive stones laid in side-alternate fashion, and those of the original chancel appear to have been re-used on the angles of its later extension. No original windows have survived; and, although the north doorway is a plain opening with round head and square jambs, it has no very definite features to fix its date. The external evidences of pre-Conquest date are, therefore, the massive quoins and the disproportionate height of the walls.

Inside the church, however, a very clear indication of pre-Conquest workmanship is given by the unusual mouldings of the chancel-arch. These consist of three half-round shafts, one applied to each wall-face and one to the soffit, all three carried up parallel to the jambs and round the arched head, each shaft being separated from its neighbour by a protruding angle of the wall, which appears between the shafts as a moulding of square section.

The arch is built of two orders of voussoirs, nine in the inner order and thirteen in the outer, all well-fitted, with radial joints. The jambs are, in the main, built of large stones cut to shape, so that each individual stone shows on its vertical surface all three shafts and the two intervening square mouldings. The jambs rest on bases of plain

cubical form, about 18 in. in height, projecting a little in front of the soffit-shafts, but flush with the wall-shaft on the west and flush with the wall itself on the east. The impostes are also rectangular in plan and about 6 in. in total thickness, of which about half is chamfered off below; they are returned along both faces of the wall for a few inches beyond the wall-shafts, and they project

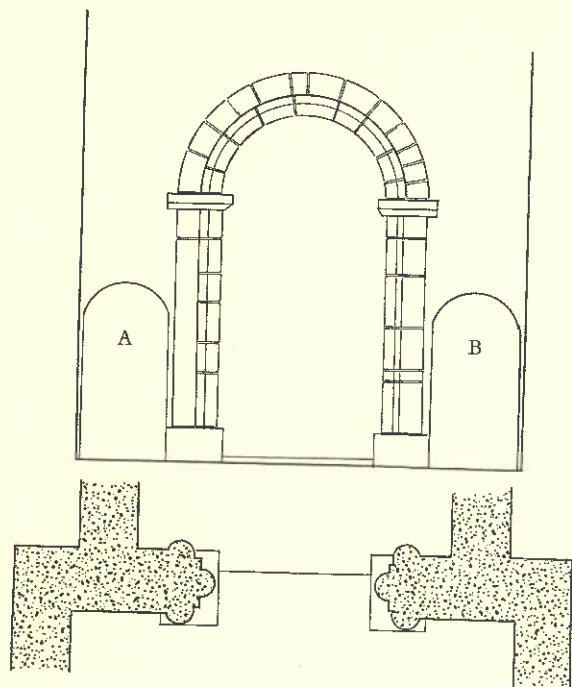


FIG. 67. CLAYTON, SUSSEX

Plan and elevation of the chancel-arch. The mouldings should be compared and contrasted with those at Bosham, Stoughton and Wittering. The later medieval recesses, A and B on the elevation, have not been shown in the plan.

forward about 3 in. beyond the faces of all three shafts.

During a restoration of the church in 1893, several unusually complete and interesting early wall-paintings were brought to light and carefully described by P. M. Johnston. They have been claimed for dates both before and after the Conquest; but they are now usually regarded as the work of a 'Lewes School', which seems to have flourished about 1080, and of which other good examples are preserved at Hardham, Sussex.

DIMENSIONS

The internal dimensions of the nave are about $38\frac{1}{2}$ ft by $17\frac{1}{2}$ ft, and of the chancel about 19 ft by $13\frac{1}{2}$ ft, but the original chancel would have been about 12 ft by $13\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The walls are 2 ft 4 in. thick, and those of the nave over 20 ft in height. The chancel-arch is 6 ft 2 in. wide and about $13\frac{1}{2}$ ft tall.

REFERENCES

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- C. E. KEYSER, 'Mural paintings at the churches of Clayton and Rotherfield, Sussex', *Sussex Arch. C.* 40 (1896), 211-21. Paintings discovered in 1893 fully described and illustrated; brief architectural description; picture of chancel-arch.
- Q. H. LEENEY, 'References to ancient Sussex churches in *The Ecclesiologist*', *Sussex Arch. C.* 87 (1948), 184-207. Clayton, 189-97; good picture of chancel-arch.
- Sussex Church Plans, *Sussex N.Q.* 3 (1930-1), 186. Plan.
- V.C.H., *Sussex*, 7 (London, 1940), 140-4. Plan, interior view, good architectural description.
- C. BELL, *The Twelfth-century Paintings at Hardham and Clayton* (Lewes, 1947). Full descriptions and illustrations of the paintings. Good elevation of the chancel-arch.
- D. T. RICE, *English Art, 871-1100* (Oxford, 1952), 112.

CLEE

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 105, reference TA 290084

Figures 428, 429

HOLY TRINITY

West tower: period C3

The ancient village of Clee is now part of the thriving modern borough of Grimsby and Cleethorpes, but has still preserved a distinctive nucleus of older houses and farms, in the midst of which stands the church, a stately building, consisting of a sturdy west tower, an aisled nave, broad transepts, a low nineteenth-century central tower and a chancel of the same date.

The west tower is a fine example of the late-Saxon, Lincolnshire type, in two unequal stages

separated by a square string-course and an off-set. The fabric is of roughly coursed, undressed rubble with wide mortar joints and side-alternate quoins of larger, roughly dressed stones. A marked change in the texture of the fabric may be noted at about 10 ft above the ground; up to this level the walling is of mixed flint and stone rubble, while above it is wholly of stone, which varies in hue from yellow to brown.

The lower stage of the tower, resting on a simple square plinth, and occupying about three-quarters of its total height, has no external openings to east or north, and on the south has only one tall keyhole window, to light the ground floor of the tower. The slightly sloping jambs of this window are each formed of a single upright stone, now much weathered, and its rather elongated oval head is cut in the lower face of a single rectangular stone; the glass is set back about 2 in. from the wall-face and the external opening is heavily patched with cement.

The west face has a sturdy doorway as its principal feature, with a keyhole window above it, to light the upper floor. The square jambs of the doorway rest on a plinth formed by returning the main plinth of the tower into the opening; and the plain square boldly projecting imposts support a round-arched head of two square orders surrounded by a concentric hood-mould of square section. The two orders of the arched head are of well-dressed neatly laid stones, of which the outer order is set flush with the wall-face while the inner is recessed about 1 in. behind.

The window in the west face is generally similar in form to that in the south, but in better preservation and with a more clearly defined keyhole head, in which the opening of circular shape is of appreciably more than half a circle in extent.

A slightly sloping string-course, running along part of the north face of the lower stage of the tower from about the level of the roof of the nave, suggests that at some time a western annexe of the north aisle was carried across at least part of the tower. The only other feature which breaks the sheer walls of the tower is provided by a curious series of eight projecting corbels, or *prokrossoi*, of which five are found on the lower stage and three on the upper, without any apparent systematic

pattern. On the lower stage, one appears near the top of the north face; no less than three are on the west, of which one is near the top and two at about the middle height; while on the south face, an exceptionally bold dark projection is placed a few feet above the keyhole window. On the upper stage, two of the projecting corbels are placed to flank the western belfry window and one on the south face somewhat to the west of its window.

The double belfry windows in each of the four faces of the upper stage all use as their sills the square string-course above the lower stage. The head of each opening of each double window is formed of a single stone which is rounded below and above and is supported on square chamfered imposts and on a central through-stone slab. The square jambs are built of well-dressed stones which are neither particularly large nor through-stones. The mid-wall shafts in all four windows are simple circular cylinders; all four have bulbous bases and well-formed capitals which are of Norman cushion type, except on the south, where a flat, square abacus rests on a bulbous annular cap like one of the bases turned upside down.

Above the level of the window-heads, the walling of the tower has several courses of well-dressed stone almost like ashlar, and of a much whiter hue than the rest of the tower. These may date from a restoration or from the period when the Perpendicular battlemented parapet was added to the tower in replacement of whatever was the previous capping.

On the north side of the tower, the west wall of the original, aisleless nave is clearly visible, presenting a north-west quoin of the same side-alternate construction as the quoins of the tower, and projecting about 18 in. from it. Nothing similar is visible on the south, where the west wall of the south aisle has been built further to the west, either overlapping or replacing the early quoining.

Internally the principal evidence of Anglo-Saxon workmanship is the tall round-headed tower-arch of two square orders, on square chamfered imposts and square jambs, which rest on tall plinths of three chamfered orders. Neither jambs nor arch are of through-stones; but the jambs have a distinct flavour of 'Escomb technique', and the construction of the arch, with its two

orders set flush in the wall-face, is entirely in keeping with Anglo-Saxon and at variance with Norman technique.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 11 ft 6 in. square internally, with side walls over 4 ft thick. The tower-arch is 6 ft 10 in. wide, and about 17 ft high, in a wall 3 ft 8 in. thick. The west doorway is 3 ft 3 in. wide and 7 ft 10 in. high. The keyhole windows are about 10 in. wide and 3 ft high, with their sills respectively about 24 ft and 9 ft above the ground.

The nave is about 36 ft long internally and 15 ft 10 in. wide, with side walls resting on Norman arcades of two quite different styles. The north arcade, of later date, is cut through a wall 3 ft in thickness, which is aligned with the north-west quoin and may be the original north wall. By contrast, the south wall is 3 ft 6 in. thick, and almost certainly represents a complete rebuilding by the Normans.

REFERENCES

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 Clee described and claimed as pre-Norman; picture of belfry window.
 Nottingham, Bishop of, 'The churches of Great Grimsby, etc.', *A.A.S.R.* 14 (1877-8), 151-66. Clee, 154-6.
 G. OLIVER, 'Account of Clee, Lincolnshire', *Gent's Mag.* 99, i (1829), 413-17.

COLCHESTER

Essex

Map sheet 149, reference TL 996252

Figures 430, 431

HOLY TRINITY

West tower and west wall of nave: period C

About 200 yards south of Colchester's busy high street, formerly the east-to-west axis of Roman Colchester, Holy Trinity church stands in the street of the same name, a church now consisting of a west tower and an aisled nave and chancel, of which the north aisles and their arcades are

modern. The west tower is Anglo-Saxon, and there is good reason to think that the lower part of its east wall, which extends a little on either side of the tower, is the west wall of an earlier Anglo-Saxon nave.¹ The main fabric of the tower is of stone rubble and tiles, with quoins and facings wholly of brick or tile, no doubt robbed from the Roman walls of Colchester. The tower stands on a double, stepped plinth, wholly formed of bricks.

Externally, the principal feature of the ground floor of the tower is the triangular-headed west doorway, wholly faced in Roman brick or tile, and outlined by pilaster-strips and hood-moulding of the same material. The square jambs of the doorway pass straight through the wall, and carry imposts, each of three steps; while the straight sides of the triangular head are each formed of bricks set on edge. The pilaster-strips are formed of a single row of bricks set forward from the wall-face and provided with separate imposts just above those of the jambs; while the straight sides of the hood-moulding are formed of three courses of tiles laid parallel to the line of the arch. The north and south walls of the ground floor each contain a double-splayed, round-headed window, set high up and faced wholly with tiles.

At about the level of the top of the flanking west wall of the nave, the first stage of the tower is divided from the second by a square string-course of projecting tiles. This string-course runs round the three faces of the tower, but is interrupted on the west to form the imposts of an upper doorway, whose round head is arched in brick or tile and springs from the string-course. On either side of this doorway is a blocked, round-headed, double-splayed window, resting on the string-course; and in each of the north and south faces of the tower is a round-headed ornamental recess whose unsplayed jambs rest on the string-course.

Another square string-course, also of tiles, separates the second stage of the tower from the third, which has two ranges of belfry windows and which, like the first, is rather taller than the second. Both ranges of belfry windows are round-headed, with jambs cut straight through the wall; and in each face the lower range has one tall win-

¹ G. E. Laing, *J.B.A.A.* 3 (1848), 20.

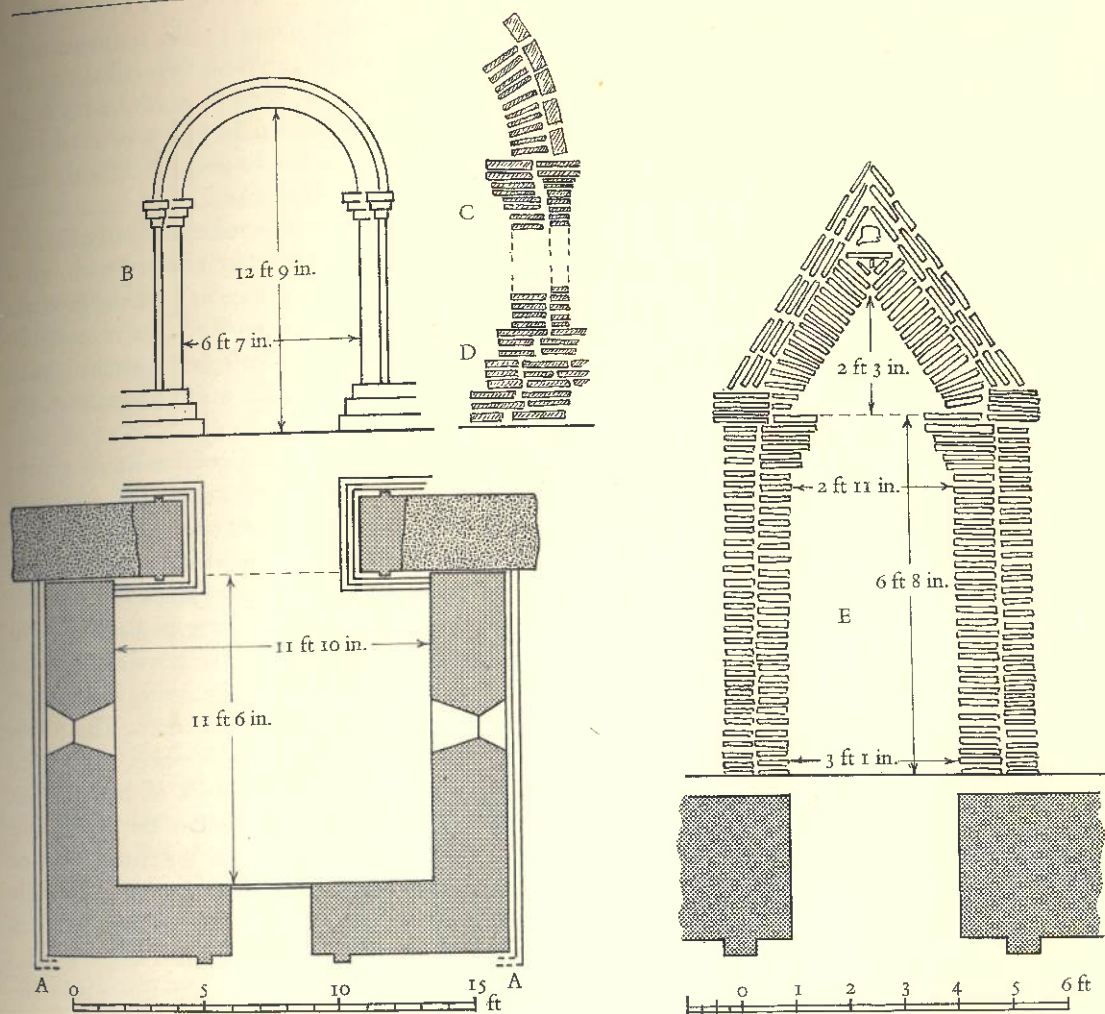


FIG. 68. COLCHESTER, ESSEX

AA, double plinth at base of tower, visible on both north and south, but concealed on the west by a flagged pavement; B, elevation of tower-arch at same scale as main plan; C, detail of impost and arch, at twice the scale of the main plan; D, detail of plinth, also at the larger scale; E, elevation and plan of west doorway, also at the larger scale.

dow, while the upper has two smaller windows separated only by a narrow pier formed of a single row of tiles. All these windows have jambs of brick or tile, and their round heads are arched with tiles which are quite neatly laid in radial fashion. The area containing the lower range of windows is further ornamented with an arcade of vertical brick-built pilaster-strips connected by round arches, also of brick, all laid flush with the surface of the wall. This arcading is particularly clear on the south face of the tower, fairly well-defined on the east, and scarcely discernible on the other two faces.

Unlike the great majority of Anglo-Saxon

belfry towers, this one has no off-sets above the dividing string-courses, all three stages thus being of the same cross-section, and the tower as a whole thereby giving a greater impression of height. Above the belfry windows, the tower ends with a few courses of modern brickwork and a low, square, pyramidal roof.

Like the west doorway, the round-headed tower-arch is of a single square order wholly formed of Roman bricks, and is outlined by pilaster-strips and a hood-moulding of the same material; but, unlike the doorway, it has this outlining strip-work on both eastern and western faces of the wall. Each jamb has three plain off-

sets as a base and three over-sailing courses of brick as an impost, while the flanking strip-work has separately formed imposts at the same levels, but no separate bases.

DIMENSIONS

The tower, about 57 ft high, is almost square internally (11 ft 6 in. E.-W. by 11 ft 10 in. N.-S.), with walls 2 ft 7 in. thick, rising sheer, without any internal off-sets to carry floors. The present flooring is carried by an independent wooden framework which perhaps also gives the tower some internal support.

The tower-arch is 6 ft 7 in. wide and about 12 ft 9 in. high above the floor of the tower or 13 ft 9 in. above that of the nave. The double-splayed windows lighting the ground floor have apertures 10 in. wide and 2 ft 8 in. tall, splayed to about 2 ft by 4 ft in the wall-face, with sills 10 ft 6 in. above the floor. The west doorway is 8 ft 11 in. tall and 3 ft 1 in. wide at the base, narrowing to 2 ft 11 in. at the top of the jambs.

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 A. WHITE and C. BAILY, 'An archaeological visit to Colchester', *J.B.A.A.* 2 (1847), 364-8. Holy Trinity briefly described, 366-7.
 G. E. LAING, 'Saxon tower of Trinity church, Colchester', *J.B.A.A.* 3 (1848), 19-22. Details of church before restoration. Careful argument for assigning an earlier date to the west wall of the nave than to the main body of the tower. Pictures and plan.
 R.C.H.M., *Essex, North-East* (London, 1922), 33-5. Architectural description, with plan and illustration of tower from north-west, and of west doorway.

COLDRED

Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 274475

ST PANCRAS

Main fabric: period C3

The little church at Coldred stands in an extensive early earthwork, a little to the north of the Roman

Watling Street, and about 5 miles north-west of Dover. It is a simple, aisleless, two-cell structure, to which a south porch and a north vestry have been added in later times. There is now no dividing wall between the nave and the chancel; and, in consequence, no chancel-arch.

Attention was first directed to the early character of the church in 1895 by Loftus Brock, who assigned a pre-Conquest date to it on the grounds that its quoins had originally been of roughly worked flints and had later been patched with plain pieces of Caen stone which show Norman diagonal tool-markings.¹

The walls stand on a plinth of two simple square orders formed of undressed stones; and otherwise the fabric is wholly of flints, except for the use of stone round the windows and in the patching of the quoins. The walls appear originally to have been covered with a thin coating of plaster, which still remains on the south and west walls, while the other walls are thickly covered with what seems to be a modern coating of plaster. The south windows of both nave and chancel have been replaced by trefoil-headed pairs of lancets; but early windows have survived in the north and west walls of the nave and in the north wall of the chancel. Those in the nave comprise a single round-headed window in the north wall, and in the west wall another round-headed window with a circular window high above it in the gable. The two round-headed windows are of the indeterminate single-splayed type, with built-up jambs, that might equally well date from before or after the Conquest; but the north window of the chancel is different, and therefore probably indicative of an earlier date. Like the others, its head is formed of a single rectangular stone cut to a semi-circle below; but, unlike them, its jambs and sill are also each formed from a single stone. These four outer facings all carry a rebate about 2 in. wide and 1 in. deep for the fixing of a shutter, as at Avebury, Wiltshire, or at the neighbouring church of Whitfield; and, apart from this rebate, the internal splay of the jambs and head is carried right through the wall to its outer face.

It is difficult to assert with confidence that this is a church built before the Conquest; although this is

¹ *Arch. Cant.* 21 (1895), 302.

suggested by the argument first advanced by Brock, and also by the similarity of the north window to the west window at Whitfield. There would seem to be good grounds for saying that if the church does not date from before the Conquest it at least belongs to the period of the Saxo-Norman overlap.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 26 ft long internally, and 16 ft 2 in. wide; and the chancel is 15 ft 10 in. by 12 ft 9 in. Both nave and chancel have walls 2 ft 9 in. thick and about 15 ft high.

The single-splayed north window of the chancel has an aperture 11 in. wide and 2 ft 10 in. tall, splayed to an opening about 3 ft by 6 ft in the inner wall-face, where its sill is about 6 ft above the floor. The west window of the nave is of similar dimensions and similarly placed, but is much rebuilt; while the north window is a little narrower and placed about 1½ ft higher.

REFERENCE

E. P. L. BROCK, 'The Saxon church at Whitfield, near Dover, Kent', *Arch. Cant.* 21 (1895), 301-7. Coldred claimed as Saxon, 302.

COLEBY

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 113, reference SK 975606

Figures 432, 433

ALL SAINTS

Lower stage of west tower: period C3

About 7 miles south of Lincoln and one mile west of the Roman Ermine Street, Coleby stands on the ridge of high land which has a wide view westward over the broad plain of the rivers Witham and Trent. The church is principally of the Early English period; its chancel once had aisles but is now aisleless, with windows in the blocked arcades; its nave has north and south aisles; and the early west tower has been raised in later times by the addition of a belfry and a crocketed Perpendicular spire.

The lower part of the square, unbuttressed

tower is built of small, roughly squared stone, widely jointed, but laid in courses. The interesting window in its south face is tall and narrow, with a single dressed stone for its sill, and two for each of the jambs, which slope slightly inward toward the top and are widely splayed internally; the head is a single stone, marked to simulate seven voussoirs, and shaped to form a window-head of appreciably more than half a circle, so that the window clearly suggests the shape of a keyhole. The head is outlined by a projecting hood-mould, slightly chamfered below, and enriched with a loop-like palmette ornament of a type which is to be seen at several other churches in Lincolnshire. The hood-moulding encircles the head, and rests at each end on a short horizontal section of the same type of moulding (see Fig. 69).

Another small window, higher up in the south face, has been almost completely obscured by a clock; but its head is also of keyhole shape, and is ornamented on its face with something of the form of two alternate rows of billet moulding.

The church is entered through a fine Norman south door, and the arcades of the nave are worthy of attention, that on the north being Norman and that on the south Early English. The tower-arch is now pointed; but fragments of an earlier arch remain, showing clearly the lower and wider curve of a round arch which was outlined by a hood-mould of the same section and with the same ornament as that over the southern keyhole window. The arch itself appears to have been of square section, with a three-quarter roll on the east arris.

Baldwin Brown refers to this church (p. 449) as having a 'Lincolnshire' tower, with two keyhole windows, as at Clee. In so far as the term 'Lincolnshire tower' is used by both Baldwin Brown and Hamilton Thompson to mean a tower with a belfry containing double windows of the late-Saxon or Saxo-Norman type especially common in Lincolnshire, it is not true to say that Coleby has this type of tower. Moreover, apart from the keyhole shape, neither of the two windows at Coleby has any close resemblance to those at Clee.

This attractive church has much fine Norman and Early English work in its fabric, and also has a fine Norman font.

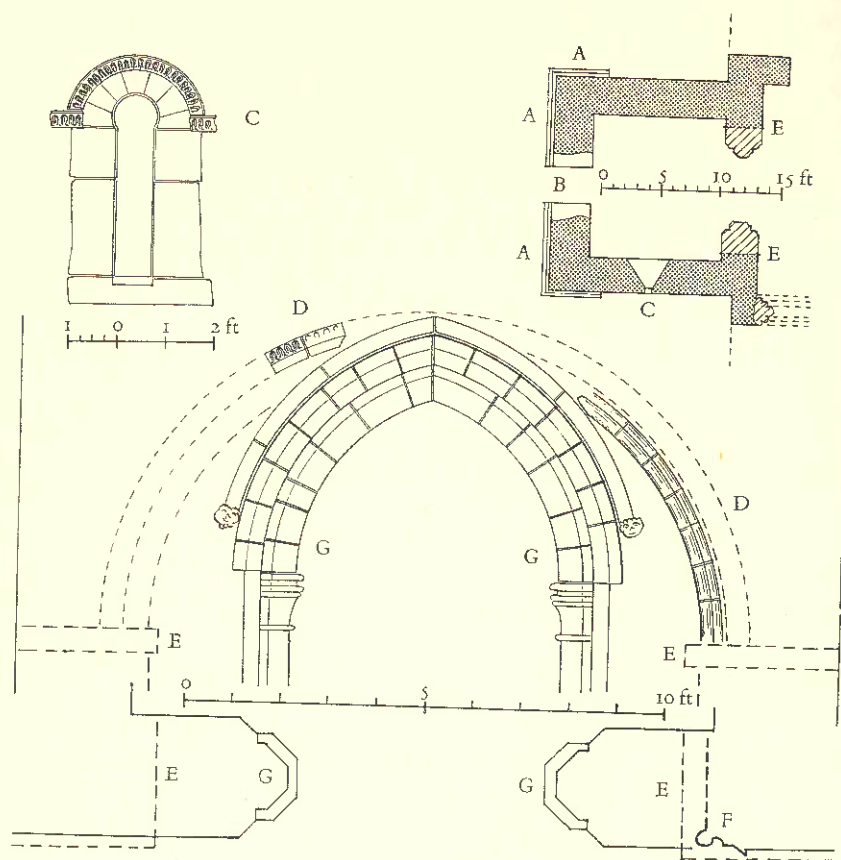


FIG. 69. COLEBY, LINCOLNSHIRE

A, perpendicular double plinth; B, perpendicular west doorway; C, Anglo-Saxon keyhole window; D, vestiges of Anglo-Saxon tower-arch; E, deduced position of Anglo-Saxon imposts; F, section of Anglo-Saxon mouldings of tower-arch; G, perpendicular tower-arch. Note that, whereas the heads of most keyhole windows are hollowed out of single blocks of stone, this window is apparently arched, with seven neatly jointed voussoirs. But closer inspection leads us to believe that the head is really one stone, upon which six lines have been incised so as to give the appearance of seven voussoirs.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 11 ft 4 in. square internally, with walls 3 ft 3 in. thick, and the Anglo-Saxon part of the tower is about 46 ft high. The nave is 17 ft 6 in. wide, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick and about 20 ft high.

The keyhole window in the south of the tower is 9 in. wide at the sill, narrowing slightly towards the springing of the head, and is 3 ft 9 in. tall. Its sill is about 9 ft above the ground.

REFERENCE

Nottingham, Bishop of, 'All Saints, Coleby', *A.A.S.R.* 18 (1885-6), lxxi-ii. Brief architectural description.

COLLINGHAM

Yorkshire, West Riding

Map sheet 96, reference SE 390460

ST OSWALD

Nave: period C

Collingham lies about 2 miles south-west of Wetherby, at the junction of the roads from Leeds and from Harewood; and the Great North Road lies only a mile to the east; but in spite of the nearness of this modern traffic, the church of St Oswald has preserved something of its earlier rural setting, in a quiet loop of road overlooking the waters of the Wharfe. Within the church are preserved two fine Anglo-Saxon crosses, found in 1840 embed-

ded in the south wall, and described by Collingwood as the Apostles' Cross of early ninth-century date and the Aerswith Cross of the late ninth century. The former has figures of Our Lord and eleven apostles, while the latter has panels of beasts and dragons, with an inscription of runes round the base.

There cannot be much of the original fabric in the church as it stands today, for in 1840 the chancel was 'rebuilt in the Early English style',

Baldwin Brown (p. 449) describes the church somewhat erroneously by saying that it 'has very distinct long-and-short work in the south-west quoin of the nave'. In fact both south-east and south-west quoins have stones of fairly uniform height when measured up the wall-face; they average about 1 ft 6 in., and are all within a few inches of the average. In addition to these very clear side-alternate quoins on the south wall, there are vestiges of a similar character high up in the north-east quoin above the roof of the vestry.

DIMENSIONS

Internally the nave measures 37 ft by 15 ft, with walls which vary in thickness between 2 ft 3 in. and 2 ft 8 in., and are about 20 ft in height.

REFERENCES

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 W. G. COLLINGWOOD, *Northumbrian Crosses* (London, 1927), 6 and 24-5.
 T. J. PETTIGREW, 'The monumental crosses at Ilkley and Collingham', *J.B.A.A.* 20 (1864), 308-14.
 G. BALDWIN BROWN, *The Arts in Early England*, 6, II, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* (London, 1937), 153-7.

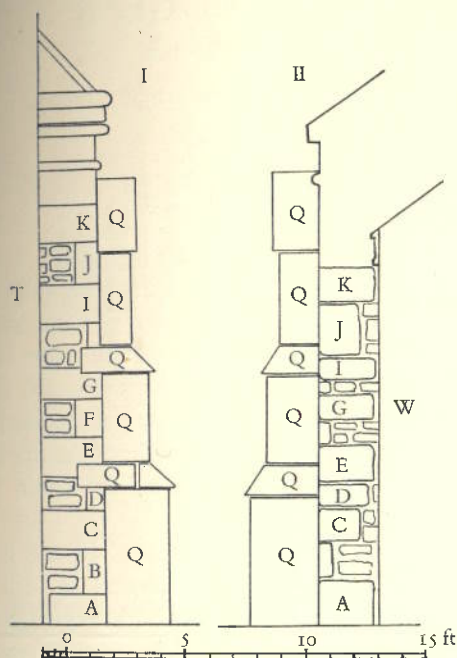


FIG. 70. COLLINGHAM, YORKSHIRE (W.R.)

Elevations of two quoins of the nave. I, south-west quoin of nave. II, south-east quoin of nave. A, B, . . . J, K, side-alternate quoin-stones of original nave; Q, Q, modern buttresses; T, section of south wall of tower; W, section of south wall of chancel.

while in 1870 the whole church was 'restored'. It now consists of a west tower, a nave with north aisle, and a chancel with north vestry.

The Anglo-Saxon origin of the nave is, however, shown by its high thin walls and its southern quoins. The general fabric of the south wall of the nave is roughly coursed, roughly dressed stone of sizes not much larger than modern bricks; but the lower part of this wall differs from the rest and is probably original. The two south quoins, clearly visible beside modern buttresses, are of large stones laid in regular side-alternate fashion.

COLNEY

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 180080

Figures 434, 435

ST MARY

Round west tower and parts of nave walls: period C3

The small village of Colney, about 4 miles west of Norwich on the south bank of the River Yare, has one of the small flint-built churches so characteristic of Norfolk, with a round west tower, and an aisleless nave and chancel forming a single rectangular plan.

The Anglo-Saxon origin of the tower is indicated by the three blocked, double-splayed windows of which there is one in each of the north, west, and south faces. Comparison of the two western quoins of the nave shows that the southern one has been restored in modern times with dressed

stone, while that to the north shows every sign of being original Anglo-Saxon fabric, of flint rubble, with occasional bonding courses of freestone, puddingstone, or brick.

The tower presents an unusual feature, which is, however, repeated at St Julian, Norwich; namely, two broad vertical pilaster-strips, in flint rubble, which run up the curved walls of the tower at their junction with the west walls of the nave. These pilasters are about 22 in. wide and have the same curve as the tower-walls, from which they project about 4 in. The tower also appears to have had a plinth of flint rubble, square in section and projecting about 4 in. beyond the foot of the walls. A short length of this plinth remains beside each of the two pilaster-strips, which rise directly from it.

In addition to the three blocked Anglo-Saxon windows, the tower has four pointed Gothic windows higher up in the belfry stage, and one modern round-headed window to light the ground floor.

In the south wall of the nave the vestiges of a blocked round-headed window can be seen to the east of the south porch, its head roughly turned in bricks, with a wide curve which suggests that the remains are those of the outer face of a double-splayed window.

A straight joint may be traced up the south wall of the building beside the buttress at the west of the chancel, indicating how the later chancel was built up against the east wall of the earlier nave.

Internally, the tower-arch of a single square order is of tall, narrow proportions; but its neatly plastered mouldings look Norman in character. A description of the arch as it stood in 1849 serves, however, to show that the present appearance is the result of later 'restoration'; John Gunn wrote thus:¹

The tower arch is of a very rude and primitive construction, formed of flints of the shape best adapted to make an arch; and the abacus of several pieces of rough stone is also remarkable.

This indicates an arch with detail very different from what may be seen today, but quite similar to the arch over the west doorway at Fornsett St Peter, Norfolk, as seen within the tower.

DIMENSIONS

Internally the nave is about 45 ft long and 18 ft wide, with walls 3 ft thick and over 20 ft high. The tower is about 12 ft in internal diameter, with walls about 4 ft thick, and the tower-arch is 6 ft 4 in. wide and 15 ft 6 in. high.

COLN ROGERS

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 157, reference SP 087097

Figure 436

ST ANDREW

Nave and chancel: period C3

The church of Coln Rogers, in the quiet valley of the Coln, about 6 miles north-east of Cirencester, has a well-preserved Anglo-Saxon nave and chancel which have survived almost intact, save for the enlargement of all but one of the original windows, the rebuilding of the east of the chancel, and the erection of a west tower within the nave.

The original church, represented by the nave and the western part of the chancel, is built of roughly coursed stone rubble, with dressed stone facings. The distinctively Anglo-Saxon features are the simple plinth, the long-and-short quoins at all angles of the nave except the north-east, the four broad pilaster-strips, of which two have stepped bases, and the tiny, round-headed, north window of the chancel, with its outer face cut in a single oblong stone and outlined by a double rebate. The other windows and both doors, as visible externally, are later insertions, although the outer face of the south doorway is of quite early Norman character. The long-and-short quoining is formed of large, well-dressed stones, and the south-east quoin has a double-stepped base which is not formed like those of the pilasters by using separate stones, but is incised on the lowest stone of the quoin.

The round-headed chancel-arch and its jambs

¹ J. Gunn, 'Ecclesiastical Architecture in Norfolk', *Arch. J.* 6 (1849), 362.

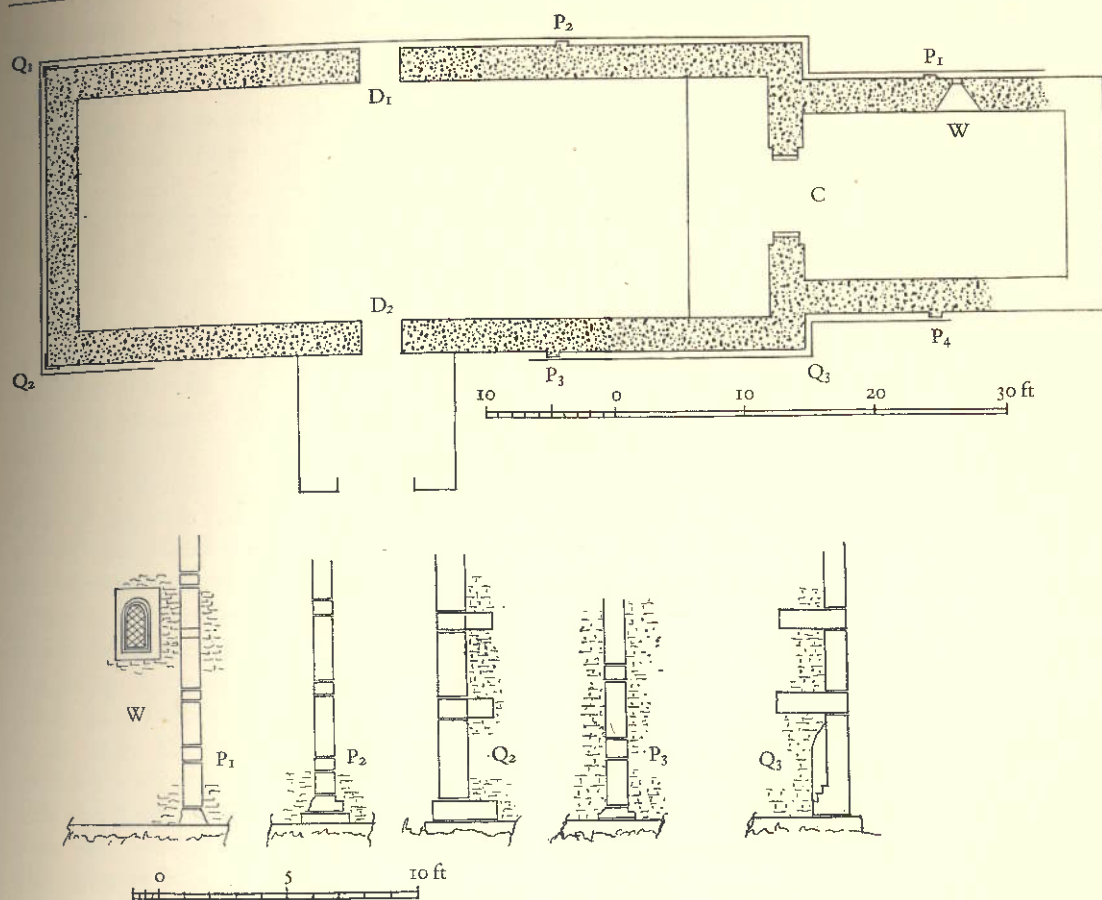


FIG. 71. COLN ROGERS, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Plan and details of the early fabric. C, chancel-arch; D₁, north doorway, with Early English outer face; D₂, south doorway, much rebuilt; P₁, P₂, P₃, pilaster-strips *in situ*; P₄, fragment of pilaster-strip over later doorway; Q₁, Q₂, western quoins on projecting bases on original plinth; Q₃, south-eastern quoin with stepped base; W, monolithic single-splayed window.

are of two plain square orders, in a wall which is only 2 ft 7 in. thick. The inner order is 2 ft 2 in. in thickness, and is constructed wholly of through-stones. On both faces of the arch, the outer order is flush with the main face of the wall and is covered with plaster. It is, therefore, impossible to see how the outer order is constructed, and equally impossible to be certain how much of the apparent thickness of the wall is to be attributed to the plaster and how much to the genuine masonry. The simple chamfered bases and the jambs of massive stones laid in 'Escomb fashion' are also of through-stones; and so also are the imposts, which are chamfered below and are enriched on their vertical faces by a simple pattern of pellets in a V-shaped groove (see Fig. 72).

The original window in the north wall of the chancel is widely splayed internally, but details of its construction are hidden by plaster. In the north wall of the nave a blocked doorway has a thirteenth-century outer face, but appears to be Anglo-Saxon in origin because the parts of its jambs which are visible inside the church are constructed in 'Escomb fashion'.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 53 ft 6 in. long internally, and 18 ft 6 in. wide, with walls about 15 ft high, and varying between 2 ft 3 in. and 2 ft 8 in. in thickness. The chancel is 13 ft 6 in. wide and seems to have been about 18 ft in length originally. The chancel-arch is 6 ft 4 in. wide and 10 ft 9 in. high,

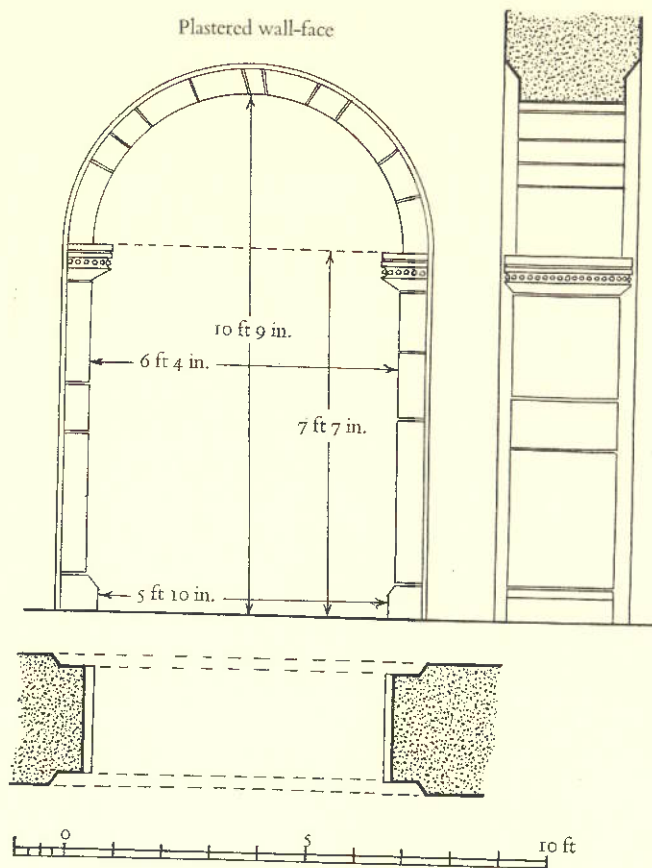


FIG. 72. COLN ROGERS, GLOUCESTERSHIRE
Details of the chancel-arch.

and the small north window has an aperture $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide and 1 ft 7 in. high, with its sill 7 ft above the ground.

REFERENCES

- C. E. KEYSER, 'Visit to the churches of... Coln Rogers, and Coln St Denis', *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S.* 41 (1918-19), 171-204. Coln Rogers described and copiously illustrated, 196-9.
W. H. KNOWLES, 'Architecture in Gloucestershire to the close of the twelfth century', *ibid.* 50 (1928), 57-96. Brief mention of Coln Rogers, with dimensioned drawings of window, pilaster-strip, and quoin, 64.

COLSTERWORTH

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 122, reference SK 930241

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

*North wall of nave in herring-bone fabric:
period C*

Colsterworth, the village where Sir Isaac Newton was born, used to be known to motorists as an awkward bottle-neck on the Great North Road, about 6 miles south of Grantham. The road has now been moved to the east of the village, and the church has a quiet position with a pleasant view westward over rolling country. The chancel was rebuilt last century in an imitation of the Early English style, but the aisled nave, the south porch, and the tall west tower are all medieval, with a number of interesting features.

For our purpose attention can be directed principally to the side walls of the nave, each of which is pierced by an arcade of three bays. The thirteenth-century Early English south arcade is of a

single uniform character, but the Norman north arcade consists of two eastern bays separated by a rough pier of solid masonry from a later Norman western bay. All three bays are of round arches of a single square order; but the eastern bays are simpler, without any hood-moulding, and they rest on much simpler imposts.

It is therefore clear that the two eastern arches are of an early Norman character. The wall above these arches is built of large stones laid in herring-bone fashion, and closer inspection shows that the wall is earlier than the arches. This is most clearly to be seen on the north face of the wall, within the north aisle, where the herring-bone fabric stops short a few inches clear of the voussoirs of the arch, thus showing a well-defined area of later patching with small stones between the original herring-bone fabric and the later arch.

The herring-bone fabric extends for some feet in height above the crowns of the two eastern arches. Thereafter horizontally coursed masonry of smaller stones indicates a later raising or rebuilding of the wall. The herring-bone fabric does not extend westward above the third arch, but stops with a straight vertical joint above the solid pier which separates the two eastern arches from their later western neighbour. This straight vertical joint is bounded on the east by three dressed stones which look like part of a side-alternate quoin but which most probably represent the eastern jamb of a window. If this interpretation is correct, the window probably survived the building of the first part of the Norman north aisle, but was swept away when the aisle was extended westward in the later part of the Norman era. Moreover, the horizontally coursed masonry in this western part of the wall shows that when the aisle was extended westward the main wall was rebuilt above the new arch. The south wall, above the Early English arcade, is wholly of horizontally coursed masonry and it therefore seems to have been rebuilt in the thirteenth century.

Two pieces of Anglo-Saxon cross-shafts are preserved in the south aisle.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 42 ft long internally and about 18 ft wide, with side walls only 1 ft 10 in.

in thickness. Such thin walls would be most unusual in a church that had been built from the beginning by the Normans.

COLTISHALL

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 272196

Figure 437

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

Part of north wall of nave: period C3

About 8 miles north of Norwich, Horstead and Coltishall now form almost a single village, on opposite banks of the River Bure, with Coltishall on the higher land to the north, inside a considerable loop of the river.

The substantial church has a tall Perpendicular west tower, a nave with south aisle and north porch, and an aisleless chancel, now of the same width as the nave and under the same thatched roof. The fabric is mainly of flint; but in the early, western part of the north wall of the nave there is an appreciable admixture of Roman tile, some of which, beside the porch, is laid in herring-bone fashion.

There are no early quoins to be seen, and the only definite evidence of Anglo-Saxon technique is the survival of a pair of circular, double-splayed windows, whose upper limbs touch the roof-plate about 18 ft above the floor. Both inner and outer splays are plastered so as to hide all details of the construction; but, in the outer face of the wall, the undressed flint fabric extends right up to the openings of the windows.

Writing in 1849, John Gunn recorded traces of a round-headed doorway beneath these windows. The head of the doorway seems to have been destroyed by the insertion of a large, elaborately cusped, circular, modern window; but traces of the jambs can still be seen.

In the outer face of the wall a straight vertical joint, a change of fabric, and some vestiges of tile quoining indicate the eastern end of the original wall, about 12 ft east of the eastern circular window.

COLTISHALL

DIMENSIONS

The surviving original north wall, 3 ft 1 in. thick, and about 18 ft high, defines a nave about 40 ft in internal length. The circular windows have apertures 9 in. in diameter, about the middle of the thickness of the wall, and splayed to about 3 ft in each wall-face.

REFERENCE

- J. GUNN, 'Ecclesiastical architecture in Norfolk', *Arch. J.* 6 (1849), 359-63. Brief reference to Coltishall, 363 n.

COMPTON

Surrey

Map sheet 170, reference SU 954470

ST NICHOLAS

Lower part of west tower, part of walls of nave:
Saxo-Norman

About 3 miles south-west of Guildford, and within quarter of a mile of the busy London-Portsmouth road, Compton village and church have so far preserved a welcome isolation from modern development.

This most attractive church has a two-storeyed Norman sanctuary, such as exist also at Darenth, Kent, and Tickencote, Rutland; but at Compton both storeys are accessible and in use, and the upper has a unique treasure in its original, arcaded, open-work oak railing. Much of the Norman work in the nave and chancel is of late character, almost transitional to Early English, and therefore the earlier walls through which the Norman arcades were cut might equally well have been either early Norman or Anglo-Saxon. There is no clear-cut evidence for assigning a pre-Conquest date to the walls of the nave, or to those of the lower part of the tower; but indications in favour of an Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman date are, first, the construction of the quoins in the same ragstone fabric as the walls, without any use of dressed stone, and, secondly, the construction of the lower windows of the tower, with their

round heads arched in the same ragstone, very non-radially laid, in the manner named by Baldwin Brown 'Tredington fashion'.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 47 ft 6 in. long internally and 18 ft 6 in. wide at the west, narrowing to 17 ft at the east, with walls about 2 ft 8 in. thick and about 20 ft high.

REFERENCES

- J. L. ANDRÉ, 'Compton church', *Surrey Arch. C.* 12 (1895), 1-19. Good architectural description and plan. Church dated not earlier than twelfth century. *V.C.H., Surrey*, 3 (London, 1911), 21-3. Good architectural description, with dated plan. Tower and nave assigned to eleventh century, before the Conquest.

CORBRIDGE

Northumberland

Map sheet 77, reference NY 988644

Figures 438, 439

ST ANDREW

West porch, and nave walls: period A2

West tower on earlier porch: period C

One of the present main roads to Scotland, the A 68, crosses the Tyne at Corbridge and then follows the Roman military road known as Dere Street for much of the way to the border. In Roman times the crossing of the Tyne was at a point about half a mile further upstream beside the town of Corstopitum; and modern Corbridge has grown up round the Anglo-Saxon village, which, as so often happened, was established a little way from the Roman road. The early character of the church at Corbridge, and its proximity to Wilfrid's great abbey at Hexham, both suggest that the church may have been established in the seventh century. The existence of a church in the latter part of the eighth century is proved by Symeon's statement that Ealdwulf's consecration as Bishop of Mayo by Archbishop Eanbald took place there in 786.¹

¹ Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Regum*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series, 75, II) (London, 1885), 51. It should

also be noted that Symeon refers to Corbridge as a *monasterium*.

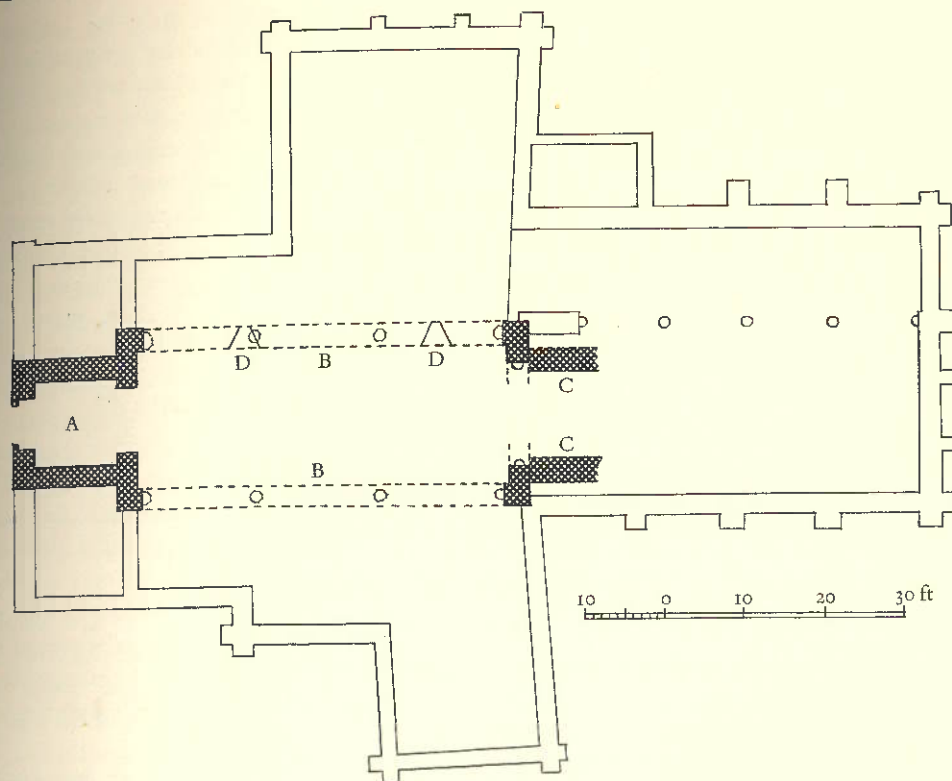


FIG. 73. CORBRIDGE, NORTHUMBERLAND

Plan showing the early church in relation to the present building. A, Anglo-Saxon porch and tower; B, walls of Anglo-Saxon nave above later arcades; C, indications of foundations of the Anglo-Saxon chancel; D, vestiges of single-splayed north windows. The dotted lines at the chancel-arch indicate the discovery of foundations that suggest the former existence of walls defining an arch about 9 ft wide.

The ruins of Corstopitum provided Corbridge with much of its building stone, and the early part of the church of St Andrew seems to have been built almost entirely with material from this source. The church stands beside the market-place, in a pleasant churchyard large enough to provide space for lime trees as well as lawns; and it now consists of a west tower, a nave with aisles carried westward to flank the tower, north and south transepts, and a chancel with a north aisle. The Anglo-Saxon remains are the nave walls and the west tower, which was originally only a porch of one or two storeys, but was raised in later pre-Conquest times on the walls of the earlier porch to provide the present tall slender belfry. The whole of this structure is built of re-used Roman stone with fairly wide mortar joints, and with little regard to the original use of individual stones, so that lewis-holes and cramp-holes frequently appear in the outer faces.

The original west porch had further buildings extending it westward and northward, where they may have connected with monastic buildings. Remains of walls continuing to the west can still be seen on its west face, as well as a step which runs across the foot of the west wall like a plinth.

Seen from the west, the tower (or rather the original porch) shows a western doorway, which is now blocked to house a crude modern window of three lights. The doorway itself is 5 ft wide and 9 ft 10 in. high externally, with jambs each constructed in 'Escomb fashion', of three stones, laid upright, flat, and upright, in sequence. There are now no imposts; and the round arch is formed of stones that are not true voussoirs, but are simply flat stones laid round the circumference of the semicircle. Above this arch, and with a section of ordinary walling intervening, is a second arch, formed in the same way as the first, but with rather larger stones. It has been suggested that

this second arch may have been in some measure constructional, to act as a relieving arch, and in some measure ornamental, for the lower two stones on either side are each carved with a saltire, to which attention was first directed by Hodges in 1893,¹ and which was still distinctly visible in 1956. But it also seems to us a possibility that the original doorway may have been taller than at present, with an arched head formed of properly shaped voussoirs, about 1 ft in depth; in which case the present outer arch would have been a hood-mould resting on the outer faces of the voussoirs, while the lowest voussoir on each side would have been supported by a properly shaped impost resting on the topmost stone of the present jamb.²

Immediately above the outer arch of the doorway is a small, round-headed, internally splayed window, whose sill rests on the outer curve of the arch, about 13 ft above the ground. Externally, the jambs of this window are each formed of two flat stones; and the round head is cut in a large rectangular stone, which has a cramp-hole in its right side.

The western quoins of the porch are visible only on their western faces, because the north and south faces are now hidden by the walls of the later aisles; but the quoins are clearly of side-alternate fashion and of very large stones, many of which show Roman tooling and cramp-holes or lewis-holes. At the foot of each quoin are vestiges of the walls that formerly projected westward, and across the foot of the west wall is the continuous step to which reference has already been made.

Above the west window, the face of the tower shows no sign of the gable of the earlier porch, such as may be seen at Bardsey and at Monkwearmouth; this fact suggests that when the gabled porch was to be raised to form a tower, the west gable was first taken down stone by stone until the west wall had been made level with the north and south walls, and then the present tower was built up from that level. The masonry of the tower shows no distinct change from that of the porch,

such as may be seen at Bardsey; but the side-alternate quoining is of less impressively large stones in the upper part of the tower. Seen from the west, the walls of the tower rise sheer without off-set, string-course or opening, save for the west doorway and the small west window, until a square string-course marks the belfry stage, about 50 ft above the ground. The original belfry windows were unfortunately removed in a 'restoration' in 1729, when the present, gaunt, pointed windows were inserted in all four faces; but the walls have otherwise remained unchanged, and the square string-course above the belfry stage is also Anglo-Saxon. The original roof of the tower was of saddleback form, running between gables on the east and west walls of the tower. Each of these two gables originally contained a doorway or window, of which faint traces may still be seen externally in east and west faces of the tower; while, within the belfry, the greater part of the old openings can be seen clearly, cut straight through the wall, and blocked only by quite thin walling on the outer face.

The eastern face of the tower deserves special attention, and is best viewed from beside the southern gateway of the churchyard. Above the upper string-course the highest door or window, which originally opened through the gabled east end, can still be seen, curiously displaced to the south. Between the clock and the present roof-ridge is a round-headed window, and beside the eaves the west wall of the nave continues above the present roof, like buttresses to the east wall of the tower. This wall shows the appreciably greater original height of the side walls of the Anglo-Saxon nave; and the old west gable of the nave, on which the east wall of the tower now stands, still contains a round-headed window, which then opened from the top of the nave and looked out over the gable of the porch. The present apparent outward splay of this window was formerly its original inner splay into the nave.³

Internally, the most striking feature is the noble tower-arch, 8 ft 2 in. wide and 16 ft 3 in. high, with jambs, imposts, and arch formed of re-used

¹ *Reliquary*, 7, n.s. (1893), II.

² *Arch. Ael.* 4th ser., 40 (1962), 175.

³ Its originally outer face can now be inspected from

within the ringing chamber and it is also splayed, but this splay was cut much later to give more light in the ringing chamber (see Baldwin Brown (1925), 145).

Roman stones, all of which go right through the thickness of the wall. The north impost has an elaborate Roman moulding, which is carried round the west face but not the east. The south impost now has no moulding; but it is impossible to tell whether the mouldings have been cut back in medieval alterations or were always wanting. The arch itself appears to have been stilted by the insertion of one additional horizontal stone on each side above the imposts and below the proper springing. It is also of interest to note that the voussoirs are about 2 in. short of the full thickness of the surrounding wall, which now protrudes like a hood-moulding. It is impossible to say whether this was intentional, as a means of ornament; or whether, as some writers have suggested, it was a defect which was originally hidden by plaster.

Inside the west porch it should be noted that the west doorway is rebated for doors, a somewhat unusual feature in an Anglo-Saxon doorway. It should also be noted that the inner arch is segmental, and is therefore no doubt a later modification. The small, round-headed window above is widely splayed both sideways as well as up and down; while its head can be seen to be made of two stones, one on the outer face of the wall and an even larger one for the widely splayed inner curve of the head; the jambs can also be seen, with their uppermost course on either side made from single through-stones, which run far along the face of the wall, and the remainder of their splay made up of a number of stones coursed with the walling.

The internal arrangements of the western porch are a matter of conjecture. There are no known other examples of a porch with a window in its west face to light the ground floor; but without this window the ground floor would have been very dark. Moreover the window could not well have lit an upper chamber, because its sill is only 12 ft and its head only 16 ft above the floor, while the head of the tower-arch is over 16 ft high. Gilbert¹ has suggested that the tower-arch is a later insertion replacing a lower doorway.

The north wall of the nave shows the heads of two original windows still in position above the

medieval north arcade. Within the nave each head shows as a rectangular block; and the western one shows the inner splay of the round head, cut similarly to that in the western porch. From the north aisle, the outer face of the head of the western window can be seen, but the eastern one is hidden by the west wall of the north transept.

Trap-doors placed round the bases of the pillars of the north arcade may be lifted to disclose the line of the original north wall and parts of the original flooring beside it. Beside the eastern and western responds of both north and south nave arcades are sections of the original walling, in bond with the east and west walls of the nave and 2 ft 6 in. thick. In the vestries to the north and south of the tower, the shape of the western quoins of the nave can be seen, but unfortunately all details are concealed beneath plaster.

No fabric of the original chancel has survived, but the Northumberland County History Committee recorded that foundations at the east of the nave indicated that the chancel-arch had been about 9 ft wide, while some loose foundations of clay and cobbles running eastward justified the supposition that the chancel had been about 12 ft wide.

Within the ringing chamber of the tower it may be seen that the original window high up in the west gable of the nave is of the same nature as those of the north wall and west porch, but that its present inner face, formerly its exterior western face, has subsequently been cut back to admit more light. In the belfry stage itself, the old stonework surrounding the mutilated belfry windows may be inspected, and high up in the eastern and western faces the original gable openings may be seen, as has already been mentioned.

DIMENSIONS

Internally the nave measures 47 ft 3 in. by 17 ft 8 in., with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick and 29 ft high, but originally no less than 34 ft; the tower measures 11 ft 5 in. from east to west and 10 ft 11 in. from north to south, and its walls are about 2 ft 8 in. thick. The whole height of the tower from ground to battlements is about 65 ft.

The blocked west doorway is 5 ft wide externally and 9 ft 10 in. high to the crown of the

¹ *Arch. Ael.* 4th ser., 24 (1946), 162.

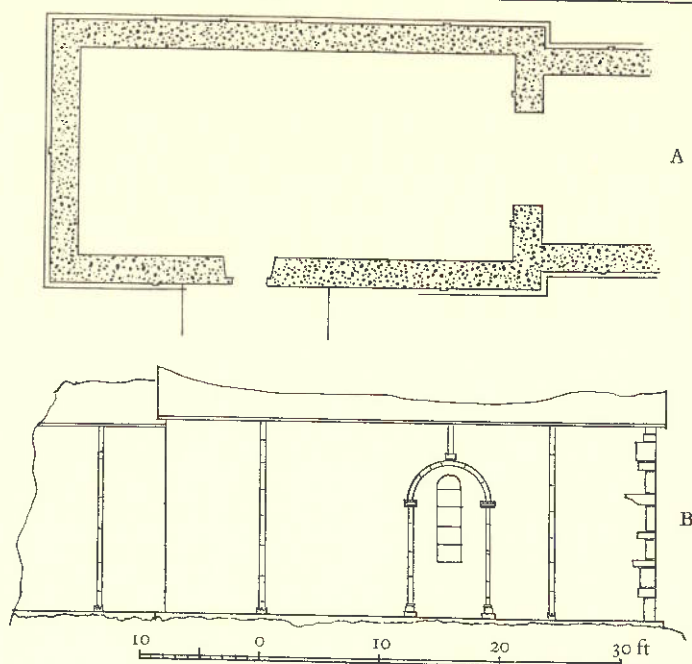


FIG. 74. CORHAMPTON, HAMPSHIRE
Plan and elevation. A, plan; B, north elevation.

inner arch, or 12 ft 6 in. to the crown of the outer. Internally, this doorway is 6 ft 4 in. wide and 10 ft 10 in. high.

The tower-arch is 8 ft 2 in. wide and 16 ft 3 in. high, and the west window has an exterior aperture about 1 ft 5 in. wide and 2 ft 5 in. tall, with its sill 13 ft 2 in. above the ground.

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- History of Northumberland*, 10, ed. H. E. E. Craster (Newcastle, 1914), 178-93. Good architectural description; with plan, elevations, and photographs.
- D. PARSONS, 'The west tower of St Andrew's Church, Corbridge', *Arch. Ael.* 4th ser., 40 (1962), 171-84. His p. 175 shows our suggested reconstruction of the west doorway.

CORHAMPTON

Hampshire

Map sheet 168, reference SU 610203

Figure 440

NO KNOWN DEDICATION

Nave and chancel, the latter extended eastward in 1855: period C3

The joint villages of Corhampton and Meonstoke lie on either side of the River Meon on the Reading-Fareham main road, about 3 miles south of West Meon. The church of Corhampton stands on a pronounced mound immediately to the west of the road; and it is possible that the collapse of its east end in 1855 may have been due to weakening of the foundations when part of the mound was cut away, to widen the road. The church is one of the fairly complete survivals of small parish churches of late-Saxon times; and, although it has suffered more changes than its neighbour at Boarhunt, yet it still shows clearly the original form and also presents a great number of very interesting features of detail. The aisleless nave is substantially in its original form; although the west gable has been partly rebuilt in brick, the north doorway blocked to carry a window, and the south doorway much altered to provide for a medieval door and a south porch. The side walls of the chancel are original, but a new east wall was built in brick in 1855.

The main walls of the church are built of whole flints, lightly plastered; and dressed stone is used for the long-and-short quoins at all four angles of the nave and for the pilaster-strips on all faces of the nave and chancel; while a well-defined square plinth of roughly dressed stone runs round the whole of the original building.

The quoin-stones are neatly laid, with fine joints, and with a slight projection from the face of the wall to serve as a stop for the plaster, but no parts of either the 'long' or the 'short' stones are cut back to be covered by plaster. In a manner which is common in Sussex and Hampshire, the 'short' stones are often rectangular rather than square in plan, and successive 'short' stones are occasionally laid with their longer sides along alternate faces of the building.

The pilaster-strips are also formed of dressed stone laid with closely fitted joints. Individual stones are of fairly uniform length, so that the pilasters do not present any appearance of long-and-short workmanship. Except for two strips which start over the north and south doors, all the pilasters on the north and south faces of the nave and chancel start from the plinth and run to the eaves. At the plinth they have simple rectangular bases ornamented with three upright leaves, of which one is carried round each corner and one is set flat in the centre of the face; this interesting detail can now best be seen on the most westerly pilaster on the north face of the nave. In addition to three such pilasters on each of the north and south faces of the nave and chancel, there is a short pilaster rising from a rectangular corbel over each of the north and south doorways; on the north face this short pilaster runs like the long ones up to the eaves, but on the south face it is intercepted and stopped by a horizontal string-course of similar construction which runs eastward from the most westerly pilaster, across the head of the old south door, and has then been destroyed before reaching the somewhat damaged remains of the next pilaster. For reasons given below, it seems clear that the side walls of the nave were originally taller than at present, and it may well be that horizontal string-courses were originally provided on both side walls, to connect the

pilaster-strips at the top and so to form a sort of arcade.

The main structure of the north door appears to have been lost when it was blocked, but happily its outlining frame of strip-work has been preserved intact. This is 5 ft 8 in. across and about 12 ft in height, and is of the same character as the pilaster-strips. The vertical pilasters of the doorway, however, rise from more elaborate bases, which stand on the main plinth and are each made of a rectangular, boldly projecting plinth and a bulbous base which is separated from the pilaster by a thin fillet. Each pilaster has a remarkable impost, which, like those at Barnack, gives the impression of being built from a number of horizontal slabs, but is in fact cut from a single stone. The general impression given by the Corhampton imposts is that of two flat slabs enclosing a thicker one, whose outer face is cut to a roll moulding. From these imposts the strip-work is carried in a semicircle round the head of the doorway (see Fig. 75).

On the west wall of the nave a pilaster-strip runs up the centre of the face to join a horizontal string-course which crosses the gable, not at its base, but about a third of the way up its height. It seems reasonable to think that this string-course must originally have been at the base of the gable, as at Boarhunt, and that the side walls of the nave must therefore have been about 3 ft taller than at present.

Above the string-course is a double opening with unsplayed jambs, probably originally designed as a bell-cote and certainly used at some period for this purpose, as may be seen from the grooves cut in the jambs by the motion of the bells. In the nineteenth-century restoration the apex of the gable was unfortunately rebuilt in brick and stone, and the heads of the openings arched in segmental form, but a drawing published in 1846 shows the openings with flat heads formed by a massive stone lintel, while the article accompanying the drawing refers to the bells as being hung in 'oblong, square-headed compartments with long-and-short work in the jambs, having every appearance of being contemporary with the building'.¹

¹ *Arch. J.* 3 (1846), 206. The drawing is reproduced in our Fig. 440.

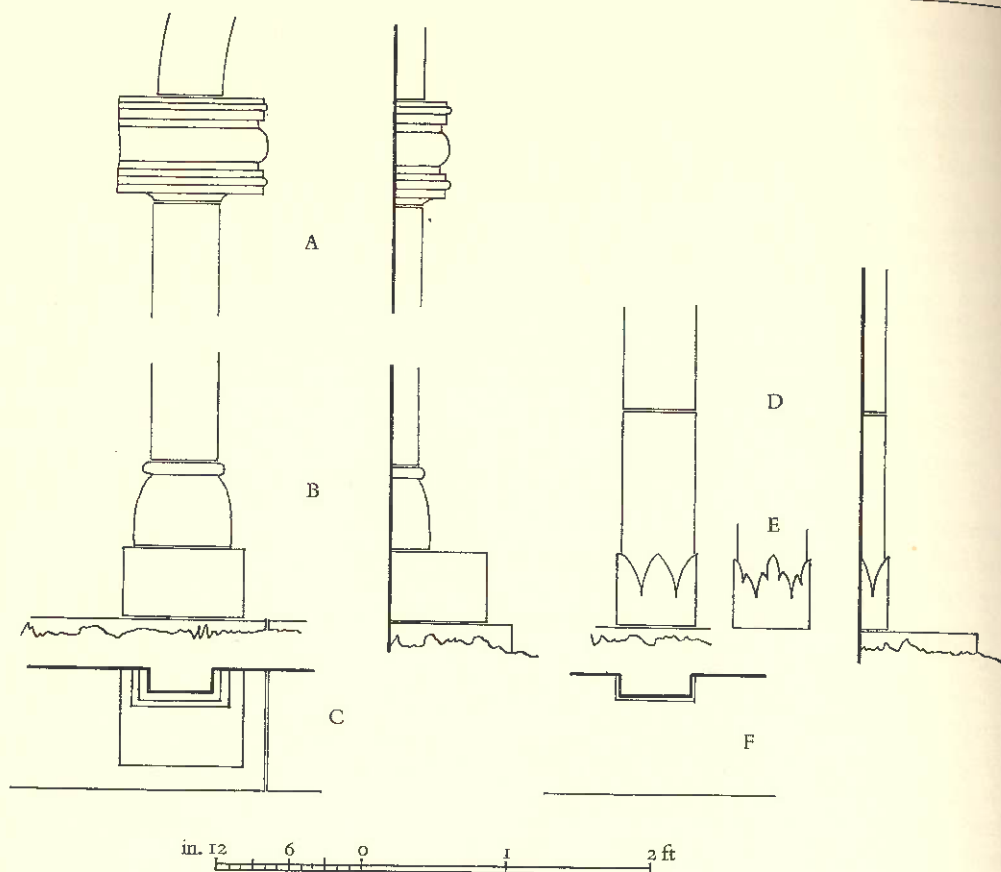


FIG. 75. CORHAMPTON, HAMPSHIRE

Details of pilasters, bases, and imposts. A, elevation and section of imposts on pilasters at north doorway; B, elevation and section of bases of those pilasters; C, plan; D, elevation and section of bases of pilasters other than those at doorway; E, alternative restoration of original form; F, plan.

One further important external feature is the Anglo-Saxon sundial in the south face of the nave, cut in a reddish brown stone about 2 ft high by 1 ft 6 in. broad. The dial is in the form of a circle in relief, with the vertical and horizontal axes marked outside the circle by bulbous objects like the handles of a ship's steering wheel, and the diagonal axes similarly marked by branches ending in trefoil leaves or flowers. Of these eight directions, only five are marked within the circle, all by plain, straight incisions, namely the horizontal diameter and the three radial lines in the lower semicircle. The hole for the gnomon at the centre of the circle is clearly visible. Similar sundials may be seen in Hampshire at Warnford and Winchester, St Michael.

Within the church the principal feature is the chancel-arch, of one square order, with through-

stone voussoirs neatly laid with radial joints. The jambs are also of through-stones laid in 'Escomb fashion', and the imposts are bold rectangular blocks. On the face towards the nave the arch was outlined by strip-work carried up the sides as pilasters and round the head as a hood-mould, but only the hood-mould is now complete, the vertical pilasters having been almost completely hacked away. An unusual feature is a pronounced keystone at the head of the hood-mould.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 36 ft long internally, and 17 ft 3 in. wide, with walls 2 ft 4 in. thick and now about 16 ft high, but probably originally at least 3 ft taller. The chancel must have been at least 8 ft long internally and is 14 ft wide.

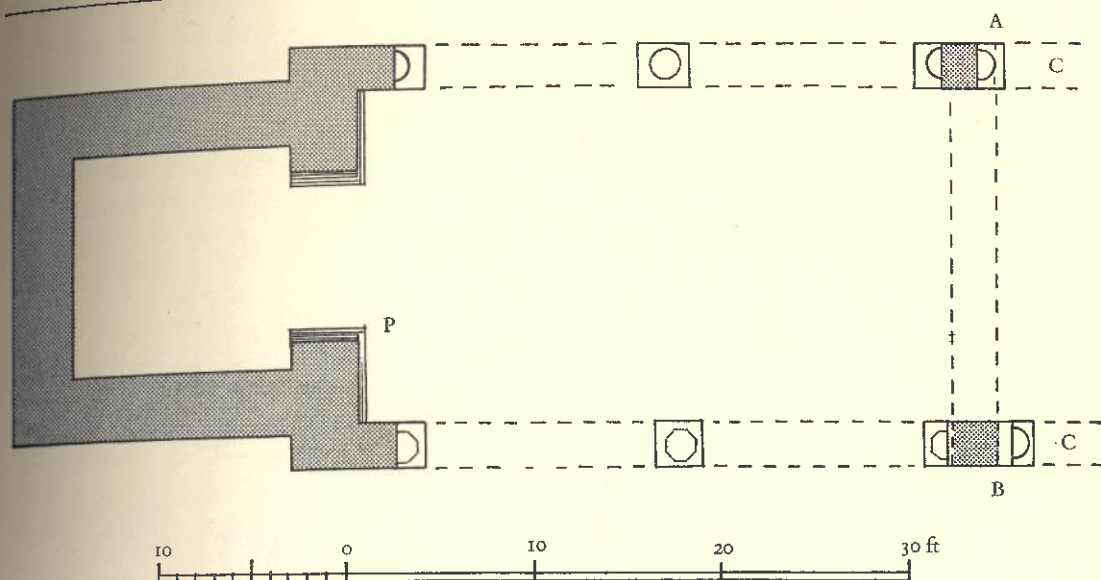


FIG. 76. CORRINGHAM, LINCOLNSHIRE

A, north-east quoin of Anglo-Saxon nave incorporated in pier of eastward extension; B, south-east quoin of Anglo-Saxon nave surviving in spandrel of arcade; C, eastward extension of nave, as Early English arches, probably enclosing an Anglo-Saxon chancel; P, south pier of tower-arch, shown in detail in Fig. 77.

The chancel-arch is 7 ft 9 in. wide and 13 ft high, and the space enclosed by the pilaster-strips round the blocked north doorway is 5 ft 8 in. wide and about 12 ft high. The pilaster-strips are 6 in. wide and about 2 in. in projection from the wall-face.

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- V.C.H., *Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, 3 (London, 1908), 252-3. Brief architectural description, with dimensions.
- A. R. GREEN, 'Anglo-Saxon sundials', *Ant. J.* 8 (1928), 489-516. Photograph and drawing of Corhampton sundial, 498.

CORRINGHAM

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 104, reference SK 872917

ST LAURENCE

West tower and nave walls: period C3

In the broad valley of the Trent, the village of Corringham lies about 3 miles east of Gainsborough, on the road to Market Rasen and Louth, with its church to the north beside open fields. The church now consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with a south porch, and a chancel with a north transept and vestry. The tall, square, unbuttressed tower is of the Lincolnshire late-Saxon type and the western part of the nave is probably of the same date, with later arcades cut through its walls; the eastern part of the nave is a thirteenth-century addition, and so also is the main fabric of the chancel, while the nave walls were raised to form the clear-storey in the fifteenth century.

The tower, of two stages separated only by a pronounced off-set, is of coursed rubble throughout, with side-alternate quoins; in the taller, lower stage, the stone is quite undressed and is laid with wide joints, while in the shorter, upper stage not

only is it roughly squared and more closely jointed, but there has also been much more restoration during the last century. The lower stage is without openings to north or south, but to the west a tall Early English lancet lights the ground floor, and the first floor has a square-headed window, possibly original, with a semicircular stone tympanum beneath a rough, rubble-arched, round head. Distinct traces may also be seen of an earlier west doorway, which must have been blocked and partially destroyed for the insertion of the Early English window.

The upper stage has four tall, double belfry windows, one in each face, with the usual late-Saxon arrangement of mid-wall shafts to support through-stone slabs; the round heads of the individual lights are carefully arched in dressed stone, and the mid-wall shafts have well-formed bases and cushion capitals of distinctly Norman character; but all the stone-work is so new in appearance that it seems fair to assume that it was renewed during Bodley's restoration in 1883, and that it therefore gives no reliable indication of the real date of the tower, or even of its original appearance.

The original south-west quoin of the nave, of the same construction as those of the tower, may be seen projecting about 1½ ft from the tower, with a straight vertical joint to mark the junction with the later wall of the aisle. The corresponding junction on the north is masked by plaster; but on both sides it may be seen that the walls of the original nave extended upward only as high as the roofs of the aisles, above which level the face of the walls is carried back westward by a wide, chamfered off-set, to join the later clear-storey.

Internally, the nave is of three bays, of which the two western arches on each side are separated from the single eastern arch by a section of plain wall. The two western bays on the north are of simple Norman character while those opposite on the south are Early English, as are also both of the eastern arches, beside whose western jambs there may be seen within the aisles clearly defined sections of the side-alternate quoining of the original nave. These quoins fix the extent of the original nave, and it thus becomes plain how the aisleless nave was first extended by the building of a north aisle, followed by a south aisle; and

then by continuing the original walls eastward, outside the original chancel. A pronounced off-set just below the clear-storey windows defines the height of the original walls.

The tall tower-arch is of two recessed orders beneath a hood-moulding of plain square section.

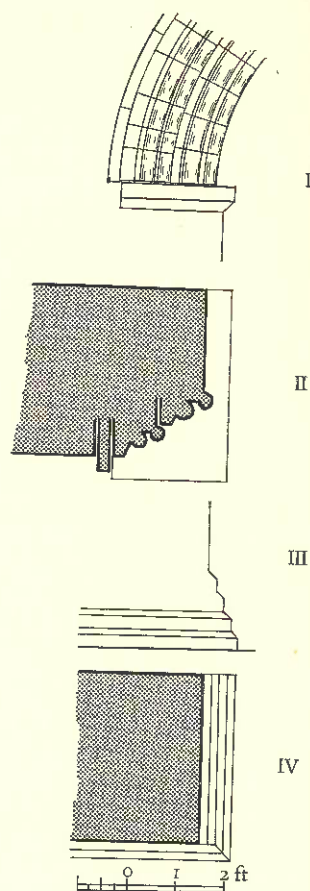


FIG. 77. CORRINGHAM, LINCOLNSHIRE

Details of the tower-arch and its jambs. I, elevation of the mouldings of the arch and of the impost; II, plan of mouldings and impost; III, elevation of the south jamb and its plinths, showing the double plinth towards the nave and the quadruple plinth on the soffit; IV, plan of the jamb and its plinths.

The two orders are of plain square section except on their eastern faces, each of which carries two roll-mouldings beneath an outer concentric plain section, so that the arch as a whole, when seen from the east, presents the appearance of having six concentric mouldings all of which are very nearly in the wall-face, since the inner order of the arch is only slightly recessed behind the outer. The

arch rests on chamfered imposts of plain rectangular plan, carried on plain rectangular jambs with tall chamfered plinths of four orders. Only the lower two of the orders are returned into the nave, and none is returned into the tower. The imposts are returned into the nave sufficiently far to support both orders of the arch; but not so far as to stop the hood-moulding, which now ends lamely at the level of the imposts. High above the tower-arch, a square-headed doorway, now blocked, originally gave access to the upper chamber.

DIMENSIONS

The tower, about 60 ft high overall, is 12 ft square internally, with walls 3 ft 6 in. thick. The nave is 17 ft wide internally and was originally about 30 ft long, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick and about 23 ft high. The tower-arch is about 9 ft wide and about 17½ ft high, in a wall, like the other walls of the tower, 3 ft 6 in. thick.

REFERENCES

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- Editorial, 'Church of St Laurence, Corringham', *ibid.* 17 (1883-4), lxii. Details of restoration by Bodley.
- A. F. SUTTON, 'A description of churches visited... 5 and 6 July 1899', *ibid.* 25 (1899-1900), 121-37. Note of restorations in 1849 and 1883, 129-30.
- A. H. THOMPSON, 'Pre-Conquest church-towers in north Lincolnshire', *ibid.* 29 (1907-8), 43-70. Corringham restored and almost re-built, 44. Tower-arch claimed as having been reconstructed in Norman times; moulding compared with those in presbytery at Norwich, 56. [We do not regard the tower-arch as Norman.]

CRANWELL

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 113, reference TF 032499

ST ANDREW

North-east quoin of nave: period C

The little church of Cranwell, about 2 miles east of the Royal Air Force College, and about 4 miles north-west of Sleaford, was not known to have any earlier fabric than its pleasant Norman

north arcade until repairs in 1903-4 under the direction of Mr C. H. Fowler disclosed a north-east quoin of long-and-short construction. This quoin can now be seen within the organ-chamber which was built at that time on the north of the chancel. It is, however, a matter for regret that the organ is placed so close to the quoin that the early work is most difficult to inspect. During the construction of the organ-chamber, four pre-Conquest stones carved with interlacing patterns were discovered in the foundations of the north wall of the chancel and were placed in safety in the east end of the north aisle of the nave.

The church consists of an aisleless chancel, largely rebuilt in 1904, a modern organ-chamber, and a nave with Norman north aisle and later south porch. The nave has clearly been extended westward in the thirteenth century, and the original nave appears to have been about 28 ft long internally, by 15 ft 6 in. wide. The side walls are 2 ft 6 in. thick.

REFERENCE

- Editorial, 'St Andrew's, Cranwell', *A.A.S.R.* 27 (1903-4), lxxv. Note of repair of church after chancel had become dangerous. North-east quoin and carved stones discovered.

CRANWICH

Norfolk

Map sheet 136, reference TL 782948

Figure 441

ST MARY THE VIRGIN

Round west tower, and possibly parts of nave walls: period C

About 4 miles north of Brandon, beside the road from King's Lynn to Thetford, the small church of Cranwich stands in a circular churchyard, at some distance from its tiny village. It is not far from the River Wissey, which used to be navigable for small boats from King's Lynn. The church consists of a circular west tower, an aisleless nave with south porch, and an aisleless chancel, only slightly narrower than the nave. The fabric is principally of uncut flints, with dressed stone for the quoins and the facings of the doors and windows of the

nave and chancel; but the tower has no dressed stone facings for its windows, and it has a decorative band of brown carstone just below its lowest window.

The most obvious feature of Anglo-Saxon character is the tower-arch, which within the tower is seen to be of unusually tall, narrow proportions, and to have been of the simplest possible form, with plain square jambs and round-arched head of a single square order, all formed of flints, without any use of dressed stone, and without even imposts to relieve the simplicity. In recent times the eastern part of the arch has been blocked, and a rather mean, low, pointed doorway built within it, so that the fine proportions of the original arch cannot be seen from the nave; but fortunately it has been left untouched towards the west.

The windows of the tower are formed in the flint walling without any stone framework; but all except the belfry windows have stone slabs in their outer faces. In the lowest western window, lighting the ground floor, the stone slab is of round-headed form, but with a circular aperture. In the next western window, lighting the first floor, the stone slab and its aperture are both round-headed. Between these western windows and the range of four large belfry windows of uncertain date, there is a range of four small openings which seem obviously contemporary with the tower. The eastern small opening is round-headed, with a stone slab which is pierced by a round-headed aperture. A little below its sill a large flat stone projecting from the wall seems to have been originally the weathering for the ridge of a roof that was pitched higher than the present roof of the nave. The other three small openings, facing north, west, and south, respectively, are all circular in form, with monolithic stone *transennae*, each of which is carved in an interlacing pattern to form a double figure-of-eight or quatrefoil.

The eastern belfry window is triangular-headed, and is blocked by a large baulk of timber. The other three belfry windows are round-headed, formed in the flint of the tower, and cut straight through the wall.

The nave has north and south doorways near

the west end. The former is now blocked and has a pointed Gothic outer face, while the latter, now forming the only entry, has a simple, round-headed, outer face, outlined above by a Norman or Transitional hood-moulding which is enriched with dog-tooth ornament. The side walls of the nave are thicker below than above, narrowing by two off-sets (but by one only to the east of the south porch), from 2 ft 10 in. to only 2 ft in thickness. The western quoins of the nave are of small dressed stones; and, if any part of the pre-Conquest fabric of the nave remains, it seems likely to be only the interior, to which the curious off-sets and the quoins have been added as a later exterior. The south-east quoin, on the other hand, looks older above the off-set, and might be original.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 15 ft 6 in. wide internally and about 35 ft long, with side walls about 14 ft tall and varying in thickness from 2 ft 10 in. below to 2 ft above.

The tower is 7 ft 7 in. in internal diameter, with walls about 3 ft thick and about 45 ft in total height. The tower-arch is 4 ft wide and 12 ft 7 in. tall.

REFERENCE

H. M. CAUTLEY, *Norfolk Churches* (Ipswich, 1949), 189.

CRICKLADE

Wiltshire

Map sheet 157, reference SU 099935

ST SAMPSON

Part of south wall of nave: possibly period C

Cricklade's fine cruciform aisled church of St Sampson has usually been regarded as having no surviving structural fabric earlier than about 1080;¹ but a pair of stones high up in the south aisle seemed to us, from the time when we first saw them, to be the remains of an Anglo-Saxon pilaster-strip like those which have survived in Gloucestershire at Coln Rogers and Bibury. The

¹ *Materials for a History of Cricklade*, ed. T. R. Thomson (Oxford, 1958), 3.

wall was thickly plastered, and it was not possible to say whether these stones had been re-used by the builders of the aisled post-Conquest nave or whether they were *in situ* in the south wall of an aisleless pre-Conquest nave, through which the present arcade had later been cut. We were enabled to settle this question by removal of the plaster, and to satisfy ourselves that the stones are *in situ*.¹

An interesting feature of the pilaster-strip is that it has a triple-stepped base at a height of about 16 ft above the floor. By analogy with the tower at Langford, Oxfordshire, we expected to find a broad horizontal string-course running along the wall, to serve as a support for this base, and to divide the wall into two storeys. But the removal of the plaster showed no trace of any such string-course, nor did any part of the base continue sideways. It seems to us a possibility that the pilaster-strip began at this high level above a south doorway or above the roof of a *porticus*.

The single surviving pilaster is of two large stones, which together extend 6 ft up the face of the wall. After removing the thick coat of plaster, we found that the rubble face of the wall had originally been lightly covered with a much harder plaster, of which some vestiges still remain, and that the pilaster would then have stood forward 2 in. from the face of the wall, as a strip of masonry 11 in. in width. The upper stone is dressed to the correct width throughout its height; but the lower stone is somewhat wider, and the extra width has been cut back so as to lie flush with the main face of the wall.

The walling on either side of the pilaster is of rough rubble, widely jointed, and in places in such bad repair that we were able to see that the lower stone of the pilaster extended at least 11 in. deep into the wall, thereby giving strong support to the theory that pilaster-strips serve a real structural purpose and are not mere decorative features.²

The lower part of the upper stone of the pilaster has later been cut back flush with the face of the wall in order to form a seating for an 11-in. wall-plate of a lean-to roof, earlier and lower than

that of the present aisle. That this is the correct interpretation of this rectangular gap in the pilaster is shown by the fact that a similar recess has been cut, at the same level, across a carved stone some feet further to the west. This seating of an early roof in the pilaster serves to show that it is no recent insertion in the wall. But the primary evidence that it is *in situ* may be summarized by saying, first, that the rough rubble wall is regularly laid and partly covered with early plaster, and, secondly, that the pilaster is formed of two separate stones properly set one upon the other; for it seems altogether improbable that a later mason re-using two large Anglo-Saxon stones would have set them in their original formation.

A little to the west of the pilaster-strip is the carved stone which has already been noted as having also been rebated for the seating of a wall-plate. This stone was at some stage used as a sundial, for its surface still bears part of a semicircle of 6-in. radius, with a dowel-hole 3 in. in depth at its centre for the gnomon. It also follows that the chiselling away of the seating for the roof-plate was subsequent to the use of the stone as a dial since the lower part of the semicircle has been cut away. The carving on the upper part of the stone has been interpreted as of Roman workmanship.³

Still further west are a pair of beasts' heads, set a little lower and in the direct alignment of the rebate that was cut across the other stones for the roof-plate. Since the beasts' heads have not been cut back it follows either that they are later insertions in the wall or that the lower roof of the earlier aisle did not extend so far westward. Each of these heads is carved in high relief on a separate large block of stone which extends at least 6 in. deep into the wall. The creatures have long claws, gaping jaws with long teeth, and shaggy manes. In general inspiration, the treatment is like that of the two biting beasts at the neighbouring church of Somerford Keynes, but the detail shows considerable variation and we hesitate to say with assurance that these creatures at Cricklade are of pre-Conquest date even though they seem to be *in situ*.

¹ J. and H. M. Taylor, *Wilts. A.N.H. Mag.* 58 (1961), 16-17. The nave is 56 ft long and 26 ft wide internally; and the pilaster is about 33 ft from the west end.

² E. G. M. Fletcher and E. D. C. Jackson, *J.B.A.A.* 3rd ser., 9 (1944), 12-29, particularly 20.

³ T. R. Thomson, *loc. cit.* 4.

The south wall in which all these features occur is about 4 ft thick, but it nevertheless seems to be fixed beyond reasonable doubt as of pre-Conquest workmanship by the stepped pilaster-strip, since this is not a feature that is known in Norman buildings but is of frequent occurrence before the Conquest.

CRINGLEFORD

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 198058

ST PETER

Nave and chancel: period C

The village of Cringleford on the western bank of the River Yare is now almost a suburb of Norwich, about 4 miles distant from the centre, and on the main road to Newmarket. Although the churchyard is even now none too wide to shield the church from the noise of traffic on this busy road, it is threatened with encroachment for road widening at what is thought to be a dangerous corner.

The church, built largely of dressed flints, with occasional puddingstone and brick, consists of a western tower, a nave with north porch and nineteenth-century south aisle, and an aisleless chancel. The diagonal buttresses of the chancel can be seen to be later additions as are also the buttresses at the north of the nave, and the pre-Conquest character of the north walls of both nave and chancel is proclaimed by the presence of a double-splayed round-headed window high up in each wall, that in the nave being blocked but nevertheless visible externally. The actual splays of both windows are plastered; but the wall-face of the window in the nave shows a head turned in tiles, which are laid, not radially, but in roughly parallel series on either side of the head at an inclination of about 45° to the horizon, the angular space at the head being filled by mortar and by tiles laid parallel to those on the east side. The wall-face round the head of the chancel window, by contrast, shows no special arching technique, but is formed of flints laid as in any other part of the wall.

Inside the church no further structural features of Anglo-Saxon character are to be seen, but the general antiquity of the site is indicated by a number of carved pre-Conquest stones built into the walls; a simple circular cross is to be seen in the south wall of the chancel, and a rectangular grave slab in the west wall of the nave, with an incised pattern of a tall cross flanked by panels of simple interlace.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 41 ft 3 in. long internally, by 19 ft broad, and the chancel 17 ft by 13 ft 8 in. The north and south walls of the nave are respectively 2 ft 10 in. and 2 ft 6 in. thick, and those of the chancel 2 ft 6 in. The aperture of the Anglo-Saxon window of the chancel is 9 in. broad and 2 ft 8 in. high, and the splay enlarges the opening to 2 ft 7 in. by 4 ft 3 in. in the outer face of the wall.

REFERENCE

T. S. COGSWELL, 'On some ancient stone fragments found in Cringleford church', *Norf. Arch.* 14 (1898-1900), 99-102. Note of discovery of double-splayed windows in north and south walls of nave when south wall was demolished in 1898 for the building of the south aisle. Parts of the wooden frames were found *in situ*. There had been aisles both north and south of the nave, but these had been demolished in the fifteenth century and the materials used for extending the nave westward.

CROSBY GARRETT

Westmorland

Map sheet 83, reference NY 729097

ST ANDREW

Wall above chancel-arch; and adjoining south walls of nave and chancel: period doubtful

The church of the small village of Crosby Garrett, about 7 miles south-south-east of Appleby and 3 miles west of Kirkby Stephen, stands high above the village on a conical hill. Its walls are of local red sandstone rubble and it now consists of a nave with north aisle, south porch, and west bell-cote, and an aisleless chancel with north vestry.

The clearest indication of the early nature of

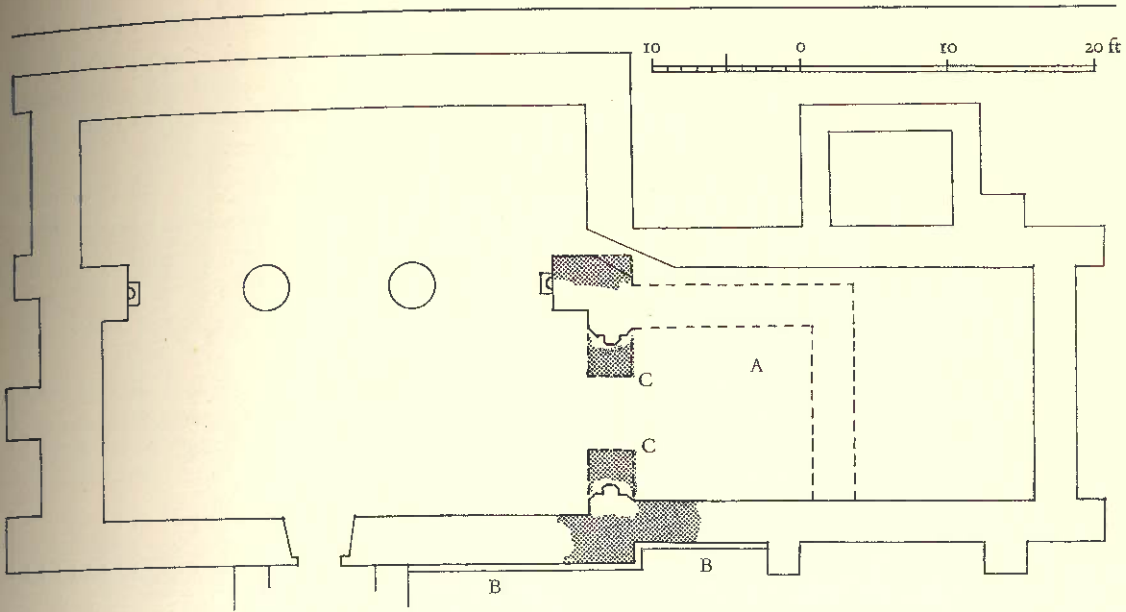


FIG. 78. CROSBY GARRETT, WESTMORLAND

Plan of the early fabric in relation to the present church. A, probable original plan of chancel; B, early plinth, of plain square section; C, original position of chancel-arch.

part of the surviving fabric is provided by the vestiges of a very tall, narrow, chancel-arch above the present pointed arch. The wall is plastered towards the nave, but its eastern face towards the chancel is bare, thus showing not only the head and part of the south jamb of the early arch but also part of the side-alternate north-east quoin of

the nave, as well as a rough area of walling to indicate where the north wall of the Anglo-Saxon chancel was torn away when the chancel was later widened on the north.

Outside the church it may be seen how the original, western, part of the south wall of the chancel is of much rougher rubble than the remainder. That the south wall of the nave, although rebuilt, stands on the original alignment, may be inferred from the existence of a plain square plinth of roughly dressed, big stones. This plinth runs along the whole of the south of the nave, and along the western, original, part of the south wall of the chancel.

DIMENSIONS

The original chancel-arch, in a wall 3 ft 1 in. thick, appears to have been less than 5 ft wide and about 13 ft high. The chancel appears to have been originally about 12 ft square internally, and both nave and chancel seem to have had walls about 3 ft thick.

REFERENCE

R.C.H.M., Westmorland (London, 1936), 73-4. Good architectural description, with plan and picture. Pre-Conquest work placed in the eleventh century, i.e. period C.

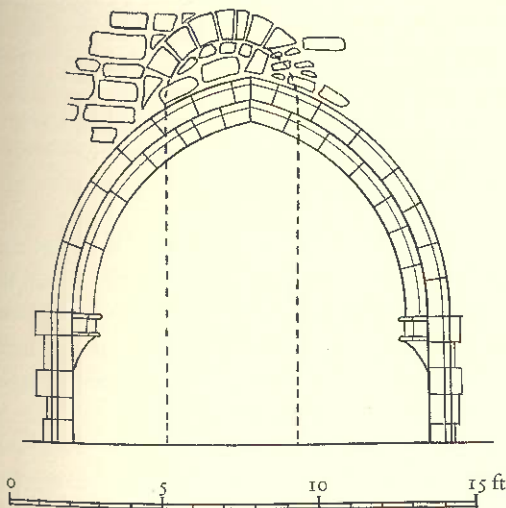


FIG. 79. CROSBY GARRETT, WESTMORLAND

The west face of the chancel-arch showing the vestiges of the earlier arch and a tentative dotted restoration of its original shape.

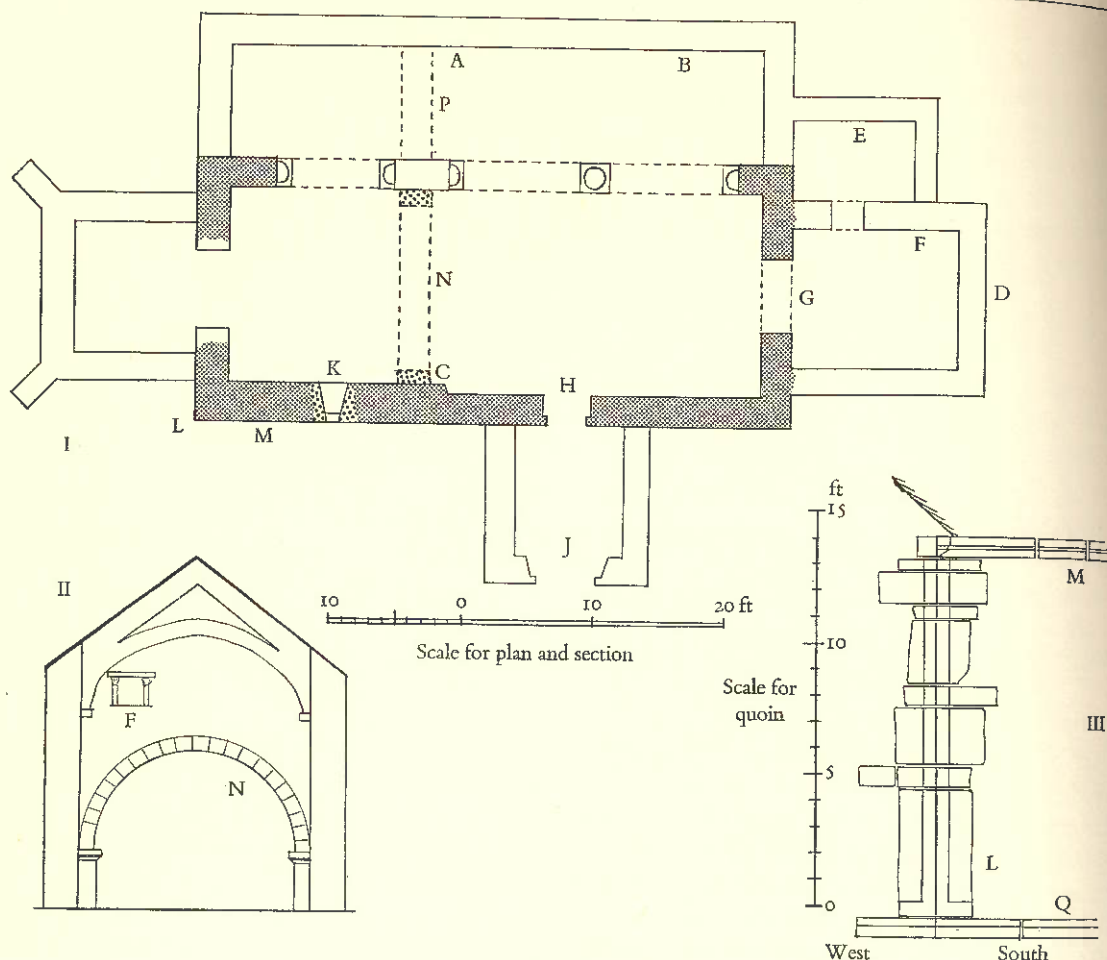


FIG. 80. DAGLINGWORTH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

General plan and certain details. I, plan; II, J. C. Buckler's drawing of the arch, now destroyed, at the west of the nave; III, south-west quoin. A, present position of carving of St Peter; B, Christ in Majesty; C, crucifixion; D, crucifixion; E, double window carved in Roman altar slab; F, Norman altar now used as credence-table; G, chancel-arch; H, south doorway of nave, with sundial *in situ* above it; J, outer doorway of porch, perhaps re-used pre-Conquest doorway from elsewhere; K, single-splayed window of Norman form; L, south-west quoin, illustrated in III; M, string-course continued about 21 ft along south wall of nave; N, arch across nave, of wide span, probably post-Conquest; and now destroyed; P, arch across modern aisle, no doubt intended to resist thrust of arch N, but now no longer needed; Q, chamfered plinth beneath wall of nave.

CUXWOLD

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 105, reference TA 172011

ST NICHOLAS

*West tower and possibly parts of nave:
probably Saxo-Norman*

The church of St Nicholas at Cuxwold, about 4 miles east of Caistor, cannot with certainty be dated before the Conquest; but certain similarities to its neighbours at Swallow, Rothwell, and

Cabourn support the suggestion of Saxo-Norman workmanship provided by the quoining of the nave and tower. The fabric is of roughly squared and coursed blocks of grey stone, with larger blocks for the side-alternate quoining at all angles of the nave and tower.

No original external openings survive to help to define the date of either tower or nave; but internally the tower-arch is a simple round-headed opening not much larger than a doorway. Its square jambs and round-arched head of a single square order, cut straight through the wall, are

faced with ashlar masonry and are separated by hollow-chamfered impostes which are not returned along either wall-face.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 8½ ft square internally, and the nave 16 ft 9 in. wide, with side walls 2 ft 11 in. thick. The west doorway or tower-arch is 3 ft 8 in. wide and 8 ft high.

REFERENCE

A. SUTTON, 'Churches visited from Grimsby in 1907', *A.A.S.R.* 29 (1907-8), 71-90. Cuxwold briefly described, 87.

DAGLINGWORTH

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 157, reference SO 994050

HOLY CROSS

*Nave and chancel, and possibly also south porch:
period C*

About 3 miles north-west of Cirencester, the road to Gloucester passes within a mile of Daglingworth church which was therefore built, like many other Anglo-Saxon churches, near to a Roman road, but not exactly on it. The fabric is of rubble, lightly plastered, with large dressed stones for the quoins; and the church consists of an Anglo-Saxon nave, chancel, and south porch, to which have been added a Perpendicular west tower, and a nineteenth-century north aisle in imitation-Norman style. The church was drastically restored in 1845-50, when the chancel was largely rebuilt, using much of the old materials.

Long-and-short quoins have survived at all angles of the nave and chancel, except the north-west of the nave; but the chancel quoins are, of course, rebuilt. The quoin-stones are large, and are set with their faces slightly forward from the face of the wall, with the part remote from the angle cut back to the wall-face, so as to leave a projecting pilaster-strip of uniform width, up the whole height of the wall, on each face of the angle. The decorative effect of this treatment is enhanced by providing a stepped base at the foot of each of these angle-pilasters, a treatment which is also to

be seen at the neighbouring church of Coln Rogers. At the top of the south wall of the nave, a quirked and chamfered string-course runs along below the eaves for a distance of over 20 ft eastward from the south-west quoin, nearly to the south porch. In this section of wall, and close to the west of a later, two-light window, is a very small, blocked, round-headed, internally splayed window, with dressed-stone jambs and monolithic head. It is of a type which is difficult to date with certainty, but which is more probably early-Norman than Anglo-Saxon. During the restoration in 1845-50, a similar window in the north wall was removed and given to the neighbouring parish of Barnsley, where it was re-used in the vestry.

The south porch is early in appearance, but must be later than the nave itself, because the Anglo-Saxon sundial over the south door of the nave would have been rendered useless by the building of the porch. The outer doorway of the porch has a simple, round-arched head built with stones of irregular length and shape, laid with very non-radial joints. The impostes are square above, but with a double, hollow chamfer below; and the jambs are of very massive stones, laid in 'Escomb fashion', but rebated and splayed internally for the hanging of the door. The quoins of the porch are also of large stones. It is possible that the porch is medieval and that the early appearance arises from re-use of the Anglo-Saxon west doorway of the nave when the west tower was added in the fifteenth century.

The south doorway of the nave also has a round-arched head, formed of stones laid with non-radial joints. Its impostes are hollow-chamfered, and are enriched on the vertical faces with a broad band of wheat-ear ornament. Although the jambs are rebated for the hanging of the door, the rebates are not splayed like those of the porch; and many of the jamb-stones seem to pass through the full thickness of the wall, in the inner face of which the doorway has a flat lintel-head.

The sundial above the outer face of the south doorway is similar to those to be found in Hampshire at Corhampton, Warnford and Winchester, but less ornate. It consists of a stone roughly 10 in. square, with a circular dial outlined by a raised roll-moulding. The hole for the gnomon is

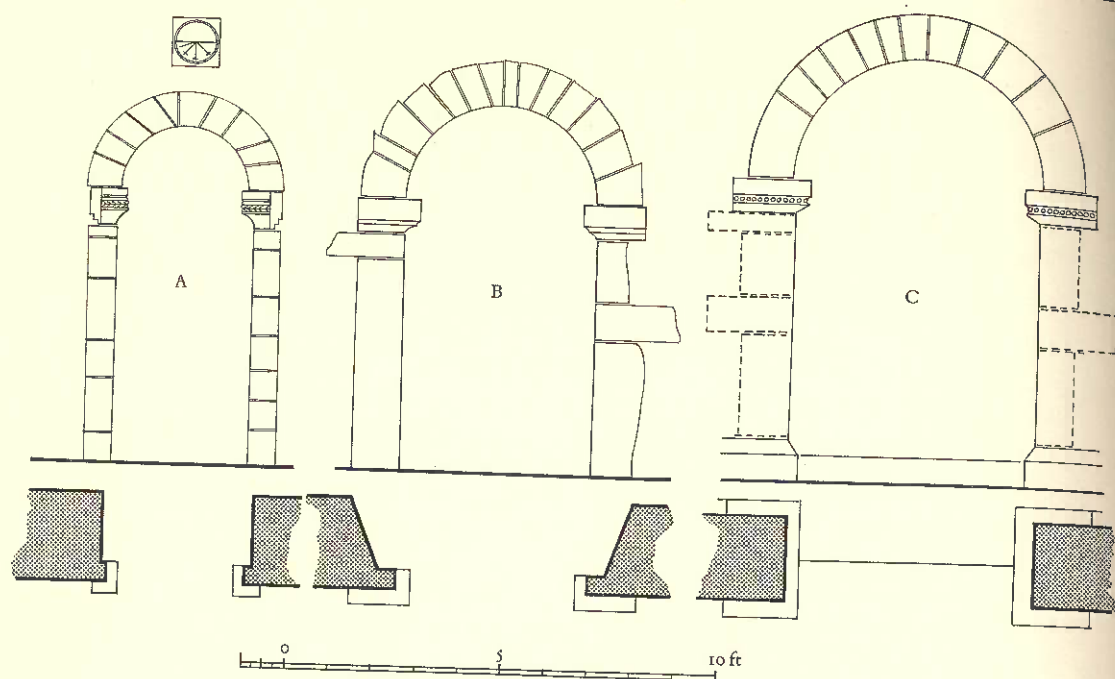


FIG. 81. DAGLINGWORTH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Comparative archways. A, south doorway of nave, with sundial *in situ* above it; B, doorway of south porch. It seems possible that this was originally a doorway of the nave, perhaps a west doorway, and was re-used in its present position at a later date, perhaps when the west tower was built; C, the chancel-arch. This was rebuilt last century and the wall is at present plastered except over the imposts and arch. The dotted indication of 'Escomb fashion' jambs is taken from Professor Buckman's drawing which is preserved in the church.

clearly visible, and the markings of the face are well preserved, no doubt because the dial has been protected by the porch; the horizontal diameter is marked by an incised line, and the lower half-circle contains four incised radii of which three divide it into four equal 45° spaces while the fourth radius divides the first of these into two.¹

High up in the east gable of the chancel, above the large modern window, is a roughly square stone carved to show a Crucifixion; the Cross is in plain rectangular form, and the figure of Christ is shown without elaboration, clad in a knee-length tunic corded at the waist, the feet side by side, the head outlined with a nimbus, and the face possibly with a beard, but certainly with a moustache. This stone is said to be in the same place as it occupied in the earlier wall, demolished in 1845, and it is important in relation to the other carvings

which were found inside the church and which are described below.

Internally, the simplicity of the church has been much spoilt by excessive use of plaster and by undue smoothing of the surface of the early masonry. This is particularly true of the chancel-arch, whose jambs were rebuilt with different stone when it was found in 1845 that the existing jambs had interesting carvings on their inner faces. There is no record to show at what time these carvings were built into the chancel-arch, or why they were so treated; whether to save them from destruction, or because they were thought to be of insufficient merit for further display. But an engraving of the chancel-arch prior to the 1845 restoration shows its jambs built in 'Escomb fashion', in the form long-short-long on each side; and it is unlikely that the jambs would have

¹ A. R. Green, 'Anglo-Saxon sundials', *Ant. J.* 8 (1928), 489-516. Green gives an account of the Anglo-Saxon division of the day into 3-hour 'tides', whose mid-points

are marked by the lines on the dial. The extra line in the first space marks the beginning of the morning 'tide' at 7.30 a.m.; this line was known as *daeg mael*, day's marker.

been built in that fashion at any time other than in the Anglo-Saxon period, unless at a later date the sculptured stones were to be concealed for safety, and were therefore built into the jambs in precisely the same way as other stones which had previously been there and were removed to make way for them. The same drawing shows the present imposts, but an arch of roughly dressed stones, one of which was apparently a re-used stone with mouldings like those of a Roman cornice.

The three carved stones, now built into the interior walls of the nave and north aisle, are worthy of careful study. All three are in a single characteristic style, and are presumably the work of a single craftsman. The first subject, a Crucifixion, shows Christ, bearded and with a moustache, clad in a long tunic whose folds are shown below a girdle; the feet are not crossed, and the lower part of the bodice has been shown as if transparent, so that the body of Christ shows through it. The cross has arms that widen towards the ends, and Christ's halo is charged with a similar cross. On either side, in the rectangular space beneath one arm of the cross, is a soldier; that on one side bearing a spear, and that on the other a cup and a bag. These figures are drawn similarly to that of the Christ but to a smaller scale, either as a means of fitting them into the smaller space available, or deliberately as a way of giving further emphasis to the central theme of the picture. The second sculpture shows Christ in Majesty, seated on a simple chair, which has subsequently been somewhat mutilated; the right hand is raised in blessing and the left is holding a cross with a long pointed lower limb. In both the Crucifixion and the Majesty a small semicircular projection has been made from the face of the slab to support the Lord's feet, and a similar projection is clearly visible on the slab in the east gable of the church. The third subject is St Peter, with a large key in his right hand and a book in his left; he appears to be shown clean-shaven, but with eyes, hair and tunic similarly shown to those of Our Lord in the other carvings.

The quality and date of these sculptures has

given rise to considerable division of opinion. Baldwin Brown dismisses them briefly (p. 450) with the words 'important sculptured slabs with figure subjects...do not come into connection with the architecture of the building and are not noticed in this volume'. Clapham is more explicit if less complimentary; he says (p. 140), 'Side by side with the major examples of sculpture there appears to have also existed a rustic art which is represented by a number of rude, ill-formed, and worse-executed figures scattered in certain remote churches of the midlands and the south. It will suffice here to mention the examples at Inglesham and Daglingworth without further pursuing a subject which has little significance.' Kendrick is much more complimentary but places the Daglingworth carvings, as well as those at Langford, Romsey and Chichester, in the twelfth century rather than the Anglo-Saxon period.¹ Talbot Rice describes the slabs as 'primitive but nevertheless interesting' and as having 'charm but little elegance'. He places them about 1050.² We see no reason to doubt that the carvings are contemporary with the main fabric, in period C, perhaps about the beginning of the eleventh century.

Before the 1845 restoration, the east end of the chancel had a late, round-headed window, above which was a small original window, whose inner jambs and round head were widely splayed, and whose outer face was formed from a single, re-used slab containing a Roman inscription, through which the Anglo-Saxon builders had cut two small round-headed window openings. This slab is now preserved in the vestry.

It will be noted that the imitation-Norman north arcade of three arches has a section of wall dividing the western arch from the other two. Apparently this section of wall was left because from it to the south wall there was in 1845 a cross-wall and an early round arch with simple square jambs. Above this western part of the nave was an upper chamber, referred to as a loft, and mentioned in an inventory of 1677 as containing a

¹ T. D. Kendrick, *Late-Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), 48-51. 'It is nevertheless certain that the Daglingworth carvings are neither inexpert nor crude... There is obviously practice and familiar purpose behind this

clear-cut and very beautiful result; yet I know no reason for thinking that [it] is Saxon.'

² D. T. Rice, *English Art: 871-1100* (Oxford, 1952), 100.

carpet and a number of books, presumably indicating that it was used as a dwelling or vestry by the priest. When the cross-wall was demolished in 1845, there was found high up in it, over the arch and facing west, a Norman altar whose shafts, with bases and cushion capitals, were rebuilt into the north wall of the chancel.

It will be noted that the western part of the south wall of the nave is about 1 ft thicker than the remainder; and it has been suggested, on the basis of the cross-wall and this thickening, that the original church had a west tower which was carried on the walls of the nave and on the cross-wall. Knowles, however, has pointed out that the evidence for an Anglo-Saxon west tower is not satisfactory, particularly because dimensioned drawings made by Buckler before the alterations show that the north wall was not thickened like that on the south.¹ It is difficult, on the evidence now available, to give a satisfactory explanation of the thickening of the south wall; but the area involved is large for a tower in the ordinary sense of the word. Since, however, the cross-wall is known to have separated off a western area of two storeys, it is at least possible that the thickened south wall was originally carried up high enough to make provision for a south window or windows in order to give good lighting in the priest's upper room.

DIMENSIONS

Internally the nave is 44 ft 2 in. long and of a width that varies from 17 ft at the east to 16 ft at the west. The chancel is 14 ft 7 in. by 12 ft. The walls of the nave are about 17 ft high, and 2 ft 1 in. thick, except the western part of the south wall, which is about 1 ft thicker. The chancel-arch is 5 ft 7 in. wide and 9 ft 10 in. high and the south doorway of the nave is 3 ft 1 in. wide and 7 ft 10 in. high, as measured from the floor of the porch, or 9 ft 2 in. from the floor of the nave.

REFERENCES

Editorial, 'Proceedings of the Congress', *J.B.A.A.* 25 (1869), 301-6. Brief architectural description; long-

and-short quoins; Roman inscribed stone used for windows; theory of tower over west end of church; sculptured slabs described and claimed as Saxon; church claimed as Saxon.

W. BAZELEY, 'Notes on the manor, advowson, and church of Daglingworth', *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S.* 12 (1887-8), 54-69. Church described, 62-9. Inventory of goods in the 'loft' over the west part of the nave in 1677, 64. Present chancel 'rebuilt on the old foundations', 67. Discovery of the sculptured stones during rebuilding of the chancel-arch in 1845-50, 66.

M. E. B. OAKELEY, 'On some pre-Norman sculptured slabs at Daglingworth church', *ibid.* 17 (1892-3), 260-7. Drawings of the three slabs now in the church. Fourth slab in east gable also mentioned. All four described. References to sources for the iconographic treatment, and dating.

W. H. KNOWLES, 'The development of architecture in Gloucestershire to the close of the twelfth century', *ibid.* 50 (1928), 57-96. References to Daglingworth, 63-7. Theory of west tower rejected, 63 n.

D. P. DOBSON, 'Anglo-Saxon buildings and sculpture in Gloucestershire', *ibid.* 55 (1933), 261-76. Picture of the fourth sculptured slab in the east gable, fig. 11.

Editorial, 'Daglingworth', *ibid.* 58 (1936), 2-3. Brief note, with bibliography.

DARENTH

Kent

Map sheet 171, reference TQ 560712

Figure 442

ST MARGARET

North and west wall of nave: period C

Although less than 3 miles from the centre of Dartford and only about a mile south of the busy modern road on the site of the Roman Watling Street, the parish of Darent still gives the impression of being in the heart of the country, beside the small River Darent, with the church on rising ground, east of the river. The church has many features of interest and the district has for many years provided important evidence of Roman occupation.²

Darent, has been excavated since the Second World War, under the direction of Colonel G. W. Meates whose book, *Lullingstone Roman Villa* (London, 1955), gives a full account of work extending over the previous five years. For more recent discoveries, see p. 401.

¹ J. C. Buckler, British Museum, Add. Ms. 36438, fo. 519.

² Darent Roman villa was excavated as long ago as 1894 and was described in *Arch. Cant.* 22 (1897), 49-84. Lullingstone Roman villa, about 5 miles higher up the

The church now consists of an aisleless chancel, and a nave which has around it a complicated series of later additions, comprising a south aisle, a south-west tower, a western vestry, and a north porch. The appearance of Norman work of several dates in the chancel has a bearing on the assignment of a pre-Conquest date to the nave,

In the thirteenth century the nave was enlarged by the building of an Early English south aisle, with the tower at its west end; but the present arcade of three arches opening to the aisle appears to be a fifteenth-century replacement. The vestry at the west end of the nave is modern.

The fabric of the original nave is of flint, with

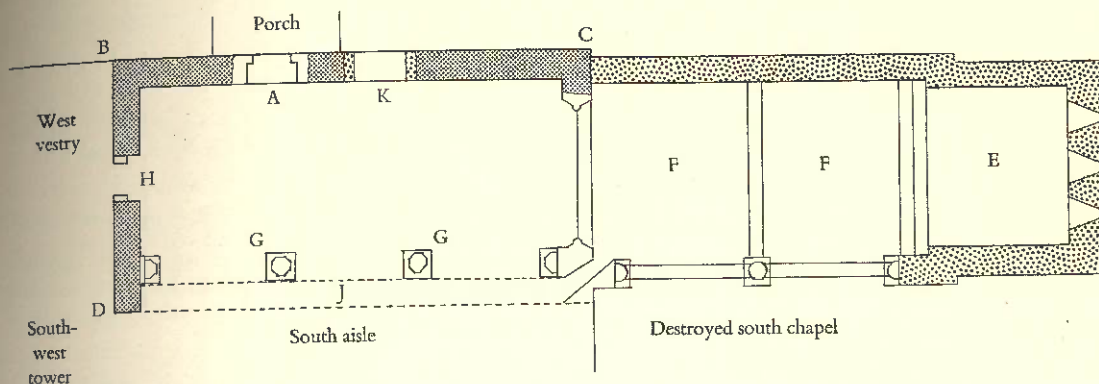


FIG. 82. DARENTH, KENT

General plan. A, later north doorway, with double-splayed window above it; B, plain tile north-west quoin; C, plain tile north-east quoin; D, vestige of plain tile south-west quoin, proving that the nave was originally wider than at present; E, early Norman eastern section of chancel; F, later Norman western section; G, later medieval south arcade, which was evidently built inside the original south wall of the nave; H, west doorway, probably original, but with later door-stops; I, conjectural line of the original south wall of the nave; K, Norman north doorway.

whose north and west walls now represent the only survivals of the original church. These are indicated as of pre-Conquest date by the north-east and north-west quoins of Roman tiles, and by the double-splayed round-headed window, of which a substantial part has most fortunately survived above the present pointed north doorway. The lower part of the south-west quoin of the nave has survived within the modern western vestry, at D in Fig. 82.

Soon after the Conquest, the chancel was extended eastward by the building of the stone-vaulted sanctuary, with an upper chamber, which remains to this day, although there is no longer any access to it.¹ Some years later, the original chancel was replaced by the present Norman building, from which, still later in the twelfth century, an arcade of two Transitional arches was opened to a south chapel; the arches still remain, but were blocked in the fourteenth century, when the chapel was demolished.

occasional Roman tiles, and the quoins are wholly formed of tiles. The walls are 2 ft 5 in. thick and about 19 ft high, while the double-splayed window over the north doorway has its head about 14 ft above the floor. Its oak mid-wall shutter still survives, with an aperture a little over 1 ft in width; and the opening in the wall is splayed to a width of 2 ft at the outer wall-face and 3 ft at the inner. In the interior, the head is turned in tiles, but the jambs are wholly plastered, so that no details of their construction can be seen; externally, however, both jambs and head are wholly built of tiles. No trace now remains of the original chancel, nor of any original openings other than the double-splayed window; but vestiges of the western jamb of a second double-splayed window can be seen towards the east of the north wall, beside a fifteenth-century window. It is possible that the present doorway to the vestry occupies the site of an original western entrance, which was

¹ Tickencote, Rutland, also has an inaccessible upper chamber over the stone-vaulted, Norman sanctuary; at

Compton, Surrey, both compartments of the two-storeyed Norman sanctuary are accessible and in use.

DARENTH

replaced in Norman times by the blocked doorway which is now to be seen a few feet east of the present medieval north doorway.

DIMENSIONS

The pre-Conquest nave was 36 ft 10 in. long internally by about 15 ft in width, with walls 29 in. thick and about 19 ft high. Its length is fixed beyond doubt by the survival of both northern quoins, but its width is somewhat uncertain since the chancel-arch is not in the centre of the east wall and the present south arcade may not be in the alignment of the original south wall. The estimate of width is based on the evidence provided by the surviving part of the south-west quoin.

REFERENCE

Editorial, 'Darenth church', *Arch. J.* 79 (1922), 394. Brief account of the church, with its 'Saxon nave and possibly Saxon chancel'.

DEBENHAM

Suffolk

Map sheet 137, reference TM 174632

ST MARY

Lower part of west tower: period C

About 12 miles north of Ipswich and 9 east of Stowmarket, the church of St Mary stands in the main street of Debenham, on one of those small hills which in the flat land of East Anglia serve to give so many parish churches a commanding position. The church is a substantial medieval building of flints, with characteristic, East Anglian, Perpendicular windows and battlements. It has a chancel; a tall aisled nave; and a west tower, with a porch of two storeys added to its west face.

Only the lower part of the tower is Anglo-Saxon; but it is on a massive scale, and its west quoins are good examples of the carefully laid long-and-short work that was apparently meant from the first to serve as a decorative as well as a structural feature. The south-west quoin now has only three pairs of its original stones; but the

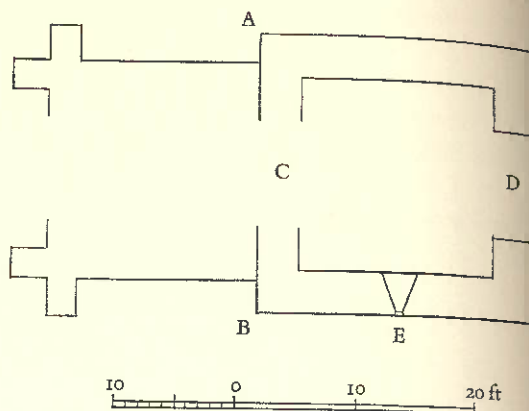


FIG. 83. DEBENHAM, SUFFOLK

Plan of the west tower and later porch. A, north-west quoin, of neatly laid long-and-short construction; B, vestiges of a similar south-west quoin; C, large later medieval pointed arch; D, simple round-headed arch, of plain square section; E, simple round-headed single-splayed window.

north-west quoin stands for about 24 ft, and has eight pairs, of which the short, clasping stones are closely jointed to the long, pillar stones, while all but the uppermost of the latter are of regular length and uniform, square cross-section. All the quoin-stones are set level with the face of the

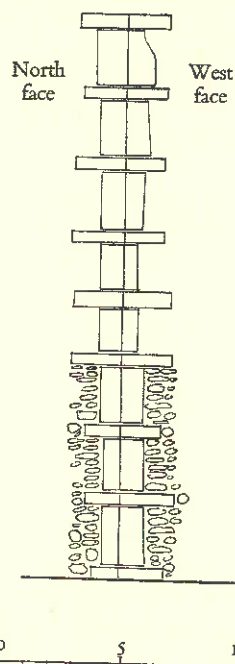


FIG. 84. DEBENHAM, SUFFOLK

Detail of the north-west quoin of the tower, showing the north face and the west face opened out into one plane.

flint wall and no part of any of them is cut back for plastering.

In the south face of the tower are two small, round-headed, internally splayed windows; that in the upper storey seems to be a medieval insertion or restoration, but that on the ground floor might be original. Its round head is cut in a single, irregularly shaped stone; its slightly sloping jambs are each formed of three stones set in long-short-long formation; and its sill is cut from a single stone, rather too short to extend to the full width of the jambs.

The tower-arch is plain, round-headed, and heavily plastered. In a letter to us, Dr Edward Gilbert has suggested that it was originally the chancel-arch, and that the present tower was originally the nave, as at Barton-on-Humber, Broughton, and Earls Barton. The large size of the tower lends support to this theory.

The tower is about 16 ft square internally, and its walls are 3 ft 8 in. thick.

REFERENCE

J. G. WALLER, 'Notes on Anglo-Saxon masonry', *J.B.A.A.* 1 (1846), 117-20. Sketch of long-and-short quoin. Brief description.

DEERHURST

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 143, reference SO 870299

Figures 443-8

ST MARY

Nave, with later west porch and two-storeyed 'porticus', or side-chapels: period A

Raising of west porch to three storeys, and extending of 'porticus' westward to flank nave: later in period A, or early in period B

Replacement of earlier chancel by apsidal chancel now in ruins, and further raising of west porch to form tower: period C

SUMMARY (see Fig. 85)

Deerhurst stands on the east bank of the Severn about 3 miles south-west of Tewkesbury.

It is now a small village, sometimes suffering from floods; but it is more than usually rich in antiquity, for it possesses not only St Mary's church, an Anglo-Saxon monument of the first order, but also Odda's chapel, a small but interesting later Anglo-Saxon building.

The church of St Mary now consists of a west tower; a nave with side-chapels and aisles which are carried westward to flank the tower; a chancel which is structurally one unit with the nave, and which was formerly a central space perhaps carrying a wooden central tower as at Breamore; and a ruined apse which was formerly the chancel. The pre-Conquest chancel-arch is now blocked and forms a background to the altar; the earliest side-chapels are still separated from the central space of the church (now the chancel), by walls in which their original doorways may be seen at two levels, indicating that the chapels were of two storeys; and the later side-chapels have been thrown together and opened to the nave, by the demolition of their dividing walls and by the cutting of arcades through the original north and south walls of the nave.

From the west face of the tower to the east of the ruined apse is a length of about 105 ft; the width of the church across nave and side-chapels is about 56 ft; in addition to the rooms over the chapels there is a series of rooms in the tower; there are many doors and windows of various styles of Anglo-Saxon work; and there is also Anglo-Saxon sculpture of unusual interest: the font, the figure over the second door in the tower, and the carved angel-panel, which still occupies its original position on the outer face of one of the walls of the ruined apse. It is therefore clear that this is an Anglo-Saxon monument of the first order, even if its history presents difficult problems and its structure is hard to date with certainty.

A monastery is known to have existed at Deerhurst in 804.¹ We believe that the nave, the lower part of the west porch, and the eastern surviving side-chapels represent the remains of a church that was standing at that time; while the later features, including the west tower and the ruined apsidal chancel, are the result of alteration

¹ W. de G. Birch, *Cart. Sax.* no. 313. Aethelric, son of Aethelmund, bequeathed lands to Deerhurst, and

referred to a *congregatio* there. For a translation see D. Whitelock, *E.H.D.* (1955), 472.

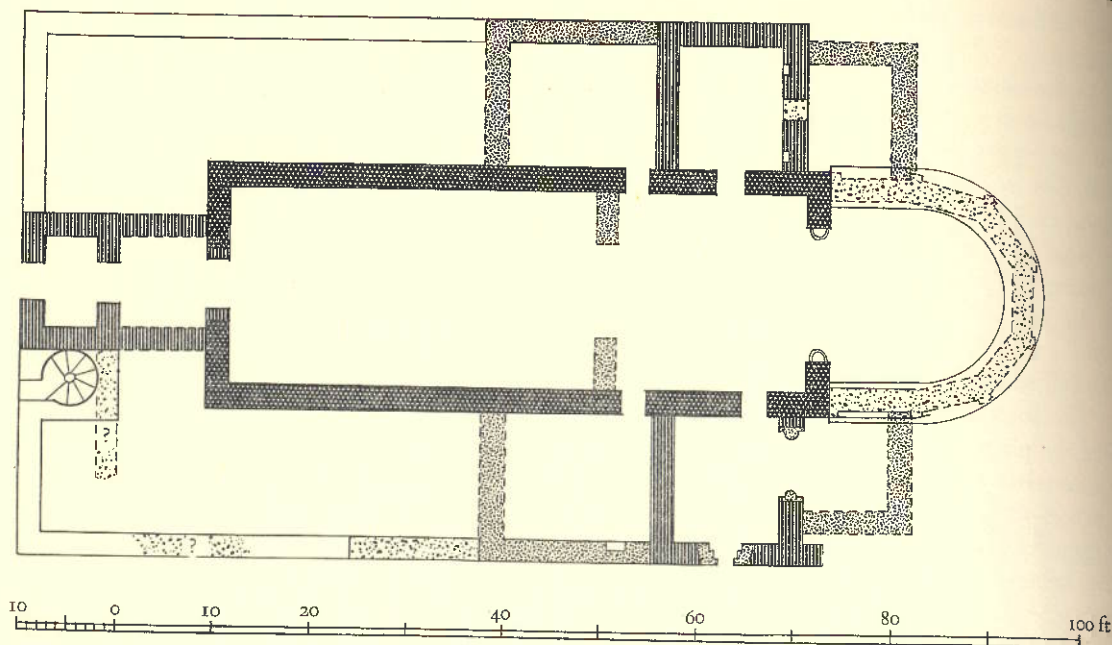


FIG. 85. DEERHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Detailed plan. The architectural history is described more fully in Fig. 89 and in the text on pp. 202-6.

or rebuilding of the early church in the post-Danish period, possibly even representing a re-establishment of the monastery.

The fabric of the church is largely of roughly coursed rubble, with appreciable areas of herring-bone work, particularly in the earlier stages of the construction. There is no long-and-short quoining, and no ornamentation with pilaster-strips except on the apse. The earliest doors and windows are of the simplest type, with megalithic jambs, and heads made of single lintels or pairs of stones forming a triangular arch; but later openings are arched with some precision of execution, and the arches are outlined with strip-work hood-moulds, which end on very characteristic beasts' heads. Two of the openings in the west face of the tower and one in the south wall have above them the curious projecting beasts' heads, or *prokrossoi*, which appear also at Barnack, Northamptonshire, and at Alkborough, Lincolnshire.

THE EXTERIOR OF THE TOWER

From outside the church, the tower is seen to be markedly rectangular in plan, much longer from east to west than from north to south. Its height is now somewhat masked by the flanking aisles,

but it is nevertheless impressive and is emphasized by the sheer walls, without off-set or string-course for the whole height of over 70 ft. Whatever divisions of opinion there may be about the detailed history of the church, there is agreement that in an earlier period the western adjunct was not a tower, but a porch of three storeys, which are now marked respectively by the western door on the ground level, the square west window lighting the first floor, and a round-headed upper west door which opens from the second floor at a height of about 25 ft above the ground. It will be noticed that throughout the height of these three storeys the quoining is of small stones like the rubble of the walls themselves, whereas for the remainder of the height of the tower the quoining is of dressed stones, some laid with their longer faces north and south and some east and west. This change of quoining fits with the other evidence of a later raising of a west porch to form a west tower.

The present, pointed, west doorway is a later insertion; but the arch of an Anglo-Saxon round-headed doorway is still visible above, outlined by a hood-mould of square section which, before the restoration of 1861, was recorded by D. H. Haigh

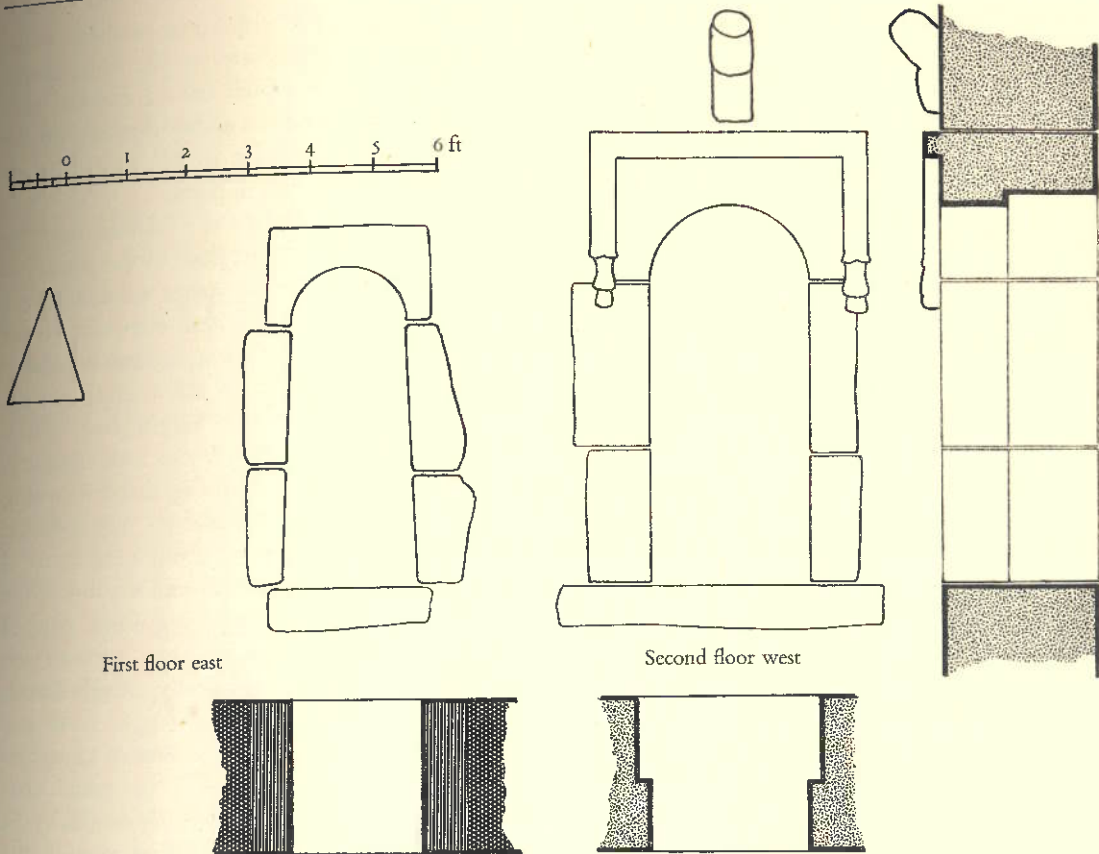


FIG. 86. DEERHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Detail of two doorways in the tower. The opposite faces of both these doorways are square-headed.

to have ended on beasts' heads.¹ Above this hood-mould is a boldly projecting beast's head, or *prokrossos*, now much mutilated or weathered. In addition to the square window of somewhat doubtful date that is visible in the west face, the first floor has original square windows to north and south, but these windows are now hidden from outside by the western extensions of the aisles. The second-floor chamber has original square-headed windows to the north and south, which may still be seen from outside, although partially obscured by the roofs of the aisles.

The western doorway from the second-floor chamber is of great interest and also presents a difficult problem as to the purpose which it served; there is no indication of a western annexe with which it could have communicated, and some other towers, such as those at Barnack and

Earl's Barton, which possess similar high doors, are ornamented with such elaboration that it is unthinkable that they should have been covered by an attached building to which the doors could have led. But indications of patched holes in the west face of the tower suggest that the doorway gave access to a porch or gallery (see Fig. 89). This upper doorway has jambs of dressed stone, a round head cut from a large rectangular lintel, and a strip-work hood-mould which curiously follows the rectangular shape of the lintel instead of outlining the round head of the doorway. The ends of the hood-mould appear to have been left rough, as if for carving into beasts' heads; while above the hood-mould there is a boldly projecting beast's head, like that at the ground floor, much mutilated or weathered (see Fig. 86).

Above this second-floor doorway, the tower

¹ *J.B.A.A.* I (1846), 13.

risers with no openings to north, south, or west in its third floor, until finally, at its fourth-floor level, there comes what appears to be a Gothic belfry, with traceried windows in each of its four faces. But the fabric of the tower shows no marked variation from third-floor to fourth-floor level, nor has it the medieval string-course which would be expected if the belfry had been a medieval addition. From the north-east corner of the churchyard, it is possible to secure a good view of the east face of the tower, and to see, first, that a doorway with a square head on its outer face opens from the third-floor level of the tower, above the present roof but below the old higher roof-line, and secondly, that the eastern Gothic traceried belfry window appears to have been inserted in an earlier round-headed opening with dressed-stone jambs of early character. We are therefore inclined to agree with Gilbert that the tower is of pre-Conquest date to its top or to within a few feet of its top, the lower floors representing the earlier western porch, itself possibly of more than one date, and the upper part, with dressed-stone quoins, representing the raised tower of later Anglo-Saxon date.

THE TOWER FROM WITHIN THE CHURCH

It is best next to examine the tower from within the church, entering by the west door. The ground floor of the tower or porch is divided by a transverse wall, with a round-headed doorway in its centre; and a further similar doorway in the east wall gives access to the nave. The first of these doorways bears all the signs of the restorer's hand, for the stones of its jambs, arch, and hood-moulds are all sharply cut; but the fine beasts' heads which stop the hood-mould over the eastern face of this doorway are of true Anglo-Saxon workmanship, and were moved to their present position in the restoration of 1861 from a place which is unspecified in Butterworth's account¹ of the church, but which appears from Haigh's account² to have been the ends of the hood-mould of the outer western doorway. The inner doorway is somewhat similar, but with less

obvious signs of restoration; its well-set voussoirs, mostly of through-stones, rise from simple rectangular imposts, which have a quirked hollow chamfer below; it has no hood-mould on the east; but on the west the simple square hood-mould is stopped on the imposts.

Before entering the nave it should next be noted that the original first floor of the porch has been removed, so that the square window above the west door lights the western compartment of the ground floor. In that compartment and above the middle doorway is an interesting carving, probably representing the Virgin and Child. Although it is impossible to say so with certainty, there is no real reason for doubting that this carving is in its original position; and its Anglo-Saxon character is clearly shown by its outlining frame of strip-work, which is carried round the top of the stone as a round arch springing from stepped imposts, while a decorative panel beneath the figure has the characteristically Anglo-Saxon motive of three pilasters with stepped bases and stepped capitals. Finally, in the eastern compartment of the porch, it should be noted that the square-headed windows which originally lit the first-floor chamber can still be seen in the side walls, with their western splays somewhat blocked by the transverse wall, thus indicating that the upper part of the transverse wall is a later insertion. High up in the east wall are a triangular window and a blocked square-headed doorway. It will be noted later that the eastern face of this doorway is round-headed.

From within the nave the east wall of the tower, or west wall of the nave, is seen to present a number of interesting features. On the first-floor level, a narrow round-headed doorway of early form, narrowing towards the top, is placed well to the north of the centre of the wall, and just south of the centre is a small triangular window, or squint, roughly level with the head of the door. Just below the level of the sill of the door, and placed as though to support a western gallery, two stout rectangular corbels will be noticed, one at each side of the west wall, about 27 in. in

¹ G. Butterworth, *Deerhurst, a Parish of the Vale of Tewkesbury* (Tewkesbury, 1887), 42.

² D. H. Haigh, *J.B.A.A.* I (1846), 13-14. Haigh

mentions objects, 'probably grotesque heads', thickly covered with plaster at the ends of this exterior hood-mould. Nothing of the sort now exists.

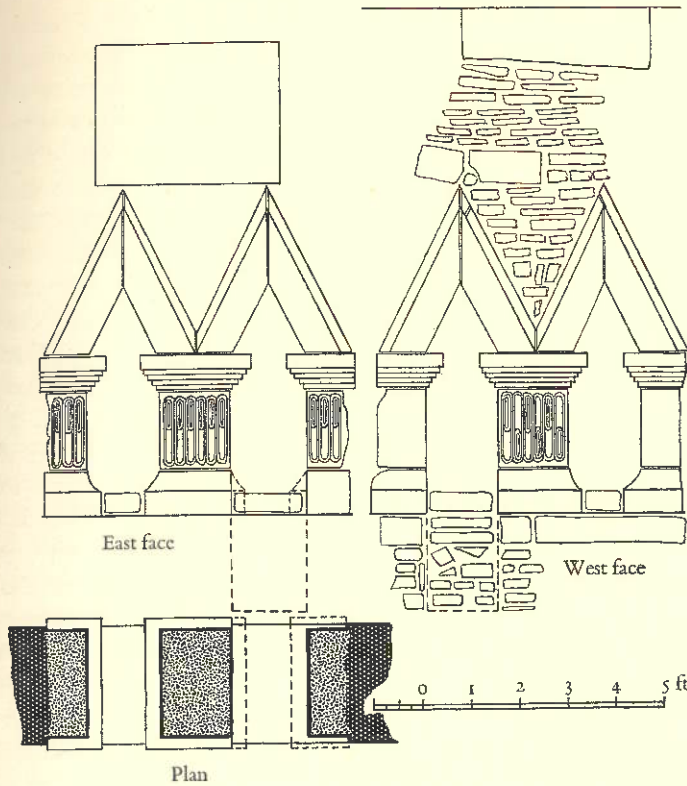


FIG. 87. DEERHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE
Detail of the second-floor window in the tower.

length along the wall and moulded below. The doorway itself is now blocked, but its construction can be clearly seen; its jambs, each formed of two tall stones, pass straight through the wall, but slope so that the doorway is narrower at the head; its round head is cut in the lower face of a rectangular lintel; and its sill is formed of a single massive stone. Altogether this doorway gives an impression of being much earlier work than the three doors leading through the porch at ground level, and those who argue the early date of the nave and porch base much of their argument on the early form of this door and of others similar to it at the eastern end of the church; they postulate that these represent eighth-century workmanship, while the three later doors in the ground floor date from a reconstruction in the ninth century. However this may be, the placing of the door to one side probably denotes the use of the first-floor room of the porch as a chapel, with an altar placed centrally under the triangular window, and the door placed to one side,

so as to give access from the chapel to a western gallery.

At the second-floor level, another opening to the tower is of a form unique to Deerhurst. This is a double, triangular-headed window in which the two heads are each formed of two, large, well-dressed stones which pass through the full thickness of the wall and are outlined above by a hood-mould of square strip-work, which follows the angular heads and rises from the same imposts. The three boldly-projecting rectangular imposts are ornamented below by having their projection reduced in a series of steps, both along the wall-face and through the opening. The two openings themselves are cut straight through the wall, leaving a central section of the full thickness of the wall as a pilaster to support the central impost, while the two outer ends of wall are provided with similar, dressed-stone pilasters. In the southern window, both pilasters rise from chamfered bases; but in the northern window the bases have at a later date been cut back level

with the main face of the pilasters in order to convert that window into a doorway. All three pilasters are fluted on their east faces and the upper half of each flute is further ornamented by the insertion of reeding. Immediately above this double window a large rectangular flat stone slab, about 3 ft 6 in. wide and 3 ft high, rests on the heads of their hood-moulds, as though to carry an inscription, a carving, or a painting; there is, however, no trace of any such decoration on it.

WITHIN THE TOWER

A spiral stairway in the west end of the later medieval south aisle leads into a chamber in the roof of the aisle; whence, through a doorway cut in the wall of the Anglo-Saxon tower, it gives access to the second-floor chamber of the tower. This important chamber was originally a single room, but it has been divided by a modern wall. In the eastern compartment, the double window to the nave is seen to be of much the same form as on its face to the nave, except that on this western face only the central pilaster is ornamented with fluting, while in these flutes the reeds are placed alternately in the upper and lower halves. On this face too it can be seen very clearly how the northern window has at some stage been enlarged to form a doorway: not only have the bases of the pilasters been cut back, but the whole sill and a large section of walling below have been cut away.

About 3 ft above the triangular heads of this window is a large stone, nearly 4 ft in width, whose upper extent is hidden by the floor above. Gilbert¹ regarded this as being the western face of the large slab which appears immediately above the heads of the window on the eastern face of the wall; but, since it is placed so much higher in the wall, we think it is more probably a separate stone, almost certainly part of the sill of the eastern doorway of the third-floor chamber.

In the side walls of the chamber are the square-headed windows whose outer faces are partially obscured by the roofs of the aisles, but whose heads have already been noted from outside the church. The southern of these windows has been mutilated by the cutting away of its sill and of the wall below, in order to form the doorway by

which the chamber is now entered from the medieval stairway; but enough of the window still remains to show that its construction was the same as that of its northern companion. Each window has a monolithic head, and two stones for each jamb; and the northern window has a monolithic sill. The inner face of each window-frame bears a shallow rebate, for decoration or for the better fitting of a shutter; and the dressed stones of each eastern jamb are in one piece with the western jamb of a small round-headed recess, or aumbry, each of which has a rebated face like those of the windows (see Fig. 446).

In the west wall of the tower, the doorway, already noted from outside, leads out into space, about 25 ft above the ground. Its jambs and head, although built of through-stones, are rebated for the hanging of a door; and the round head which is visible from outside passes only through the outer half of the wall, and is cut away to form a flat lintel internally (see Fig. 445).

A wooden stair leads to the third floor, which has only one opening. This is an eastern doorway, which now leads out above the leaded roof, but which must originally have looked out in the opposite direction, over the low western porch, from a chamber placed high above the nave but below the steep early roof, whose line is still marked on the eastern face of the tower by the stone weather-moulding. Like the doorway of the chamber below, the head of this doorway is round on its western face and square towards the east; the jambs are each of three roughly cut stones; and the sill is not flat, but in the form of three steps, rising eastward.

In the bell-chamber, above, the walling is of much bigger and flatter stones, with occasional reinforcing courses of dressed stone or concrete. The inner faces of the belfry windows are simple, round-headed openings, with ragstone jambs, and round heads arched in the same ragstone, well laid in radial fashion. There are no features to fix the date of the work with certainty, but there is equally nothing inconsistent with its being pre-Norman. The eastern half of the tower has a barrel-vault of stone, with axis from east to west, while the western half has an oak-framed roof,

¹ *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S. 73* (1954), 86.

which is said to have carried a spire until the seventeenth century.

On descending from the tower, it is desirable to pause in the chamber above the south aisle, in order to inspect more closely the south face of the tower and the west face of the nave, both originally external, but now enclosed by the westward extension of the aisle. It should first be noted that the tower and the nave walls are not in bond, and that they show much diagonal or herring-bone placing of the rubble fabric, both in the tower and in the nave. Next should be noted a series of large flat stones, now cut back almost flush with the wall, but originally forming an ornamental string-course which ran across the west face of the nave just above the level of the second floor of the tower, roughly 25 ft above the ground. This string-course will be noted later, in its original state on the north and south walls of the nave; but the reason for calling attention to it in its defaced state here is to note that it does not turn westward to run along the south face of the tower, but disappears behind the tower, thus proving that even these lower walls of the tower, which are not in bond with the west wall of the nave, are of later construction than the nave.¹

THE INTERIOR

The north and south walls of the nave are now pierced by Early English arcades of three arches, but in the Anglo-Saxon church these walls were continuous, save possibly for small doorways, such as are now to be seen in the walls of the chancel. That the walls of the nave above the arcades are of Anglo-Saxon workmanship is indicated by their thinness (from 2 ft 3 in. to 2 ft 6 in.) and by the presence in each wall of a triangular window similar to that in the west wall of the nave. Moreover, on the outer faces of the walls, now to be seen within the aisles, are well-preserved sections of the broad horizontal string-course, which has already been noted on the west face of the nave. On the north wall, particularly, this string-course is in good preservation and may

be seen to be of quite elaborate profile and to run, with interruptions, along the whole length of the wall, with the possible exception of part within the side-chapel.

The present chancel is structurally part of the nave, and is separated from it only by a rail and steps. The unusual arrangement of the chancel, with seats on either side of the communion table, and behind it, dates from early in the seventeenth century, and has been fully discussed by R. H. Murray.²

The original chancel was, of course, to the east of the present blocked chancel-arch; and at that time the present chancel either formed part of the nave, or, as at Brixworth, was divided from it by a cross-wall, to form a presbytery to which the general congregation had no access. No sign of any such cross-wall can now be seen, but the Rev. G. Butterworth recorded that in his restorations in 1861 he found convincing evidence for it at about the position of the present steps and rail.³

The blocked chancel-arch is of generous proportions, about 12 ft wide and 20 ft high, with well-set voussoirs rising from curiously shaped imposts, which in turn are carried by three-quarter-round responds or columns. The bases of these cannot now be seen within the church, but outside, in the ruined apse, they may be seen to be cylindrical in form. The arch itself is outlined by a hood-mould of square section stopped at its lower ends by a pair of large beasts' heads, similar to those in the tower, but larger, less naturalistic, and with some vestiges of original colouring.

Above the chancel-arch, on either side of the Perpendicular east window, raised triangular-headed areas of plaster mark the site of two blocked, early, internally splayed windows, whose small, square, outer faces can still be traced in the east wall, from the area of the ruined apse (see Fig. 444).

Below the two blocked windows, two corbels moulded like the main string-course suggest that there may have been an eastern gallery.

In the north wall of the present chancel, two blocked, narrow doorways of primitive appearance mark the site of openings from the original

¹ One stone, in intact condition, has recently been exposed by cutting away part of the south wall of the tower (Fig. 88).

² *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S.* 25 (1902), 285-93.

³ *Ibid.* II (1886-7), 6-72. 17 n, finding of foundations which defined the former presence of a wide arch. 30 n, marks of the walls visible on the side walls, from floor to roof, when the plaster was removed.

nave to northern *porticus*, or side-chapels. The eastern of these doorways has a triangular head of through-stones, supported by simple hollow-moulded imposts, while the western has a flat lintel. Above the eastern door a large, round-headed, arched doorway, cut straight through the wall, indicates that the side-chapels were of two storeys, with direct access to the church through this upper door. The later and much more elaborate form of the upper door suggests either that it replaced an earlier one of the form of those at the lower level, or that the chapels were originally of only one storey and that the upper chamber was provided later.

The south wall has doorways like those in the north wall, except that both doors on the lower level have flat heads and the upper doorway has its sill about 1 ft lower than that on the north. The doorways, however, suggest the same arrangement of flanking chapels with upper chambers on this side as on the north.

On the south of the chancel, at the east end of the south aisle, a vestry now occupies the position of the original south chapel. In its east wall, a blocked round-headed arch, reminiscent on a smaller scale of the chancel-arch, indicates that at some period a further side-chapel opened out to the east of this principal southern chapel. A round-headed window in the south wall of the vestry was formerly a doorway leading from the chapel into the open. Its outer face has the familiar hood-mould of square section with beasts' heads at its ends; and over the head of the arch is a third large projecting stone, or *prokrossos*, like those over the two western doors of the tower. It is also of interest to note that the roughly shaped stones which form the jambs have been worked so as to show a neatly dressed face to outline the opening, while the remainder of their surface is cut back, flush with the wall-face, where it was perhaps originally covered with plaster. This doorway is round-headed externally, but is rebated and square-headed internally.

From further west in the south aisle it may be seen how a wide arch has later been cut through the west wall of the original south chapel to open it into the aisle; and how, above this arch, the early west window still remains to give further evidence of the upper chamber above the chapel. This window is of a very primitive form, with

monolithic jambs, and a curved head cut in a roughly rectangular lintel. To the left of the window are traces of one jamb and the flat lintel of a doorway, that presumably once led from the upper chamber to an outside ladder, but subsequently led to a chamber over the adjoining chapel.

High up in this wall, beside the south wall of the nave, and now just visible beneath the roof of the aisle, is a flat stone like a short section of a broad string-course such as has already been noted as running along the north, west and south walls of the nave, but placed about 6 in. higher.

At the east end of the north aisle there is no vestry as on the south, but the aisle has been continued to the east wall, in which is a blocked, square-headed doorway of very primitive type, formerly leading from the main northern chapel to another on its east. The outer faces of the two doorways formerly leading from the nave to the two northern chapels may also be very well seen from this aisle.

The arrangement of the Anglo-Saxon church may thus be summarized by saying that a rectangular aisleless nave, possibly divided by a cross-wall, opened through a wide, round-headed arch into a chancel, and through narrow north and south doors into side-chapels; the primitive eastern door in the northern side-chapel indicates that from an early date these chapels opened eastward into further chapels flanking the chancel; the upper doorways opening to the chapels, and the primitive upper western window, indicate that there were chambers over the side-chapels; and the presence of two lower doorways on each side of the present chancel indicates either that there were at least two chapels on each side of the original nave, or that the western doors were openings from the presbytery to the exterior of the church. Further evidence will be noted outside the church to show that originally there was one chapel (or perhaps two) on each side of the nave, and that from time to time further chapels were built westward of it, thus extending the outer walls westward, and making the present walls of the aisles. Moreover it will be noted outside the church that the walls of the eastern and earliest side-chapels are not in bond with the side walls of the nave, thereby confirming that even they were later additions.

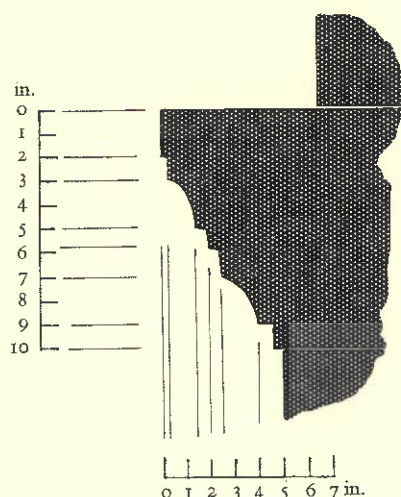
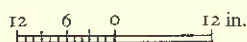
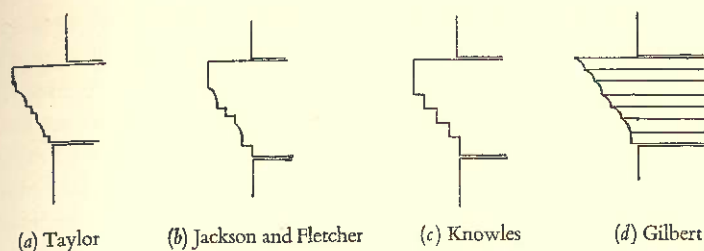


FIG. 88. DEERHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Section of the decorative string-course round the walls of the nave. (a) As we see it in the north aisle and in the west wall; (b) as Jackson and Fletcher saw it; (c) as Knowles saw it in 1927; (d) as Gilbert illustrated it in 1954. The larger scale drawing below shows the profile with detailed measurements as recorded by us on 7 July 1962.

THE EXTERIOR OF THE CHURCH AND THE RUINED APSE

In confirmation of the evidence provided within the church that the present plan developed from a simple nave and chancel by the building of a flanking chapel on either side and by the gradual extension of these chapels westward, it should next be noted on the walls of the aisles that there are distinct indications of straight vertical joints at about 15 ft and 34 ft from the eastern quoin on the north wall and at about 33 ft and 47 ft from the eastern wall of the south vestry. In the central section of the south wall, just east of the Tudor windows, there is a simple, narrow string-course of plain square section about 15½ ft above the ground. In confirmation of the early

presence of an eastern chapel on the south of the original chancel, it should be noted that a section of the lower wall on the south continues without any break beyond the present eastern wall of the south vestry, and in bond with it (see Fig. 85).

The ruined apse was until recent times in private ownership, and was covered by farm buildings. In 1925 the Society of Antiquaries and the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society were able to arrange for the clearance of the site, for its transfer to the Gloucester Diocesan Trust, and for its being kept freely open to the public by a path and steps at the north-east corner of the church.

From the head of these steps there is now a very clear view of the whole area of the apse, which was cleared and protected by W. H. Knowles in 1926.

The outline of the foundation shows straight sections adjoining the main church, and a semi-circular eastern curve both within and without; but the form of the apse itself above ground has been established as polygonal. By great good fortune there remains in the south-west corner an almost complete section of straight wall adjoining the nave, and a small fragment, about 18 in. in length, of the next straight section, inclined at an angle of about 165° to the first section, and separated from it by a vertical pilaster-strip, whose outer face, 8 in. wide, is cut in two planes inclined at the same angle. The straight sections of wall are 2 ft 6 in. thick, and the complete section is 7 ft 6 in. in length. Seven such sections would precisely fit the curved foundations, with the two western sections parallel to the axis of the church, and the remaining five sections inclined as shown in Fig. 85.

The complete south-west section of the wall is outlined on both sides by vertical pilaster-strips and near the top by a horizontal string-course, above which the pilaster-strips are continued to form a triangular arch or gable. It seems probable that the whole outer face of the apse was decorated in this way, so as to give the effect of a square framework surmounted by an arcade of triangular arches, and that within some or all of these arches further decoration was provided in the form of built-in sculptured slabs. The single gable which remains contains a remarkable rectangular stone about 2 ft 6 in. high and 2 ft wide, carved in relief to show a winged angel. The stone rests on the horizontal string-course, and its upper corners are held firmly in position by stone beams, which run through the thickness of the wall. The carving is excellently done and the face is full of expression; the left side of the slab, containing the angel's right wing, has been cut away by the line of a later gable, but otherwise the work is in a good state of preservation. There seems to be good reason for regarding this carving as a work of the end of the reign of King Alfred or early thereafter, that is to say about the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth.¹

In the eastern faces of the north and south aisles the blocked doorways, already noticed within the church, may clearly be seen, that on the south arched with well-laid voussoirs, and that on the north, much smaller, and finished in much more primitive style, with a flat lintel. In the east face of the body of the church the whole of the chancel-arch may be studied in detail, for on this side there is no panelling to conceal the lower part of the columns, whose bases are seen to be cylindrical. This face of the arch itself differs from that within the church only by the absence of the surrounding hood-mould. High above the chancel-arch, and on either side of the Perpendicular window, it is possible to trace the remains of the outer faces of the two blocked windows which were noticed within the present chancel; neither is easy to trace in detail, but that on the right is less difficult, with a large stone for its sill, two broken stones remaining from its jambs, and a substantial rectangular lintel. Below the Perpendicular window is a very large horizontal stone, which suggests the former presence of a central door, or a window of larger scale. The east wall itself contains herring-bone masonry at all levels from about the springing of the chancel-arch upwards. The construction of the eastern quoins is also similar to that of the lower part of the western quoins of the tower, namely of the same rubble as the walling itself.

A photograph of the church before restoration (Clapham, pl. 33) shows a higher roof over the central space, perhaps a relic of an earlier wooden central tower, as at Breamore. To this day it is possible to see in the south wall of this central space a blocked window 1 ft wide and 2 ft tall, with its monolithic head about 10 ft west of the eastern quoin and about 4 ft below the modern parapet.

PROBABLE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

There is no record of the building of the present church but a charter of 804 shows that there was a monastery here at that time;² it is likely that Deerhurst is one of the monasteries in which St Oswald installed Benedictine monks, c. 970; and it is known

¹ Clapham (137), Kendrick (*Anglo-Saxon Art*, 217) and Talbot Rice (*English Art, 871-1100*, 93) all concur in this dating.

² W. de G. Birch, *Cart. Sax.* no. 313.

that St Alphege was a monk at Deerhurst and later at Bath before he became Bishop of Winchester (984-1006) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1006-12).¹

On the evidence provided by the building itself it has become generally accepted that it is a structure dating from the tenth century; Baldwin Brown (p. 451) places it in his period B3; Clapham (p. 92) assigns it to a place in the tenth century; and Knowles (*loc. cit.*) says that its original cruciform structure dated from the middle of the tenth century, and then comprised the tower or west porch of three storeys, the nave, the apse, and a flanking chapel on either side of the nave. Knowles notices the change in quoining of the tower about the level of the roof of the nave, and therefore suggests that there was a pause in building, but perhaps not enough to justify the assumption of a porch later raised to a tower, as at Corbridge. He suggests that the later development of the building was undertaken in two stages, in the first of which further side-chapels were added towards the east, and in the second still further side-chapels were added, but this time towards the west. The argument that the apse preceded the side-chapels depends on the elaborate decoration of its outer walls and the absurdity of assuming that the builders would so decorate a wall which they were immediately covering with an outer building. The argument for successive westward extension of the chapels depends on the successive straight vertical joints still visible in the aisle walls. One point of particular interest discovered by Knowles in his excavations is that, whereas the western chapels all continued the alignment of the original chapels and so provided the present walls of the aisles, the two built towards the east had their outer walls on north and south less widely spaced from the central axis. This is in conflict with an observation by Gilbert,² that there can still be

seen a small fragment continuing the south wall of the original side-chapel towards the east; but a possible explanation of this discrepancy is suggested below.

The dating of the church is considered at length by Baldwin Brown (pp. 205-20); in arguing for a date as early as period B3 for the present fabric, he notes that the tower contains none of the features, such as strip-work or double belfry windows, which so markedly characterize his period C; that the church contains no double-splayed windows; and that the pier supporting the middle impost of the double window in the second-floor chamber of the tower may be regarded as a step towards the development of the mid-wall shafts which appear in period C. In arguing for a period as late as B3 he refers to the beasts' heads as a markedly Scandinavian feature; and he notes the advanced nature of the chancel-arch, the pilaster-strips on the apse, and the possibility that the church may have had a central space, crowned by a central tower, perhaps of wood, as at Breamore.

Recently a new assessment of the history has been made by Gilbert,³ who has suggested that the present church contains as its core much of the original fabric dating from before the Danish raids; that this core probably goes back to the foundation of the monastery before 804; and that there is clear evidence in the fabric itself for three stages of building prior to the Danish raids towards the end of the ninth century. Gilbert suggests that much of the original fabric survived the Danish destruction; and that, in the reconstruction, the original west porch was raised to form a west tower, and many of the other later features were introduced. The following conjectural history is based on Gilbert's, but diverges from it in certain respects, particularly in regarding the now-ruined apse as dating from after the period of Danish raids.

¹ W. H. Knowles, *Archaeologia*, 77 (1927), 141. With regard to the possibility of damage to the church in the Danish wars, south-west Mercia seems to have been free from trouble after Alfred's victories, but Deerhurst could have suffered in 877 when the Chronicle records that Alfred pursued the Danes to Exeter and then made peace with them, that they went away into Mercia, and that they shared out some of it and gave some to Coelwulf.

Æthelweard provides the additional information that the Danes built booths in the town of Gloucester; see D. Whitelock, *E.H.D.* 1, 179.

² E. C. Gilbert, *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S.* 73 (1954), 84 and 87. We confirm Gilbert's observation.

³ *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S.* 61 (1939), 294-307; and 73 (1954), 73-114.

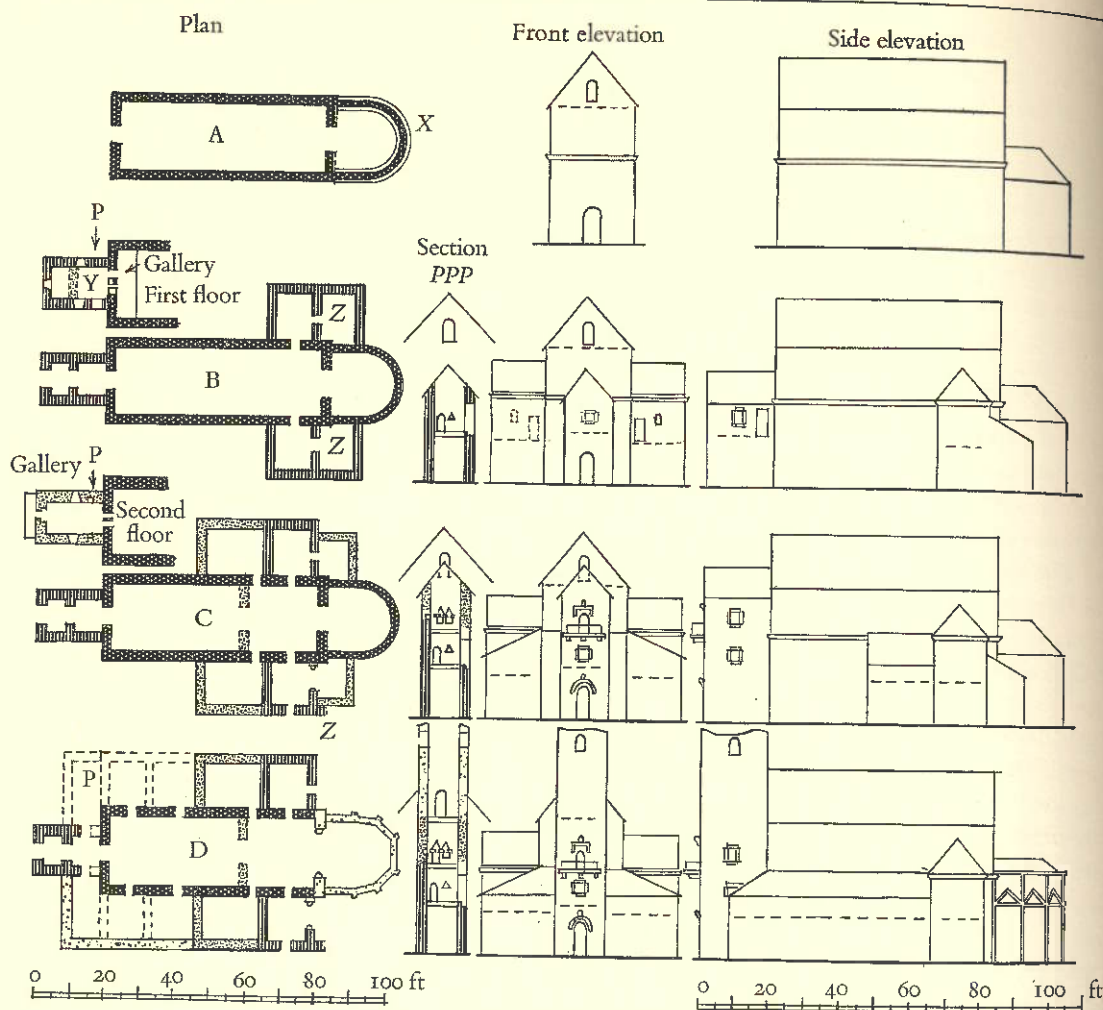


FIG. 89. DEERHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

Plan and elevations to show the development of the church. A, the earliest two-cell apsidal church. The outline surrounding the apse at X indicates the surviving broad foundation. It has been omitted in subsequent figures to avoid undesirable complication. B, the addition of side-chapels and western porch, of two storeys. The evidence for the eastern chapels Z is the surviving stump of wall at Z as shown in C and D. In the first-floor chamber Y, there was no cross-wall at this stage; it was added later, as may be seen from the way it partially blocks the side windows. C, the addition of further side-chapels and of a fresh upper storey to the western porch. The changed arrangement of eastern chapels is proved by surviving foundations. Evidence of the cross-wall in the nave was found by Butterfield. D, the rebuilding of the chancel, the widening of the chancel-arch, and the addition of further side-chapels so as completely to surround the nave.

The dotted lines in the front and side elevations indicate the levels at which we believe there were upper floors in the main building and its annexes.

The letters PPP in the plans B, C, and D indicate the position at which the west porch is envisaged as being cut apart in the sections which are shown at the right of each plan. The narrower eastern side-chapels shown in plan C but omitted from the later plan D are difficult to date. On p. 205 we suggest that they may have been later than the rebuilt apse.

The earliest church may be regarded as having consisted of a chancel and a nave. The west porch of two storeys is not in bond, and was probably added later. The third storey was added still later (see p. 205, column 1). The porch and the nave

still exist, but the chancel has disappeared; it may, however, have been apsidal, on the existing foundations,¹ and it would certainly have opened from the nave by a much smaller arch than the present one. The argument for this simple church

¹ Knowles, *loc. cit.*, recorded that careful excavation in the region of the apse failed to show any other foundations.

and for its early date, in Baldwin Brown's period A3, may be summarized by saying that the present church, about 60 ft long by 20 ft wide, with walls 40 ft high, has a remarkably early look, reminiscent of Monkwearmouth and Escomb; that its rubble quoins are in marked contrast to the strip-work on the apse; and that it incorporates a number of primitive and early-looking doors and windows, of which the two windows high above the chancel-arch and the first-floor door from the porch to the nave are striking examples.

In the second stage, which followed quite soon, the church was given a cruciform plan by the addition of chapels, with upper floors, to the north and south of the nave, and of chapels to the east of these, on either side of the chancel. The argument that the chapels were later than the nave is based on their eastern walls being out of bond with the north and south walls of the nave, as can best be seen at the east of the present church. The early date of the side-chapels may be argued from the simple nature of the doorways opening into them from the nave, and also from the very primitive door and window opening westward from the upper chamber over the south chapel. The evidence for the simultaneous building of chapels on the east, flanking the chancel, has already been referred to; namely, that, eastward of the south chapel, there is a fragment continuing its south wall to the east and in bond with the main south wall.

The third building stage, still before the Danish invasion, resulted in the extension of the side-chapels westward by one or two bays, as is evidenced by the vertical straight joints in the present aisle walls; and in the raising of the western porch from two storeys to three. The evidence for the raising of the porch is that the wall which divides the first-floor chamber into two cannot be original since it blocks the western splay of the windows in the north and south walls. Presumably therefore at this stage the original chapel on the first-floor was altered to provide two rooms for some other purpose, and a new and more elaborate chapel was provided in the second floor, with its ornate double window towards the church and its windows and aumbries to north and south.

Following the Danish invasion, the church was restored in the early tenth century; new doorways, of later, arched form, were provided at the west, in replacement of whatever may have been the simple doorways in the western porch; the porch itself was raised to form the present west tower; and the north opening of the double window to the nave was enlarged by lowering its sill, so as to form a doorway between the upper chamber and the nave, a feature very characteristic of this later period; at the same time, the whole east end seems to have been rebuilt, presumably because it was more completely destroyed or was thought to be inadequate for its new purpose. This rebuilding comprised the erection of the whole of the now ruined apse, with its elaborate decoration of strip-work and sculpture; and the insertion of the present splendid chancel-arch, in place of whatever simpler opening may have been there before. It must be assumed that at this stage the apse was left without any flanking chapels, which would have obscured its external decoration; and that at a slightly later date, when a need for such chapels was felt to be imperative, they were rebuilt, but on the rather narrower alignment indicated by Knowles, and with the insertion of the present wider archway leading from the south vestry into its eastern chapel. At this time also the doorways from the rooms above the side-chapels may have been enlarged and given their present arched form.

It will be seen that, although a scheme on these lines assumes a somewhat complicated building history, it nevertheless provides a straightforward and natural explanation of what is otherwise a most illogical and peculiar assortment of doorways and windows, of widely differing types, in close proximity in one building. If this scheme be proved correct, there then remain from the early building period, before the Danish invasion, only doors and windows with simple jambs and triangular heads, or with flat lintels which are either plain or are cut to form round heads; while the several doors with arched heads and hood-moulds are ascribed to the post-Danish restorations. Moreover, the simple nave, with its impressively high walls, fits naturally into the early period in the late eighth or early ninth century; while the apse, with its strip-work and sculpture, fits

equally naturally into the later period in the early tenth century.

THE FONT

The recent history of the Deerhurst font is one of almost unbelievable good fortune in the restoration of this magnificent vessel to its original home. For an unknown period it had been used as a washing tub in a farm at Deerhurst, until in 1844 Bishop Wilberforce, then Dean of Westminster, saw it and bought it from the farmer for Longdon church, where it was used as a font for 25 years. Then Miss Strickland of Apperley Court, near Deerhurst, found close to her house beside the Severn a carved stone, which she thought must have been the original stem of the Anglo-Saxon font. The stem was set up in the church and the bowl was very kindly given back by Longdon to Deerhurst.¹

The bowl is of oolite, 20 in. high and 29 in. across the rim. Its outer surface is richly decorated; round the middle is a broad band of double spiral ornament, occupying about half the total height and arranged in a way which suggests a series of square panels; above and below this broad band are narrower bands, of about half its width, containing vine-scroll ornament with sheaths at the branchings and bunches of grapes in the form of rosettes within the scrolls. Baldwin Brown (p. 212) compares these vine-scroll bands with the panels at Britford and with the three

slabs on the tower at Barnack; and he dates the font as certainly not later than the ninth or tenth century. Clapham (p. 129) compares the double spiral ornament with an almost identical form on a pendant found in the Trewiddle hoard, which is dated by accompanying coins as not later than 875. He also records that the trumpet-spiral disappeared from English manuscripts about the middle or end of the ninth century; and he accordingly dates the font towards the end of that century.

The stem of the font, which has also been considered to have been more probably part of a cross-shaft, is cylindrical above and octagonal below. The octagonal part is quite plain, as though it had been a base intended to be sunk in the ground; but the cylindrical part has an elaborate decoration in the form of alternating panels of which one type contains double spirals similar to those of the font, while the other is made up of a complicated interlacing pattern.

DIMENSIONS

The importance of Deerhurst priory church as an Anglo-Saxon monument is emphasized by the large scale of its plan. The development of the church over a series of building dates, before and after the Danish invasions, is supported by the contrasting simplicity and elaboration, as well as by the contrasting size, of the openings listed in the second and third of the following tables.

TABLE I. *Principal dimensions of the fabric*

| | East-west (internal) | North-south (internal) | Wall thickness | Wall height |
|--|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| | ft in. | ft in. | ft in. | ft |
| Present nave and chancel, formerly nave and pres- bytery | 59 6 | 21 0 | 2 6 (a) | c. 40 |
| Ruined apsidal chancel | 18 9 | 19 9 | 2 6 | At least 25 |
| West tower | 16 6 | 9 6 | 2 9 (b) | 71 |
| North chapel | c. 11 | 13 0 | 2 3 (c) | c. 25 |
| South chapel | 11 3 | 12 6 | 2 3 (c) | c. 25 |

(a) Varying from 2 ft 3 in. to 2 ft 6 in.

(b) Varying from 2 ft 6 in. to 2 ft 9 in.

(c) Varying from 2 ft to 2 ft 3 in.

¹ T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S. II (1886-7), 92-3.

TABLE 2. *Dimensions of doorways*

| | Width between jambs ft in. | Height from sill to crown ft in. | Height of sill above floor ft | Shape and nature of head (A=arched; L=lintel) | Remarks |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---|--|--|---|
| <i>West porch and tower</i> | | | | | |
| Ground floor | | | | | |
| 1. West | Doorway destroyed | | 0 | Pointed | Original hood-mould. <i>Prokrossos</i> |
| 2. Central | 5 6 | 7 9 | 0 | Round A | Hood-mould. Animal heads |
| 3. East | 5 9 | 10 0 | 0 | Round A | Hood-mould |
| First floor | | | | | |
| 4. East | 1 9 (d) 2 1 (e) | 5 0 | 16 | Round L (east) Square L (west) | — |
| Second floor | | | | | |
| 5. West | 2 3 | 6 0 | 24 | Round L (exterior) Square L (interior) | Hood-mould. Animal heads. <i>Prokrossos</i> Jambs rebated |
| Third floor | | | | | |
| 6. East | 2 6 | c. 6 0 | 41 | Round L (west) Square L (east) | — |
| <i>South chapel</i> | | | | | |
| Ground floor | | | | | |
| 7. South | 2 4 (d) 2 6 (e) | 7 5 | 0 | Round A (south) Square L (north) | Hood-mould. Animal heads. <i>Prokrossos</i> Jambs double-rebated |
| 8. North | c. 3 0 | c. 7 0 | 0 | Square L | |
| 9. East | 4 6 | 9 3 | 0 | Round A | Later insertion. Arch and jambs of half- round section |
| First floor | | | | | |
| 10. North | c. 5 0 | c. 10 0 | 10 | Round A | |
| 11. West | (2 4) (f) | (6 0) (f) | (14) (f) | Square L | Only north jamb and lintel-head remain |
| <i>North chapel</i> | | | | | |
| Ground floor | | | | | |
| 12. South | 3 2 | 8 6 | 0 | Triangular | — |
| 13. East | 2 2 | 6 0 | 0 | Square L | — |
| First floor | | | | | |
| 14. South | c. 5 0 | c. 8 0 | 12 | Round A | — |
| <i>Presbytery</i> | | | | | |
| 15. Chancel-arch | 12 3 | 19 6 | 0 | Round A | Hood-mould. Animal heads. Arch of square section. Jambs three- quarter-round |
| 16. North | 2 7 | 5 11 | 0 | Square L | West of door (12) to main porticus |
| 17. South | 2 9 | 5 10 | 0 | Square L | West of door (8) to main porticus |

(d) Width at head or at springing of round head.

(e) Width at sill.

(f) Estimated dimensions.

TABLE 3. *Dimensions of windows*

| | Width between jambs ft in. | Height from sill to crown ft in. | Height of sill above floor ft | Shape and nature of head (A=arched; L=lintel) | Remarks |
|--|----------------------------------|---|--|--|---|
| <i>West porch and tower</i> | | | | | |
| First floor | | | | | |
| 1. West | 2 0 | 2 0 | 18 | Square L | Widely splayed |
| 2-3. North and south | 1 8 | 1 2 | 20 | Square L | Widely splayed. Par- tially blocked by later wall |
| 4. East | 1 7 | 2 1 | 19 | Triangular | Squint rather than window |
| Second floor | | | | | |
| 5-6. North and south | 1 11 (d) 2 1 (e) | 3 0 | 28 | Square L | Less widely splayed. |
| 7. East | 1 6 | 4 9 | 27 | Double- triangular | Dimensions are for one window of pair. Hood-mould |
| Fourth floor (belfry) | | | | | |
| 8-11. North, south, east, and west | c. 3 0 | c. 5 0 | 58 | Round A | Later tracery inserted |
| <i>Nave</i> | | | | | |
| 12-13. North and south | 1 9 | 2 2 | 18 | Triangular | Squints rather than windows |
| <i>South chapel</i> | | | | | |
| 14. West | 0 9 | c. 2 0 | c. 18 | Square L | Widely splayed |
| | (d) Width at head. | | (e) Width at sill. | | |

REFERENCES (see separate list for references to the font)

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- J. C. BUCKLER, ed. A. E. HUDD, 'Notes on Saxon architecture, with a description of Deerhurst priory, Gloucestershire', *ibid.* 11 (1886-7), 6-81. A very valuable account, with many details of the fabric both in the text and in drawings. Footnotes added by Butterworth give important details of information found during the restoration.
- G. BUTTERWORTH, *Deerhurst, a Parish of the Vale of Tewkesbury* (Tewkesbury, 1887). A good account of the church as then known.
- G. BUTTERWORTH, 'The ancient apse of Deerhurst church', *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S.* 14 (1889-90), 48-9. Account of first excavation of the apse, which Butterworth regarded as circular in shape.
- J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, 'Something about Saxon church building', *Arch. J.* 53 (1896), 293-351. Deerhurst, 347-9 and 328. Micklethwaite asserts very positively, 348, that there was formerly a baptistery west of the present tower. [No evidence has been found for this, and Knowles asserts that, although he looked carefully for foundations, he found none.]
- R. H. MURRAY, 'The arrangement of the chancel at Deerhurst', *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S.* 25 (1902), 285-93.
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- Editorial, 'Deerhurst church', *ibid.* 48 (1926), 387-91. First note of the clearing of the apse under the direction of W. H. Knowles.
- W. H. KNOWLES, 'Deerhurst priory church', *ibid.* 49 (1927), 221-58. (Also *Arch.* 77 (1927), 141-64.) A very important account of the excavations of 1926,

with detailed description of the whole of the church. Many dimensioned drawings, plans, and photographs.

E. C. GILBERT, 'Deerhurst priory church', *ibid.* 61 (1939), 294-307. A critical re-examination of the evidence for dating the church, with a claim that the plan is not that of the later, transeptal churches such as Dover, but of the early type such as Reculver, with *porticus*.

E. C. GILBERT, 'Deerhurst priory church revisited', *ibid.* 73 (1954), 73-114. A very important statement of the case for dating the main fabric as early as A.D. 800. Separation of the surviving fabric into early structure and successive later additions. Many plans, elevations, perspectives, and photographs.

E. D. C. JACKSON and E. G. M. FLETCHER, 'The Anglo-Saxon Priory church at Deerhurst', *Studies in Building History*, ed. E. M. Jope (London, 1961), 64-77. An important review of earlier studies, with valuable plans and elevations in illustration of the architectural history.

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T. WRIGHT, 'Deerhurst font', *J.B.A.A.* 1 (1846), 65. Picture, and brief note of the font long standing in a farmyard at Deerhurst and recently 'sold for £6 and carried away I know not where'.

A. E. HUDD, 'On the Saxon baptismal font in Deerhurst priory church, with notes upon other early fonts', *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S.* 11 (1886-7), 84-104. Picture, with comparative sketch of detail from Elmstone Hardwick, history, and dimensions.

A. C. FRYER, 'Gloucestershire fonts', *ibid.* 32 (1909), 302-12. Deerhurst font, 302-8.

DEERHURST

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 143, reference SO 869298

ODDA'S CHAPEL OF THE HOLY TRINITY

*Nave, and chancel incorporated in later house:
period C3*

The existence of Odda's chapel within a few hundred yards of the church of St Mary at Deerhurst was quite unsuspected until 1885, notwithstanding the discovery in 1675, in the adjoining orchard, of an inscribed stone, now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford,

bearing an inscription in Latin with the following meaning:

Earl Odda had this royal hall built and dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity for the soul of his brother Aelfric which left the body in this place. Bishop Ealdred dedicated it the second of the Ides of April in the fourteenth year of the reign of Edward King of the English [i.e. on 12 April 1056].

This inscription provides an unusually unambiguous determination of date, for Odda was a man of importance in the reign of Edward the Confessor; his brother Aelfric died at Deerhurst in December 1053 and he himself died, also at Deerhurst, in August 1056, only four months after the dedication of the chapel.¹ From the time of the discovery of the inscribed stone by Sir John Powell in 1675 until the discovery of the chapel in 1885 the stone was thought to have reference to the church of St Mary, which, however, we now know to be of very much earlier foundation.

The existence of the chapel was brought to light when repairs were being made in what was then regarded as an ordinary house. Traces of a semicircular arch were seen in the plaster on a wall and the removal of the plaster brought to light an ancient window. The whole fabric was then examined closely, and the present nave and chancel were disclosed, the former in use as a kitchen and the latter divided by a floor so as to provide an upper bedroom. During the course of the restoration, a further inscribed stone was discovered, unfortunately much mutilated by the cutting of a pointed window-head into its surface. The interpretation of the inscription is however reasonably certain in the form 'In the honour of the Holy Trinity this altar has been dedicated', and the stone therefore provides a further link in the identification of the chapel as being that whose dedication was recorded on the stone that was found in 1675.

The building now forms the western end of a mediæval, half-timbered farmhouse; and the exterior of the chancel is actually concealed within the later structure. The chapel itself is a simple nave-and-chancel building of two rectangles, with a chancel-arch somewhat mutilated by three

¹ William of Malmesbury called Odda the King's 'kinsman' (*Gesta Regum*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series, 90, 1) (London, 1887), 243). See also *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,

s.a. 1053 and 1056; and A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1956), 456-8.

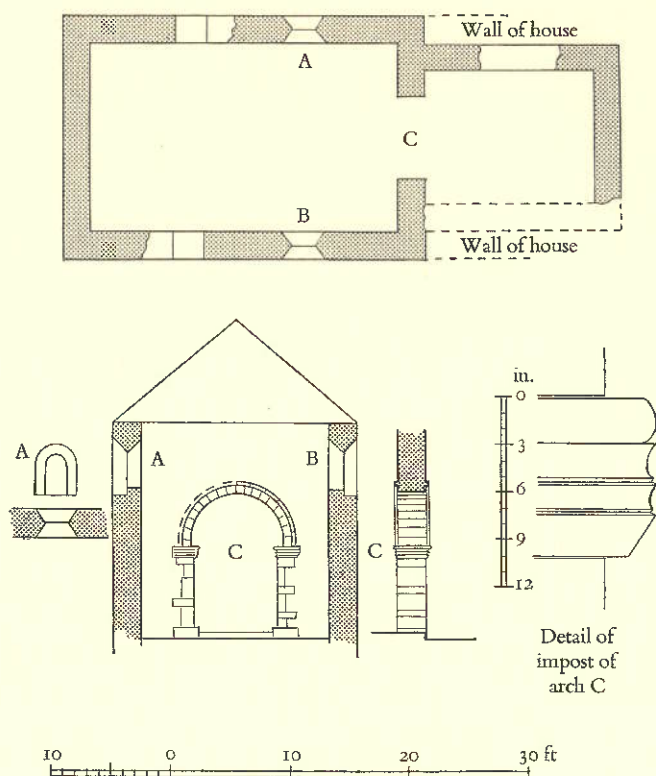


FIG. 90. DEERHURST, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, ODDA'S CHAPEL
General plan and certain details.

centuries of domestic use, but still clearly showing square jambs of through-stones laid in 'Escomb fashion'; with projecting square bases and imposts, the latter chamfered and ornamented with a roll and hollow mouldings (Baldwin Brown's outline in his Fig. 191 E is not very accurate). The arch itself is also of through-stones, and is outlined by a hood-mould of square section. The chancel has no original windows; but the nave has two double-splayed, round-headed windows, one in each of its north and south walls, with their sills about 12 ft above the floor.

Externally, the nave has well-defined long-and-short work on two of its quoins and traces on its other two. The north door, like the chancel-arch, has been considerably mutilated, but nevertheless shows its late-Saxon construction clearly: it also has jambs in rough 'Escomb fashion', with plain square bases and imposts, and its head is turned in well-laid through-stones, which are outlined by a restored square hood-mould of separate stones.

DIMENSIONS

Internally the nave measures 25 ft 6 in. by 15 ft 10 in. and the chancel 14 ft by 11 ft 2 in. The walls, about 2 ft 3 in. thick and about 17½ ft high, are built of rubble in flattish pieces, laid in well-defined courses. The chancel-arch is 7 ft wide and 10 ft 6 in. tall. The windows have apertures about 2 ft 6 in. wide and about 3 ft 3 in. tall, splayed to 3 ft 6 in. by 4 ft 3 in. The north doorway is 2 ft 6 in. wide by 7 ft 9 in. tall.

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- G. BUTTERWORTH, 'The Saxon chapel at Deerhurst', *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S.* 11 (1886-7), 105-16. Architectural and historical account, with pictures and plan.

J. H. MIDDLETON, 'On a Saxon chapel at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire', *Arch.* 50 (1887), 66-71. Record of discovery; plan, sections, and elevations. Detailed architectural description, and discussion of the inscriptions.

DIDDLEBURY

Shropshire

Map sheet 129, reference SO 508853

Figures 91-3, 449, and 450

ST PETER

Nave and west annexe: period C3

The church of St Peter at Diddlebury, about 6 miles north of Ludlow on the road from Craven Arms to Much Wenlock, now consists of a heavily buttressed west tower, a nave with south aisle and south porch, and an aisleless chancel with a north transept which now forms a vestry and organ-chamber. The north wall of the nave, and part of the adjoining wall of the tower, are Anglo-Saxon; the main fabric of the tower is Norman, but with later additions and with many added buttresses; the chancel is also Norman; the south aisle was added to the nave in the thirteenth century and the north transept to the chancel in the seventeenth; finally, the south porch was built in 1844.

The west tower is of the same width as the nave, and the eastern part of its north wall is of the same pre-Conquest fabric as the north wall of the nave. A distinctive plinth of three square orders may be seen beneath the whole length of the north wall of the nave, and continuing westward beneath the adjoining part of the north wall of the tower, past the eastern, diagonal, buttress, to stop under the middle buttress, which projects square to the north. Above this plinth, the fabric of the wall of the nave is of large, well-dressed blocks of red sandstone; while the wall of the tower, to a height rather greater than that of the nave, is similar though less well preserved. Westward of the buttress under which the Anglo-Saxon plinth stops, the walling of the tower is different, of much smaller blocks of lighter-coloured stone, much less carefully dressed; and the Norman string-courses of the western face of the tower are returned along this western part of the north face. It

therefore seems clear that the Anglo-Saxon church had a west tower or porch, part of which has survived as the eastern portion of the present tower. In spite of later alterations and additions, the remainder of the main fabric of the tower is Norman, and possibly quite early Norman, for the simple Norman west doorway is clearly a later insertion within the original, large, plain, round arch of two simple square orders.

The chancel is also Norman, and also of an early type, for its surviving original windows are of a simple, small, round-headed type; while its eastern quoins show considerable survival of Anglo-Saxon tradition, both in the use of large stones and also in the occasional tendency to adopt a long-and-short technique. Part of the original Norman north wall of the chancel has been cut away by the seventeenth-century transept; but, westward of this, the Norman wall reappears, and may be seen to be built in the same alignment as the north wall of the nave, against which it abuts with a straight vertical joint. At this point, about 2 ft west of the transept, the distinctive plinth of the nave may be seen to turn south, thus proving that this was indeed the eastern quoin of the original nave, against which the early Norman wall of the chancel was built, itself overlying the original plinth, and thereby showing conclusively that the plinth is of pre-Conquest date (see Fig. 91).

Two original openings have survived in the Anglo-Saxon north wall of the nave: a double-splayed, round-headed window, high up in the wall near the east, and a blocked round-headed doorway about 10 ft from the junction with the west tower. The window is one of the few double-splayed windows constructed of dressed stone instead of the usual rubble; it therefore indicates that double-splayed windows were used not only as a convenient means of making a reasonably wide aperture through a wall of rubble without the use of dressed stone, but also in walls that were wholly or largely of dressed stone; presumably because the shape was considered desirable in itself. The actual aperture is cut in a mid-wall slab of stone, whose outer face contains grooves that seem to have been for the fixing of a movable shutter.

The doorway is wholly outlined by strip-work of square section; the jambs and round arch are

formed of through-stones; the imposts and bases are of simple, chamfered form; and the strip-work has separate imposts and bases, similar to those of the doorway, but projecting a further 4 in. An interesting constructional feature is that, while part of the outline of strip-work is logically formed of separate stones, other parts are formed in stones that are of one piece with the stones of the jambs. Another interesting feature is that the lowest course of the triple plinth forms the sill of the doorway, 8 in. above the level of the floor of the nave, while the bases of the strip-work serve to stop the two upper courses of the plinth beside the doorway.

Internally, it should first be noted that the south

recording in some detail the evidence for believing with confidence that this particularly extensive and definite example is most certainly contemporary with the wall, and is not, as has been suggested, a veneer added later by the Normans.²

This evidence falls into five parts. First, careful measurement of the stones of the interior and exterior faces of the blocked Anglo-Saxon doorway shows that the joints run straight through the wall, so that the stones may also be assumed to do so. Therefore the wall is of its original thickness, and the herring-bone masonry could not have been added later by the Normans unless they had first cut away a corresponding depth of the inner face of the pre-Norman wall. Secondly, the stonework

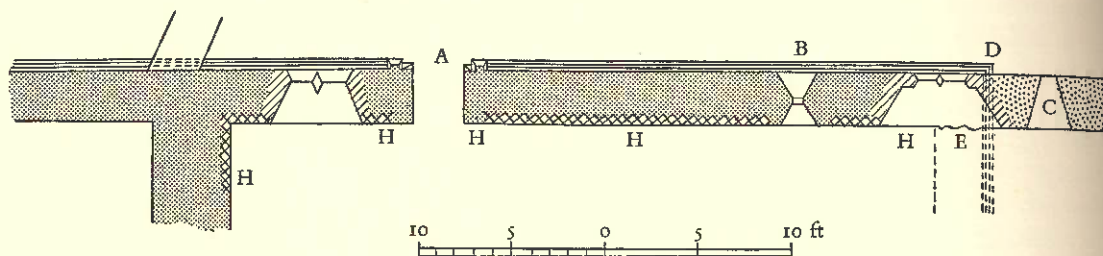


FIG. 91. DIDDLEBURY, SHROPSHIRE

Plan of the north wall of the nave. A, Anglo-Saxon doorway; B, Anglo-Saxon double-splayed window; C, Norman single-splayed window; D, triple plinth, which turns southward at D under the later wall; E, roughened area of the wall showing where earlier walling has been torn away; H, herring-bone decorative walling, shown cross-hatched.

face of the south wall of the nave, above the thirteenth-century arcade, is not of the red stone which is so distinctive a feature of the outer face of the north wall; nor is it of similar construction, with large, squared blocks, but it is, instead, of undressed rubble. It therefore seems reasonably certain that the arcade was not pierced through a surviving Anglo-Saxon wall, but that the arcade and the wall above it were built *de novo* in the thirteenth century.

Next, the north wall should be carefully studied, with particular reference to the interior facing of herring-bone masonry, of which Cranage wrote in 1901:¹ 'It has recently been re-pointed and looks much too modern; it is, however, original, and there is in it a thoroughly genuine window.' Since herring-bone work has often been claimed as sure evidence of post-Conquest date, it is worth

of the double-splayed window is also properly fitted into the herring-bone facing, and the stone slab which carries the glazing is at about the middle of the thickness of the wall, thus again confirming that the present thickness is original. Thirdly, and perhaps most conclusively, the herring-bone facing does not extend eastward to the blocked Norman window of the chancel, about 14 ft east of the double-splayed Anglo-Saxon window, but stops with a jagged, roughly vertical edge about 5 ft 6 in. west of the west jamb of the Norman window. Careful measurement inside the church and outside shows that the line of ending of the herring-bone facing is about 3 ft west of the straight vertical joint which on the exterior of the wall marks the junction of the early-Norman chancel with the eastern quoin of the Anglo-Saxon nave. The herring-bone facing

¹ D. H. S. Cranage, *An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire*, I (Wellington, 1901), 90.

² G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 245. Diddlebury said to be 'crucial in deciding that such work is Norman'.

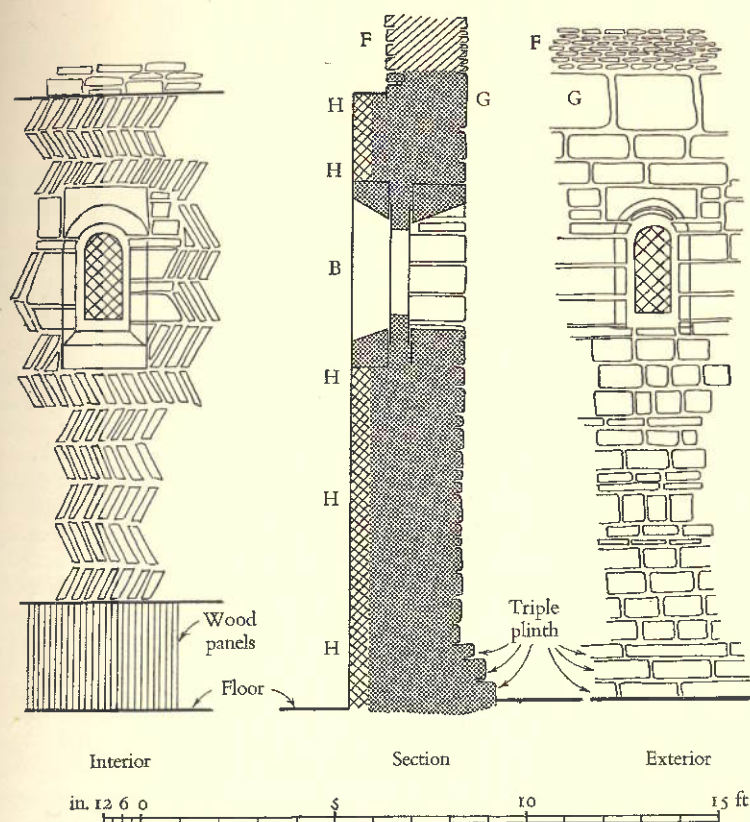


FIG. 92. DIDDLEBURY, SHROPSHIRE

Interior and exterior elevations and section of the north wall of the nave, at a larger scale. B, Anglo-Saxon double-splayed window; F, later masonry built on top of the earlier wall; G, topmost courses of the Anglo-Saxon wall; H, herring-bone masonry cross-hatched.

therefore ends at the point where internally the wall of the Anglo-Saxon nave turned southward, and where the Norman builders tore this Anglo-Saxon end-wall away when they built their wider chancel with its north wall in the same alignment as that of the earlier nave. Fourthly, this deduction is itself confirmed by the rough character of a 3-ft strip of wall immediately east of the ending of the herring-bone facing, this being the rough area left behind when the east wall of the nave was cut away. Finally, it should be noted that, if the Normans had added a veneer of herring-bone masonry to the interior of the Anglo-Saxon church, they might reasonably have been expected to have continued this decorative treatment over the whole interior of the church, including their newly built chancel, whereas in fact the herring-bone work covers the whole of the Anglo-Saxon nave but does not

appear at all on the interior of the Norman chancel.

At the west end of the nave, the herring-bone facing is returned southward along part of the west wall, fixing that wall as contemporary with the north wall, and indicating how the original east wall, later torn away by the Normans, must have been treated. There is, however, no appearance of the herring-bone work within the tower, even on the parts which externally seem to be quite clearly of the same character as the Anglo-Saxon north wall of the nave. It thus appears that the builders reserved the herring-bone work as a decorative treatment for the nave, and did not continue it into the western annexe.

DIMENSIONS

The internal length of the original nave, as determined by the surviving herring-bone facing,

DIDDLEBURY

was 37 ft; and the total exterior length of the north wall, as defined by the surviving triple plinth, was over 55 ft, so that, after allowing for three cross-walls each about 3 ft in thickness, and for the length of the nave, the western annexe must have been at least 9 ft from east to west internally.

The surviving Anglo-Saxon north wall of the nave is 2 ft 11 in. thick and 15 ft 2 in. in height

above the floor of the nave; the actual aperture, cut in the stone mid-wall slab, is about 1 ft wide by 2 ft tall.

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- Anonymous, 'Diddlebury', *T. Shropshire A.N.H.S.* 9 (1886), 289-304. Brief architectural description, 289-90.
- D. H. S. CRANAGE, *Churches of Shropshire*, I (Wellington, 1901), 89-92. Good, detailed, architectural description.
- G. BALDWIN BROWN (1925), 245-6. South wall regarded as Saxon, and north wall as Saxon externally but with a Norman veneer of herring-bone masonry added internally. Baldwin Brown noted how the upper part of the north wall, above the herring-bone masonry, is about 9 in. thinner than the main part of the wall below; and he regarded this as strong supporting evidence for his proposition that the herring-bone masonry was a veneer added later by the Normans to the taller and thinner pre-Norman wall. [But the fabric of the upper part of the wall is quite different from that of the main wall below; whereas the exterior of the main wall is of large blocks of dressed stone, the upper few feet are of small pieces of undressed ragstone. We therefore have no hesitation in regarding this upper part of the wall as a much later addition, probably contemporary with the south arcade, and as giving no evidence for the dating of the herring-bone masonry (see Fig. 93.)]

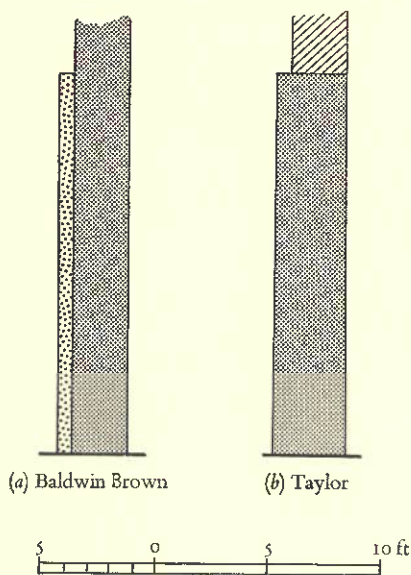


FIG. 93. DIDDLEBURY, SHROPSHIRE

This diagram contrasts Baldwin Brown's theory of dating with ours. In (a) it will be seen how Baldwin Brown argued that a thin wall had been thickened in Norman times by an interior layer of herring-bone masonry. By contrast (b) shows how we believe that the wall is of its original thickness, but has been raised higher in post-Norman times.

from the top of the plinth to the top of the course of well-dressed large stones which clearly mark the top of the original Anglo-Saxon fabric, above which the few further feet of thinner walling of undressed ragstone may confidently be regarded as a later raising of the wall.

The round-headed blocked north doorway is 2 ft 10 in. wide and 9 ft tall, while the strip-work, 5 in. wide and 4½ in. in profile, outlines an area 4 ft 6 in. wide and about 10 ft tall. The double-played north window is 2 ft 4 in. wide at the wall-face, and 3 ft 8 in. tall, with its exterior sill 8 ft 4 in. above the top of the triple plinth, or 10 ft

DOVER

Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 326417

Figures 451, 452

ST MARY-IN-THE-CASTLE

Nave, tower, chancel and transepts; a complete cruciform church, but very heavily restored: period C1

The church of St Mary has a commanding position within the castle on the eastern heights at Dover, and is unique in having had a Roman lighthouse as a western annexe, to which an upper door in the west wall of the church appears to have communicated. Only the lower stage of the lighthouse is now Roman, the upper part having been rebuilt or refaced in the fifteenth century; and the church itself was left roofless in the eighteenth century, to become a ruin, which was used as a coal-store for the barracks until it was restored in 1860-62 under the direction of Sir George Gilbert Scott. Drawings of the church before the restora-

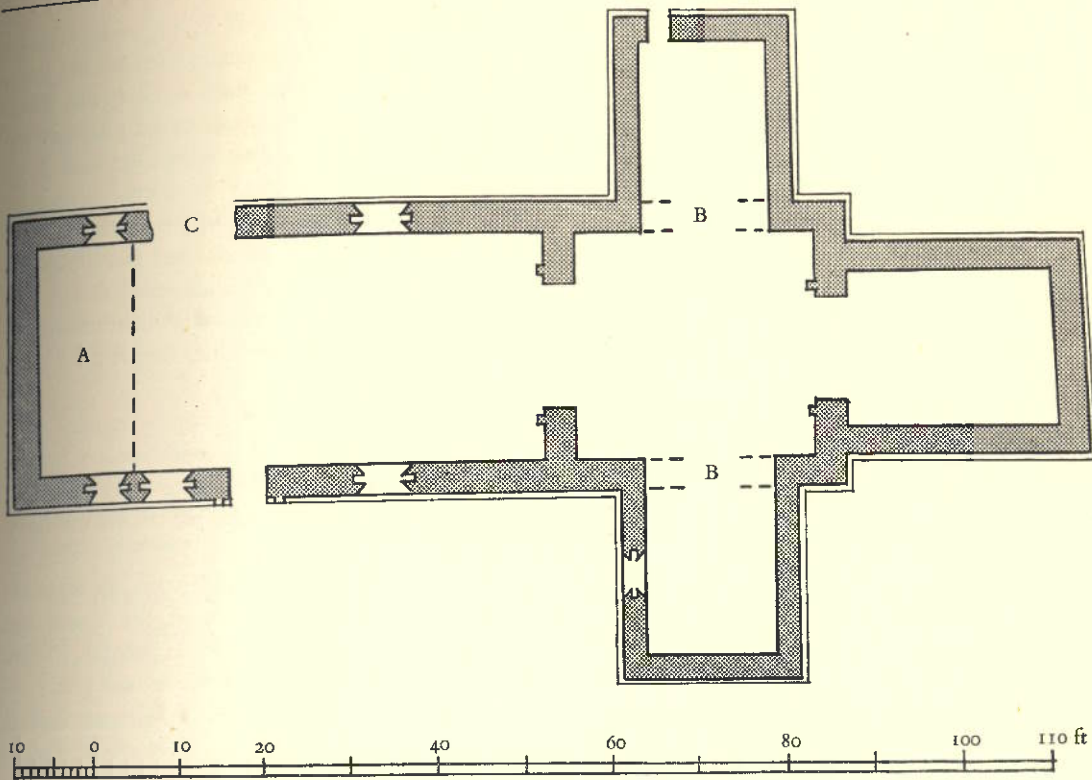


FIG. 94. DOVER, KENT

General plan. A, position of former western gallery; B, position of former arches leading to the transepts; C, later north doorway, with window above, not shown in plan.

tion showed it not only roofless, but with most of its gables fallen;¹ Scott recorded that all had fallen except that on the north transept. Much of the present detail of the church depends, therefore, on Scott's interpretation of what he saw as vestiges of the original fabric, and we have therefore given below a number of quotations from his account of the ruin and of his restoration of it.²

The fabric of the church is of very mixed composition, the walls being largely of flint, but with some stone and tile, while the facings of the windows are largely of tiles, and the quoins are partly of tile and partly of large dressed stones. The whole church is surrounded by a plinth upon which the walls stand; most of this plinth is of plain, large blocks of roughly squared stone, but parts are of flint construction like the walls themselves. The plan is cruciform, with a massive tower, about 34 ft square externally and 70 ft

high, forming the central feature and standing upon the walls of the long, aisleless nave; the chancel is appreciably narrower and slightly less tall than the nave; and the transepts are narrower still. The north and south walls of the tower, like those at Dunham Magna, Norfolk, are externally integral with those of the nave; but at Dover there is no internal thickening of the walls to bear the tower, perhaps because the walls of the church as a whole are unusually thick, about 3 ft 6 in.

All the details of the tower except its parapet are based upon the appearance of the ruin before restoration. The belfry stage has, in each face, two large, round-headed windows, which Scott records as having been 'like doorways, with a shutter within'. On the north face, below the belfry, are three circular, double-splayed windows, turned in tiles, one above the ridge of the roof of

¹ M. Bloxam, *Principles of Gothic Architecture*, I, 11th ed. (London, 1882), 40.

² G. G. Scott, *Lectures on the Rise and Development of Medieval Architecture*, 2 (London, 1879), 41.

the transept and one on either side of the ridge at about its level. There are two similar windows in the south face, and two in the east, but none in the west. The quoins of the tower, like those of the church generally, are predominantly of brick or tile, but with considerable amounts of dressed stone, including some exceptionally large stones.

The nave is lit by six original windows, three in each of its side walls. All of these windows are double-splayed and are faced with tiles; four are very large, round-headed, and set high in the walls, while the remaining two are much smaller, and are set lower in the walls near the west. Of the upper windows, Scott says 'they are of very large size and about equally splayed within and without; they had wood frames for the glass, the grooves for which were quite distinct'.¹ With reference to the lower windows he says that there was a western gallery in the nave 'of which I found the holes for the insertion of the timbers. Beneath this gallery, on either side, was a small window, which, for want of space for an arch, was made square-headed, with splayed wooden lintels of which the exact impressions of the ends were found, giving the precise form'.

At the west end of the nave is a large, central, round-headed doorway, which appears to have been robbed of its original facings; while on the first floor above is a round-headed, stone-built doorway, apparently designed to lead from the western gallery of the nave into the Roman light-house. Of this doorway Scott says that the stonework was 'in a very perfect state', and he gives an illustration showing very clearly its stepped imposts, its jambs of dressed stone, and its arched head, also of well-dressed stones, which do not extend through the full thickness of the wall. The gable above is pure restoration, for which Scott had no model, and of which he says 'the openings in the west gable are conjectural and I must apologise for their quasi-Saxon form'.²

The north doorway of the nave was rebuilt at the close of the twelfth century in the Early English style; but, on the south, the original doorway has survived, though now much decayed.

Of this doorway Scott says: 'It has jambs of long and short work running square through the wall, the door having been hung against the inner surface. The arch is of brick, and a pilaster-strip flanked it on either side and round the arch.'³ A somewhat similar doorway on a smaller scale in the north wall of the north transept was restored by Scott so as to be a 'model and not a restoration', by which one must understand that it was largely rebuilt to represent what Scott thought, from all the evidence available, might have been its original form.

In the west wall of the south transept is a double-splayed, flat-headed window to which Scott also makes specific reference and for whose originally flat-headed form we therefore have authority.⁴

Internally, the two magnificent arches supporting the east and west walls of the tower are unusually lofty, about 28 ft in height. Their jambs are partly of dressed stone and partly of tiles, with dressed-stone imposts of almost classical form to support the arches, which are turned in tiles. The western faces of both openings are outlined by strip-work, which is formed of a single line of projecting tiles, and which is carried up beside the jambs as a pilaster-strip and round the head of the arch as a hood-mould. Above each arch is a round-headed doorway, to provide communication between the upper spaces of the nave, chancel, and tower. No evidence is now available as to the original character of the arches opening from the central space to the transepts, since these were replaced at the close of the twelfth century by pointed Early English arches.

DIMENSIONS

The total internal length of the church is about 118 ft. The nave is about 60 ft by 26 ft, the tower about 26 ft square, and the chancel about 24 ft by 18 ft, while the transepts are about 14 ft from east to west by about 18 ft from north to south.

The walls are of fairly uniform thickness of about 3 ft 6 in. and those of the nave are about 32 ft high while those of the tower are about 70 ft. The eastern and western arches of the tower

¹ *Medieval Architecture*, loc. cit.

² G. G. Scott, *Arch. Cant.* 5 (1862-3), 12.

³ *Medieval Architecture*, loc. cit.

⁴ *Arch. Cant.*, loc. cit.

are about 12 ft and 14 ft in width, respectively, and about 28 ft high. The south doorway of the nave is 3 ft 6 in. wide by 11 ft 6 in. high.

The four great windows of the nave have apertures 3 ft 8 in. wide by 7 ft 2 in. tall, with sills about 19 ft above the ground.

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- V.C.H., *Kent*, 2 (London, 1926), 133-7. Edbald, king of Kent, d. 640, founded a church for 20 secular canons in the castle of Dover. Wihtred, king of Kent, d. 725, moved them to St Martin's church in the town but confirmed them in their privileges.
- G. WARD, 'The Saxon abbots of Dover and Reculver', *Arch. Cant.* 59 (1947), 19-28. The abbey at Dover was St Martin's and not St Mary's-in-the-Castle, 20.

DUNHAM MAGNA

Norfolk

Map sheet 125, reference TF 873147

Figures 453-6

ST ANDREW

*Nave and axial tower: period C3**Chancel rebuilt*

Great Dunham, about 5 miles north-east of Swaffham, although now only a small village, originally had two churches, of which one was dedicated to St Mary and one to St Andrew. The church of St Mary has vanished, but probably

originally stood to the west of the surviving church of St Andrew, in the present grounds of the vicarage, where a number of worked stones of early character are said to have been found.

The church of St Andrew now consists of an aisleless nave, with south porch; an axial tower of the same width as the nave; and a narrower, square-ended, aisleless chancel. The chancel was rebuilt in the fifteenth century; and excavations about a hundred years ago are recorded as having shown indications of the foundations of the original, apsidal chancel beneath the present altar.¹ The nave and tower are substantially as originally built, except for the insertion of later doors and windows in the nave and the addition of battlements to the tower. The fabric is of uncut flints, with dressed stone for the quoins; and the church is of unusual interest because of the remarkable internal arcading in the nave, and because of the advanced character of the ornament on the capitals of this arcading and on the framework of the blocked west doorway.

The plain, sturdy, square tower may be said to stand on the eastern part of the walls of the nave; for, as seen externally, the side walls of the nave are continuous, without any break in direction or any separation by pilaster-strips or other ornament, from the western quoins of the nave to the eastern quoins of the tower. All four quoins of the tower run up to the top of the original fabric, just below the later battlements; but, whereas the two eastern quoins start from the ground, the two western quoins start from the level of the eaves of the roof of the nave. Apart from a medieval string-course which separates the original tower from the later battlements, the walls of the tower rise sheer, without off-set, string-course, or other ornament except the windows.

In the belfry stage, each of the four faces has a late-Saxon double belfry window, in which the individual round heads are arched with tiles or flat stones, while the through-stone slabs are supported on plain cylindrical mid-wall shafts with cushion capitals of rather Norman form. The square jambs of each double window are formed of the same rubble fabric as the walls, without any use of dressed stone, and the stepped imposts

¹ G. A. Carthew, *Norf. Arch.* 1 (1847), 91.

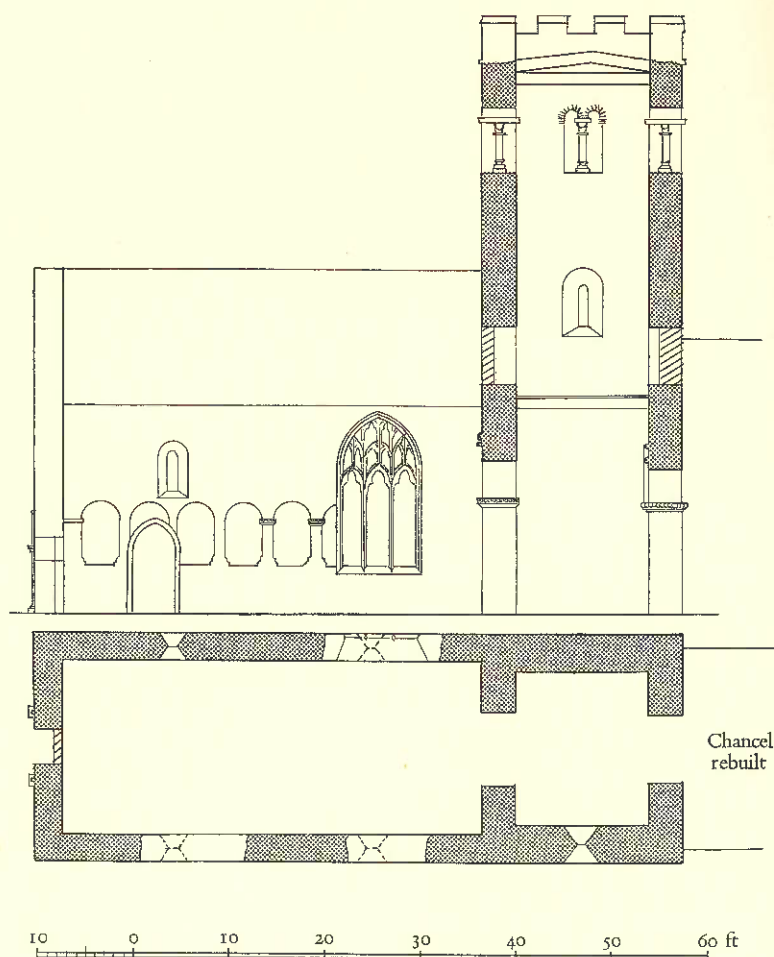


FIG. 95. DUNHAM MAGNA, NORFOLK
Plan, and longitudinal section through the church, looking northward.

consist of two over-sailing courses of tiles or flat stones. The east and the west faces, but not those to north and south, each contain two further belfry openings, in the form of circular double-splayed windows, which are placed a little higher than the heads of the main windows and a little farther apart. These windows are formed in the rubble fabric, without the use of any dressed stone, but with tiles or flat stones in the arching of their heads (see Fig. 453).

Below the belfry stage, the south face contains two double-splayed, round-headed windows, lighting the ground floor and first floor, respectively; and the north face has one similar window lighting the first floor. The jambs of all three of these windows are formed in the rubble fabric of the wall, and their heads are turned in tiles with

characteristically Anglo-Saxon disregard for radial setting. There are no further external openings in the east and west faces of the tower.

All four angles of the tower, and the western angles of the nave, are of regularly laid long-and-short quoining up the whole of their height; but, as has been mentioned above, the western quoining of the tower ceases at the level of the eaves of the nave, below which the side walls of the nave serve also as the side walls of the tower.

The west wall of the nave contains a blocked, triangular-headed doorway, probably the principal or only entry to the original church. This doorway is outlined by strip-work, which is carried up beside the jambs and over the triangular head. The doorway is plastered, so that its construction cannot be investigated; but the strip-work is of

unusual character, fundamentally square in section, but cut or notched on either side, so as to give an effect somewhat reminiscent of Norman billet-mouldings (see Figs. 96 and 454).

In the north wall of the nave, a complete double-splayed, round-headed window like those of the tower has survived near the west, above a medieval doorway; and the remains of a similar window may be seen externally further to the

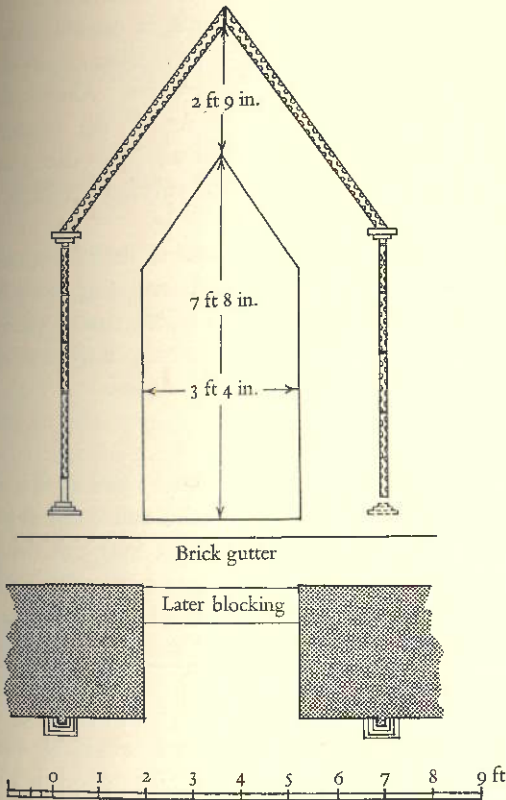
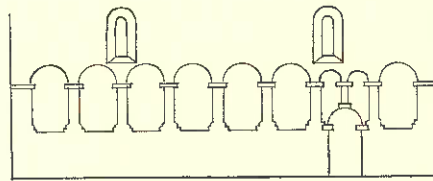


FIG. 96. DUNHAM MAGNA, NORFOLK
The west doorway.

east. The south wall also shows vestiges of two similar windows in similar positions, one over the south porch and one over the eastern medieval window.

The church is entered from the south porch, by steps down into the nave. Its interior walls are plastered, and the most striking feature is the arcading on both north and south walls of the nave. This is constructed as though the main fabric of the wall had been cut back about 3 in., leaving a design of arches and pilasters, some with capitals, and all with stepped bases, all in relief,

but flush with the main surface of the wall. The sunken, arched openings are about 6 ft high and 4 ft wide, while the pilasters themselves are about 1 ft wide, so that the design repeats itself at 5 ft intervals along the wall-face. Both arcades have been much mutilated by the insertion of medieval doors and windows, but that on the north still extends for about 30 ft, with five complete arches, of which three pilasters have capitals and three have not. All three capitals are shaped as rectangles, chamfered above and below; but, while one is left plain in this form, the other two are enriched with a central band of ornament, which on one is a simple zig-zag of raised and sunken triangles, and on the other a pattern of saltires in relief (see Fig. 98). The heads of the arches of the arcade are



Reconstruction of south wall of nave

FIG. 97. DUNHAM MAGNA, NORFOLK
Suggested reconstruction of the blind arcading on the south wall of the nave.

about 11 ft above the floor; and the double-splayed, round-headed window is placed above one of the pilasters, with the downward splay of its sill just clear of the top of the arcade. The arcade on the south wall is generally similar, but has suffered more injury. The present south door has cut away the lower parts of two pilasters; but it can still be clearly seen that the two arches over the door are of narrower span than any of the others. From this fact it has been conjectured that there was originally a south doorway, centrally placed under these two narrower arches, with its head supporting a pilaster shorter than any of the others, and its imposts level with the bases of the pilasters of the arcade (see Fig. 97).

The construction of the arcading is hidden by plaster, except for the capitals or imposts of Barnack stone; but the arches are, in fact, turned in Roman bricks, and the stepped bases are each formed of three Roman bricks, while the pilasters and the whole face of the wall, above the arcade

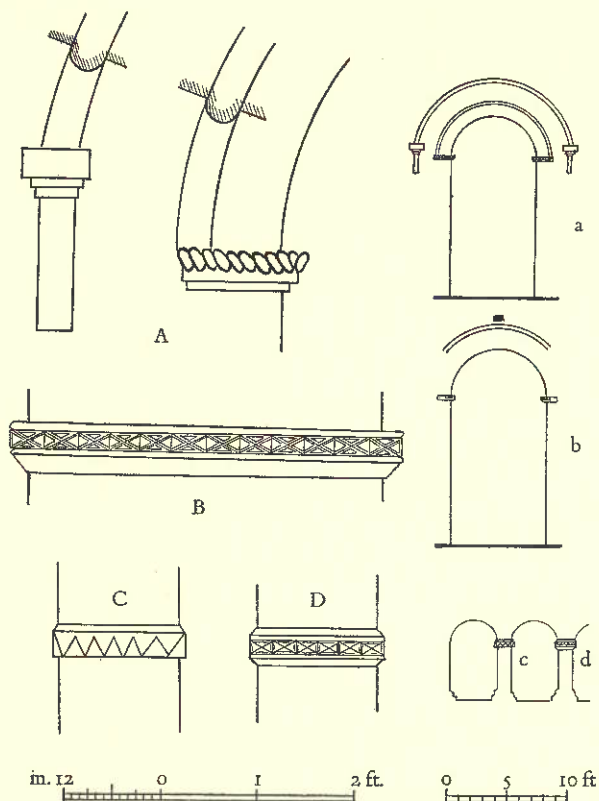


FIG. 98. DUNHAM MAGNA, NORFOLK

Details of the arcading and of the two arches of the tower. A, details of impost and hood-mouldings of the eastern tower-arch; a, small-scale elevation of the eastern tower-arch; B, detail of the soffit of the impost of the western tower-arch; b, small-scale elevation of the western tower-arch; C, D, details of the ornamental impost on the arcading of the north wall of the nave; c, d, small-scale elevation of the arcading: note that the impost is as here shown and not in the reversed positions shown by Baldwin Brown in his fig. 135.

and within the recesses, are of the same uncut flint fabric as the exterior face of the walls.¹

Two tall round-headed arches bear the east and west walls of the tower and connect the tower-space with the nave and chancel. Both of these openings have simple square jambs and arches of a simple square order, all now covered with plaster; but, beneath the plaster, the arches are of Roman bricks and the jambs of flint fabric like the walling.¹ The western arch is slightly wider than its companion, and both have imposts of Barnack stone, roughly square in section, but ornamented. On the western arch the ornament is of squares and

saltires, like that of one of the capitals of the north arcade, while on the eastern arch a cable-moulding has been used. The western faces of both arches are further ornamented by being outlined by hood-mouldings, of which that above the western arch is of square section, and has been hacked away in its lower parts, no doubt to form a seating for a medieval Rood-screen, whereas that above the eastern arch is double and half-round in section. The inner of these eastern hood-mouldings stops on the imposts, but the outer is carried down parallel to the jambs for a short distance, in the form of half-round pilaster-strips. Above the crown of the hood-moulding of the western arch a small square corbel of uncertain date may be seen, as if to support a carving, perhaps a Rood.

Inside the first-floor chamber of the tower, two narrow, blocked, round-headed openings may be seen, originally doorways to give access to chambers above the nave and chancel, but now no longer visible except in this chamber.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 43 ft long internally and 17 ft 6 in. wide, with walls about 3 ft thick and about 21½ ft high. The tower-space measures 13 ft 3 in. from east to west internally, by 15 ft 3 in.; with walls varying between 4 ft and 3 ft 6 in. in thickness, and of about 60 ft in height to the top of the original fabric.

The western arch of the tower is 7 ft 4 in. wide and about 16 ft high, while the eastern is 6 ft 6 in. wide and also about 16 ft high. The doorways in the upper chamber of the tower are 1 ft 10 in. wide by 6 ft tall.

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J. F. WILLIAMS, 'Great Dunham church', *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 31 (1925), 114-18. Good architectural description. Details of construction of arcading and of tower arches. Claim for pre-Norman date also for

¹ J. F. Williams, *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd. ser., 31 (1925), 115.

the destroyed church of St Mary. The upper doorways are said to be triangular-headed; but they are, in fact, round-headed as stated in our text, with heads roughly formed of tiles which are laid in non-radial fashion (see Fig. 455).

A. W. CLAPHAM, 'Great Dunham', *Arch. J.* 106 (1949), 105. Brief architectural description, with plan.

DUNTISBOURNE ROUSE

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 157, reference SO 985060

ST MICHAEL

Chancel Norman; but nave earlier and possibly pre-Conquest

About 4 miles north-west of Cirencester, and separated by a steep valley from the Roman road to Gloucester, the small church of Duntisbourne Rouse is picturesquely situated on land that falls sharply towards the east. This situation has been used to advantage by the builders, in order to make place for a small chapel beneath the chancel. This is now entered only by an external south doorway, but was formerly connected to the nave by a flight of steps that led up westward from the chapel. The church is built of local stone; and it now consists of an aisleless nave and chancel, with a tiny, saddleback-roofed, west tower, a south porch, and the lower chapel beneath the chancel.

The windows of the chancel and of its lower chapel are of simple, early Norman character, and the round-headed chancel-arch is also straightforwardly Norman, of two moulded orders towards the nave and one towards the chancel. But the doorways in the side walls of the nave are of quite different, and much simpler, workmanship. That on the north has a simple flat head and is now blocked; but it has massive jamb-stones and seems to have been cut straight through the wall or to have been very slightly splayed internally. The south doorway is triangular-headed, and, although its massive jambs have later been roughly rebated and splayed for the hanging of a door, it still has a certain rude simplicity. No original windows have survived to help in the dating of the nave, but the side-alternate western

quoins are of very large stones, with great flat stones projecting westward at the top of each quoin, like those on the transepts at Breamore, Hampshire, presumably to support a beam across the foot of the gable. There are considerable areas of herring-bone masonry in the north wall, and all the walls are thin. In spite of the absence of clearly Anglo-Saxon features we think the nave may be regarded as of an earlier period than the chancel.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 34½ ft long internally, and about 13¼ ft wide, with walls 2 ft thick and about 11 ft high. The chancel is about 17½ ft by 11¼ ft internally with walls also about 2 ft thick except on the south where the wall is about 8 in. thicker.

DYMOCK

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 143, reference SO 700312

ST MARY

Three-cell Norman church, possibly incorporating Anglo-Saxon fabric in the lower parts of walls

About 12 miles north-west of Gloucester, beside the Roman road which leads to Leominster, the church at Dymock stands on high land on the south of the River Leadon. A priest is mentioned at Dymock in the Domesday Book, but it is difficult to be certain that any part of the present church was built before the Conquest. But the detail of some of the Norman work is unusual, as if it had arisen by adaptation of an earlier fabric, and we have therefore described these features briefly in the hope that the true history of the church may be worked out if further attention is given to it.

The church now consists of a buttressed west tower, a long nave with transepts and a south porch, a square compartment east of the transepts, and a long rectangular chancel. This complicated plan developed from a simple Norman three-cell church, by the addition of the western tower, by adding the transepts at the sides

of the nave, and by building a long, rectangular, Decorated chancel in replacement of a short Norman apse.

Throughout the nave and the square compartment at its east, the lower parts of the walls are of large blocks of squared stone, while the upper parts are of much rougher character, largely of re-used stone. It is therefore clear that the main fabric has suffered much rebuilding and that this has not been confined to the insertion of minor features.

The first group of unusual features is the system of pilaster-strips, which divide the walls into compartments about 7 ft in width. These are certainly not normal Norman buttresses; nor indeed are they normal Anglo-Saxon pilaster-strips; but their affinities are nearer to the Anglo-Saxon type, particularly in the detail of their construction. It should be noted that the pilasters are built of stones that are coursed with the main fabric of the wall, but that the projection has been formed by working the surfaces of individual stones, many of which continue in the main surface of the wall for considerable distances on either side of the pilaster.

The early Norman south doorway is the other principal feature which suggests that the main fabric of the south wall is pre-Norman. It seems clear that the doorway is a later insertion in the wall since its head cuts away two of the decorative pilaster-strips. If the door and the pilasters had been part of a single design, it seems difficult to believe that the pilasters would end lamely as they now do on the curved hood-moulding of the doorway.

Moreover, by comparison with the naves of other Norman three-cell churches, that at Dymock is unusually long in proportion to its width. This is a peculiarity which it would be easy to understand if the nave had been built in Norman times on walls which had in part survived from a pre-Conquest church.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 70 ft long internally, and 25 ft wide, with walls about 3 ft 6 in. thick and about 20 ft high. The pilaster-strips project 3 in. from the face of the wall and are 1 ft 2 in. in breadth.

EARLS BARTON

Northamptonshire

Map sheet 133, reference SP 852638

Figures 457, 458

ALL SAINTS

West tower: period C1

The tower of Earls Barton church is perhaps the most widely known and most frequently illustrated example of Anglo-Saxon architecture. The church has a commanding position beside an early fortified mound and ditch, on high ground beside the River Nene between Northampton and Wellingborough; and, in spite of considerable modern development in the neighbourhood, it has in no way been overshadowed. The west tower is all that remains from Anglo-Saxon times; but, from the fact that its long-and-short quoining is complete from the level of the ground on the eastern angles as well as the western, it may be deduced that, as at Barton-on-Humber and Broughton in Lincolnshire, the tower was the principal part of the church and whatever lay to the east was narrower. The present church has an aisled nave and aisleless chancel, which contain much excellent work of Norman and later periods, entirely worthy of the early tower to which they are attached.

The tower itself rises from a simple square plinth and its original part is of four decreasing stages, each separated from the one below by a string-course, and each elaborately decorated with strip-work and long-and-short quoining, which project boldly, even beyond the plastered face of the tower. The upper two string-courses are of plain square section; but the lowest is taller and more elaborate, with a deep hollow chamfer cutting away the lower part of the vertical face. The original capping of the tower has not been preserved, and above the fourth Anglo-Saxon stage there is now about 8 ft of Perpendicular walling, which includes a string-course and battlements.

Each face of the tower is enriched by a series of vertical pilaster-strips, about 5 in. in breadth, which rise from square corbels; in the lowest

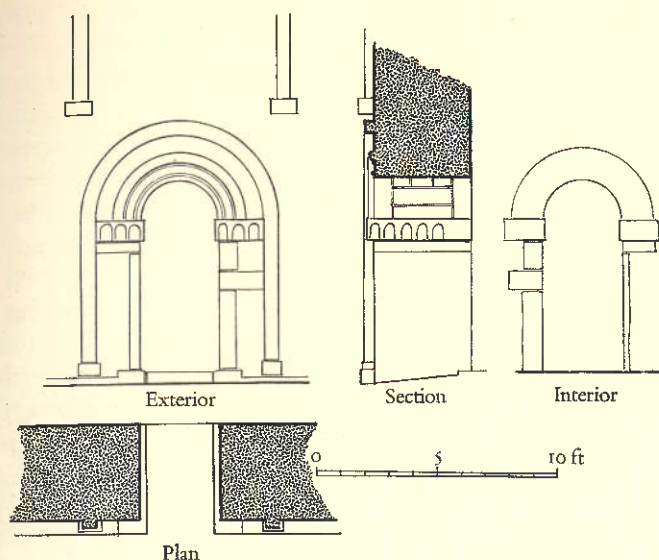


FIG. 99. EARLS BARTON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
Detail of the west doorway of the tower.

stage these corbels are set on the plinth, and in the upper stages they are set on the horizontal string-courses. On the lowest stage of the west front, however, the pilasters which frame the central compartment are not carried down to the plinth, but are stopped on corbels above the level of the sturdy, round-headed west doorway, which has its own outlining strip-work carried up its sides and round its head without any capital or impost to mark the change from straight sides to semicircular head. The doorway itself is an outstanding example of monumental stone-work. Its jamb-stones pass through the thickness of the wall and are laid in 'Escomb fashion', two stones forming the whole jamb on the north and three on the south. The square imposts are of impressive size and are ornamented on their vertical faces with a pattern of lightly incised arcading. Finally, the whole head of the doorway is formed internally from one enormous block of stone, and externally from two stones, which are not left plain like the jambs, but which are carved in the form of an outer semicircular strip and two inner small roll-mouldings slightly recessed below the outer strip. These great blocks of stone, which form the interior and exterior facings of the head of the doorway, do not, however, continue through the full thickness of the wall; but between them

is an area covered in a manner which is characteristic of the round-headed openings in this tower: instead of voussoirs set with radial joints, this area is covered by stones set with horizontal joints. The uppermost stone is therefore really a lintel, with part of the curve of the head cut in its lower face, and the two stones between it and the impost on either side are really corbels, with their exposed faces cut to the curve of the head; compare the doorway in Fig. 100.

Above the west doorway is a round-headed, internally splayed window, which is probably a later insertion, since the original provision for lighting the ground floor was clearly a pair of double windows of which one survives intact in the south face while the second is partly visible, although now blocked, in the west face. It seems probable that the partial destruction and blocking of the elaborate western double window dates from the insertion of the larger single window below it but above the west doorway. The jambs and sill of this single window seem to be of much greater antiquity than its head, and the window is therefore probably an insertion of late-Saxon or Norman times, but with a restored head of much later date.

The vestiges of the western double window, above, are of considerable interest, particularly

when taken in conjunction with the surviving southern double window. The round exterior heads of both lights of the western window are monolithic, and are carved on their archivolt faces to show three concentric raised mouldings on each head, together with a cross, also in relief, at the top of each head. It is of particular interest to note that, although the ornament on these window-heads closely resembles that on the heads of the southern double window, yet the western heads are semicircular in shape, in marked contrast to the segmental or three-centred shape of the southern heads. It is also of interest to note that the pilaster-strips beside the western double window run continuously up the face of the wall on either side of it, whereas on the south face of the tower the baluster shafts on either side of the double window are in the alignment, and take the place, of sections of the pilaster-strips. It seems most likely that the west window originally had three baluster shafts like those of its companion on the south, but that they were set in the face of the wall, where it is still possible to see how the two outer balusters could have stood close beside the surviving pilaster-strips, and would then have been appropriately placed to support the square imposts which carry the outer ends of the semicircular window-heads.

There are no openings in the lowest stage of the north face; but on the south, just below the first string-course, is the remarkable double window, already noted, whose two curved heads are each formed from a single stone cut below in a curve which is not a semicircle but rather a three-centred arch. The outer faces of these curved heads are each ornamented with small roll-mouldings and with a small cross carved in relief. The windows themselves contain vertical stone mid-wall slabs in each of which the actual window-opening is cut in the form of a single square-ended cross. The jambs of the windows are formed of upright slabs of stone, whose outer faces are hidden by three turned baluster shafts; and the windows are so placed that these balusters lie in the alignment of the three central pilaster-strips of the south face. The three balusters, however, stand forward from the face of the wall, resting on corbels and carrying corbels above, to support not only the

window-heads but also the short superimposed lengths of pilaster-strips. Immediately adjoining the window on the left is yet a further cross, carved in relief on a circular slab of stone, which stands out from the plastered face of the wall.

On the second stage two adjoining pilasters on the south face form the outer faces of the jambs of a tall round-headed doorway, whose sill rests on the string-course about 22 ft above the ground. The west face has a similar doorway, but now blocked, except for its round head. Both these round heads are formed in the manner described for the main west doorway, with horizontally coursed stones instead of radially set voussoirs. As though to repeat the motive of the round heads, both the south and west faces are further ornamented with arcades of semi-circular strips, which connect the feet of the main system of pilasters. The north face, by contrast, has neither a doorway nor the semicircular arcading. The east face of this stage was originally beneath the roof of the nave or chancel, and is accordingly without any decorative pilasters. It is, however, now partly visible over the less steeply pitched roof of the later nave, with a round-headed doorway giving access from the tower to the leads of the roof. The outer face of this doorway is not original, and even the inner face seems to have been much modified; but the position may be accepted as original, with the string-course at the top of the stage forming the imposts for the head of the doorway.

On the third stage, each of the four faces has a triangular-headed window; on the north, west and south faces, these openings rest on the string-course at the bottom of the stage; but on the east face the opening is placed much higher, near the top of the stage. In repetition of the triangular motive of those window-heads, all faces of this stage of the tower have the lower parts of their pilaster-strips linked by a system of St Andrew's crosses; which may also be looked upon as two rows of triangular-headed arches.

The topmost stage of the tower has in each face a remarkable belfry window of five openings, with rather stilted narrow round heads cut from five roughly square stones. These heads are supported, not by the customary mid-wall shafts, but by upright slabs of stone that run through the

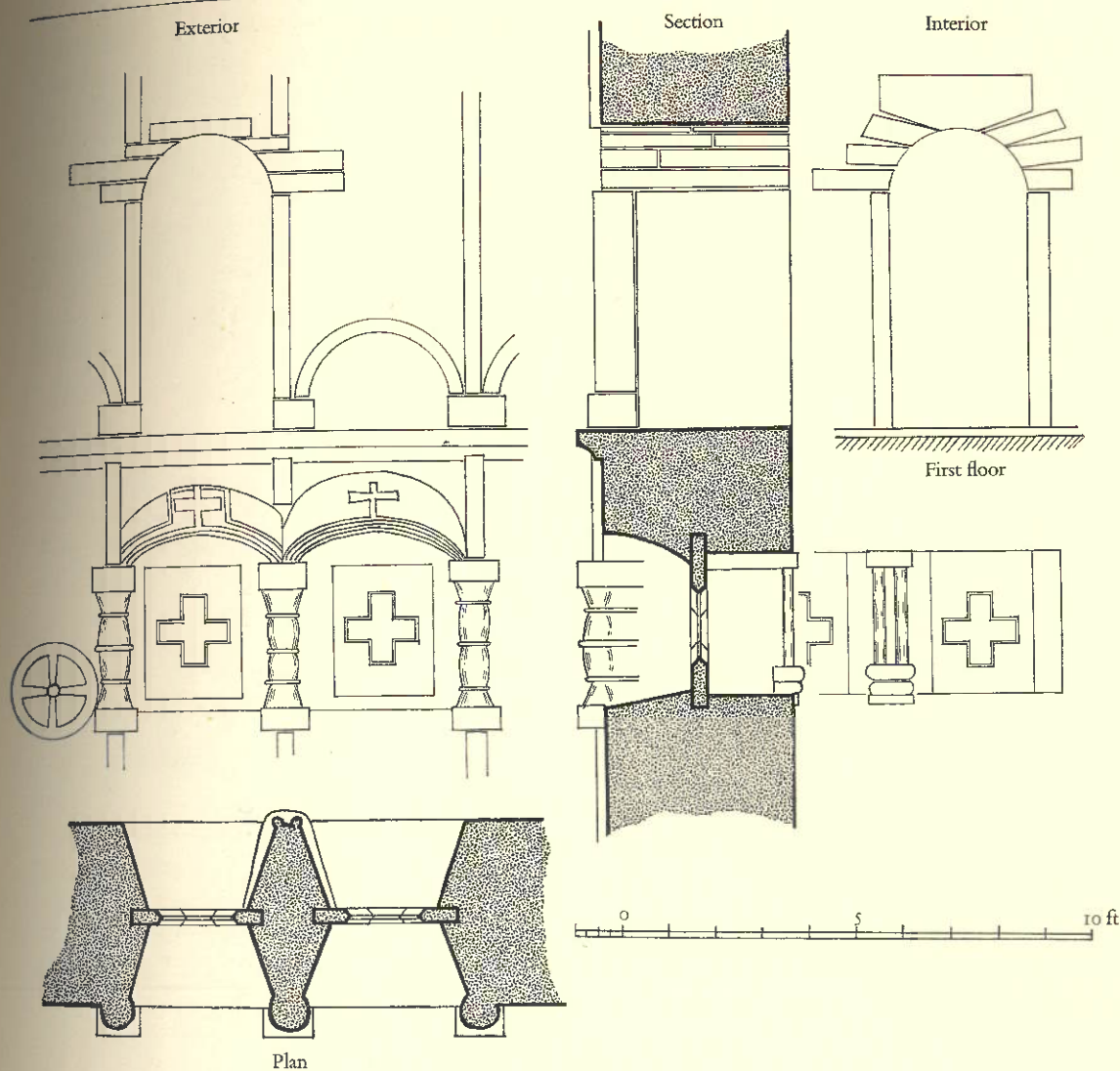


FIG. 100. EARLS BARTON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Details of the window and upper doorway on the south face of the tower. Compare Fig. 458, where it will be seen that the head of the doorway is of somewhat taller elliptical form than has been shown here.

thickness of the wall almost to the outer face, where their place is taken by turned baluster shafts. As on all the other stages, the eastern face is treated somewhat differently from the others, for its baluster shafts seem to be worked on the upright slabs of stone instead of being separate. Moreover, the two northern lights of this eastern window are a little lower than the others, so as to make room for a superimposed stone, which carries two circular openings, one above each of the two smaller windows.

Within the tower, the only further features of interest are the interior faces of the double win-

dows in the south and west walls of the ground floor. These are each treated as double, square-headed openings with plain plastered sills, jambs and heads; except that the vertical slab separating the windows of each pair is ornamented on its inner face with a projecting baluster carried between corbels above and below. In the south window this projecting shaft is in the form of two parallel half-round mouldings, whereas in the west window it is in the form of a turned baluster of the same bulbous shape as those in the outer face of the south window. The tower-arch is of Norman material, much rebuilt.

DIMENSIONS

At ground-level, the tower is about 16 ft square internally and about 24 ft square externally; but it is not quite correctly set out, and the north face is about a foot shorter. The walls are about 4 ft thick at the bottom, narrowing to about 2 ft 6 in. at the top.

The west doorway is 3 ft 3 in. wide and 8 ft 7 in. tall, to the crown, and the south doorway on the first floor is 2 ft 10 in. by 7 ft 5 in. The triangular-headed windows of the second floor are about 1 ft wide and about 4 ft tall, while the multiple belfry windows are about 7 ft wide, overall, by about 4 ft tall.

The total height of the Anglo-Saxon part of the tower, excluding the later top, is about 60 ft.

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- G. T. CLARK, 'The earthworks of Brinklow, Lilbourne, and Earls Barton', *ibid.* 35 (1878), 112-19. Earls Barton, 119.
- J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, 'Something about Saxon church building', *ibid.* 53 (1896), 293-351. Earls Barton, 335.
- C. A. R. RADFORD, 'Earls Barton church', *ibid.* 110 (1953), 196-7. Plan, historical and brief architectural description.
- V.C.H., *Northamptonshire*, 4 (London, 1937), 116-22. Pictures of church and mound, plan, detail of double window. Good architectural description.
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EBB'S NOOK

Northumberland

Map sheet 71, reference NU 239286

NO KNOWN DEDICATION

*Nave, chancel, and later western annexe:
period uncertain*

The interesting remains at Ebb's Nook, near Beadnell Harbour, were laid bare in 1853 by Mr Hodgson Hinde, and were described in 1854

by Mr Alfred Way. They are now once again safely covered by turf on drifted sand, and their site is marked by a notice erected by the Local Authority with the inscription:

Site of St Ebba's chapel. Founded about 660 A.D. Disused about 1680 A.D. Do not disturb.

When excavated by Mr Hinde, the walls stood up to 5 ft high in some places, and only 2 ft in thickness. They defined a chancel 12 ft square internally, opening to a nave of the same width

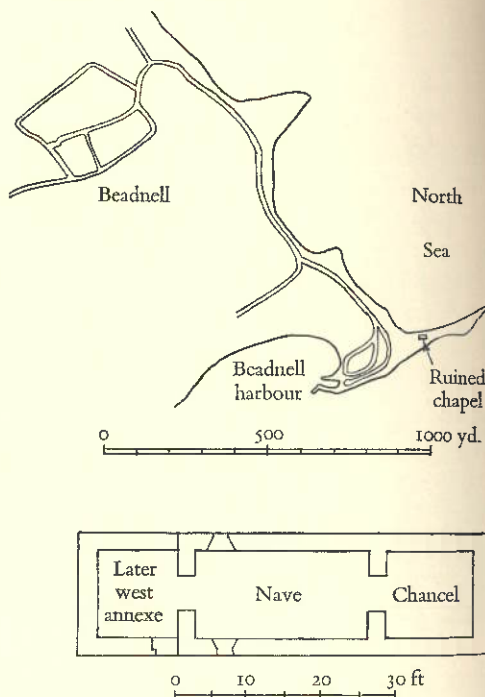


FIG. 101. EBB'S NOOK, BY BEADNELL, NORTHUMBERLAND

General site plan and ground plan of the ruined chapel.

and 23 ft in length. This had doorways near the west in each of its side walls, both doorways splayed and rebated for the hanging of doors. The doorway on the north was 'not arched but formed of two large stones placed upon the imposts and inclined against each other; the semicircular head of the opening being cut out of them. One of these stones remained, and fell from its place during the excavation.'

The openings from the chancel to the nave and from the nave to the west annexe were cut straight through the walls and were 5 ft 2 in. and

4 ft 8 in. in width, respectively. There were no vestiges of windows in the walls that had survived to that date. The building had apparently been roofed with stone slabs, many of which were found in the rubbish inside the chapel.

The western annexe was not in bond with the nave and was of much coarser rubble set in much less satisfactory mortar.

On the evidence now available it is not possible to say with certainty whether any part of this building is of the date of St Ebba, stepdaughter of Ethelfrith, king of Northumbria.

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A. WAY, 'Chapel near Ebb's Nook', *Arch. J.* II (1854), 410-12.

History of Northumberland, I, ed. E. Bateson (Newcastle, 1893), 320-2.

EDENHAM

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 123, reference TF 062218

Figures 459, 460

ST MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS

*South wall of nave, above Early English arcade:
period uncertain, but probably B*

Edenham is pleasantly placed in undulating fields, about 3 miles north-west of Bourne. Its church now consists of a tall Perpendicular west tower, an aisled nave with south porch, and an aisleless chancel.

An immediate indication of pre-Conquest Christian occupation is provided by a 3-ft section of a carved cross-shaft which is now kept in the tower. But evidence of the survival of pre-Conquest fabric *in situ* is to be seen in the south aisle, where the south face of the main wall of the nave, above the Early English arcade, contains two carved roundels, each of which is set above, and forms an integral part of, a plain square string-course. These sections of string-course in the eastern and western spandrels of the arcade seem to fix the main wall with certainty as an Anglo-Saxon wall through which the arcade was cut in the thirteenth century.

The roundels themselves are about 2 ft in dia-

meter, standing forward about 2 in. from the face of the wall. They are formed by cutting away parts of a plain stone circular disc so as to leave in relief a pattern which shows stems and leaves within a circular border. In the west roundel, four stems radiate from the centre, and curl round so that each encloses its leaf within a scroll. This internal pattern is entirely separate from the enclosing circular border which consists of two concentric half-round fillets.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 69 ft long and 18 ft wide internally, with side walls 2 ft 9 in. thick. The string-course is 15 ft above the floor and is 4 in. tall and 2 in. in projection.

REFERENCE

J. and H. M. TAYLOR, 'The Anglo-Saxon Church at Edenham', *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd ser., 26 (1963), 6-10.

EDGEWORTH

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 157, reference SO 948059

DEDICATION UNCERTAIN,
POSSIBLY ST MARY

Part of nave walls, including blocked north doorway: period C 3

About 5 miles north-west of Cirencester, the small church at Edgeworth has a wide view across the steep valley of the River Frome. The church has been much altered in the Middle Ages and rather cruelly restored last century, so that little remains of the original fabric. There is now a buttressed west tower, an aisleless nave with south porch, and an aisleless chancel. There are indications that the nave has been lengthened eastward, and, since the chancel contains Norman work, this would support a pre-Norman date for the western part of the nave, including the simple, blocked north doorway, which is in marked contrast to the well-developed, although early, Norman treatment of the south doorway.

The western jamb of the early north doorway has been callously overlaid by a chimney, and the doorway has been blocked to provide a heating-

flue. The eastern jamb is, however, visible externally, in well-defined 'Escomb fashion', with a single flat bonding stone between two tall uprights. The doorway is flat-headed externally with a lintel whose lower face is partly cut away, in a manner characteristic of several Cotswold churches, so that the head of the doorway is about 2 in. higher than the tops of the jamb-stones. Internally the doorway has a round, arched head; but both the arch and the east jamb are either modern or very heavily restored. The west jamb is, however, of very large stones which seem to be original.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 51 ft long internally by 17 ft 7 in. wide; but, if the indications of eastward extension may be accepted as reliable, the original length would have been about 33 ft and the lateral doorways would have been roughly in the centre of the side walls. The north wall is 2 ft 5 in. thick and the south wall 2 ft 11 in.

The north doorway is 3 ft 3 in. wide and 7 ft 8 in. tall internally, and only 2 ft 10 in. wide externally, so that it must have been rebated.

EGLETON

Rutland

Map sheet 122, reference SK 876075

DEDICATION UNKNOWN

South doorway and chancel arch: Saxo-Norman

The interesting church at Eggleton, about a mile and a half south-east of Oakham, is usually regarded as Norman and later;¹ but attention was directed to the early character of the unusual chancel-arch and south doorway by Sir Alfred Clapham in 1933.²

The south doorway is a square-headed opening, with a flat lintel, above which is a semicircular tympanum, recessed behind a semicircular arch and hood-moulding. The imposts are supported by angle-shafts which are illogically placed, not beneath the semicircular arch which they ought to support, but closer together, beneath a part of the

imposts on which no load is carried. The shafts are elaborately carved with overlapping scales, interwoven strands like basket-work, plaited strands, and figure-of-eight interlacing. The capitals are roughly of cushion shape, and are also elaborately carved, with palmette ornament round their curved faces and geometrical ornament on their vertical faces. The imposts have three-strand plaits along their vertical faces and cable-mouldings on their angles; and the tympanum has two beasts or dragons supporting a wheel-shaped ornament with cable-moulded rim and palmette spokes. The outer arch is Norman in character, with zig-zag ornament and diaper, but it does not fit the curve of the tympanum and therefore seems to be a later addition. Moreover, the hood-moulding outside this arch ends on beasts' heads, while further beasts' heads are placed, without any apparent reason, on either side of the tympanum. The lintel is also carved, with a curiously disordered pattern, generally resembling vine-scroll, and with cable-moulding along the salient angles.

The chancel-arch is round, of two orders, the outer square and the inner chamfered, without any carved ornament. The jambs have flat imposts, and angle-shafts on their west faces; and the imposts and shafts are enriched with carving which is generally similar to that of the south doorway.

ELMHAM (NORTH)

Norfolk

Map sheet 125, reference TF 987217

Figure 461

DEDICATION UNKNOWN

Ruins of a complete church, consisting of a west axial tower with south turret-stair; a nave flanked by two small towers; transepts; and a small apsidal chancel: period C2; possibly rebuilt on ruins dating from period A2

The ruins which now seem with reasonable certainty to be fixed as those of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral of Elmham lie behind an inn, a few hundred yards north of the parish church of

¹ *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 19 (1913), 75-83.

² *Arch. J.* 90 (1933), 399, and pl. xix.

North Elmham, which is itself about 5 miles north of East Dereham. A rectangular moated enclosure, with its longer axis east and west, is closely fitted round the church, in the south-west angle of a much larger square moated enclosure which has a tall mound in its north-west angle. The ruins were first excavated by the vicar in 1891, but their true significance was first appreciated by Mr T. Butterick, whose investigations were reported in *The Builder* for March 1903.

The general plan of the church is a Greek T, formed of an aisleless nave, crossed by a narrow transept, and completed by a semicircular apsidal

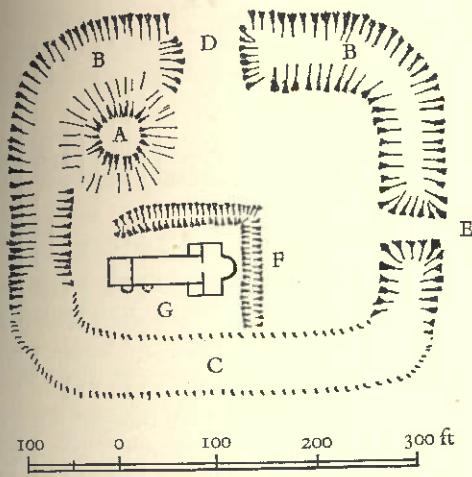


FIG. 102. NORTH ELMHAM, NORFOLK

General site plan. A, great mound; B, ditch; C, vestiges of ditch; D, entry, probably not original; E, original entry; F, later ditch; G, ruins of cathedral church.

chancel. A west tower, with walls about a foot thicker than those of the nave, continues the external line of the nave westward, and has at its south-east corner a semicircular stair-turret, several of whose stairs are still in good repair. In the western angles between the transepts and the nave, and with entries from the latter, are two small square projecting buildings, which could be small chapels, but which Clapham and Godfrey¹ regarded as having been towers, because their walls are a foot thicker than those of the nave, and because that on the north is still standing to a height of about 18 ft. No vestige of stairs can, however, now be seen in either tower.

The walls of the west tower and the south wall of the nave still stand to a height of about 8 ft, but the north wall of the nave is largely destroyed. Except for the east wall of the transept, which is marked only by foundations, the transept and east towers are well defined by standing walls, but very little remains of the apse, except its foundations, and small sections of the western part of its walls.

The walls of the building are made of coursed, roughly squared pieces of a brown aggregate known as carstone, and they stand on a well-formed square plinth of flint rubble. With a very few exceptions, the quoins and other facings are built of the same carstone as the wall, laid in blocks of the same average size, of about a foot; but pieces of limestone are used for the bases of the tower-arch, for the one remaining jamb of the north door of the transept, and for the quoins of the west tower. There are no remains of windows.

A peculiar feature of the building is the use of quarter-round shafts as a decorative feature in the four re-entrant angles at the west of the transepts and the towers.² The excavations carried out by Clapham and Godfrey in 1926 showed the same feature at the angles between the eastern wall of the transept and the projecting walls of the apse. Moreover, immediately adjoining the quarter-column in the northern angle, there was found on the north wall of the apse the complete base for a half-round column. In the absence of further remains of apse wall, it is, however, impossible to decide whether the whole curve of the apse was originally ornamented with these shafts or whether they occurred only in selected places.

The dates of the church and of the earthwork present a number of problems. The ground-plan, with its narrow transept and shallow apse, would fit the latter part of the seventh century, when Theodore divided the East Anglian see between Dunwich and Elmham. Butterick suggested that the original church dated from this period; that it was destroyed by the Danes when, as recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 870, 'the host rode across Mercia into East Anglia and took winter quarters at Thetford... and won the victory and slew the king (Edmund) and overran the entire kingdom [and destroyed all the monas-

¹ *Ant. J.* 6 (1926), 402-9.

² See Fig. 103.

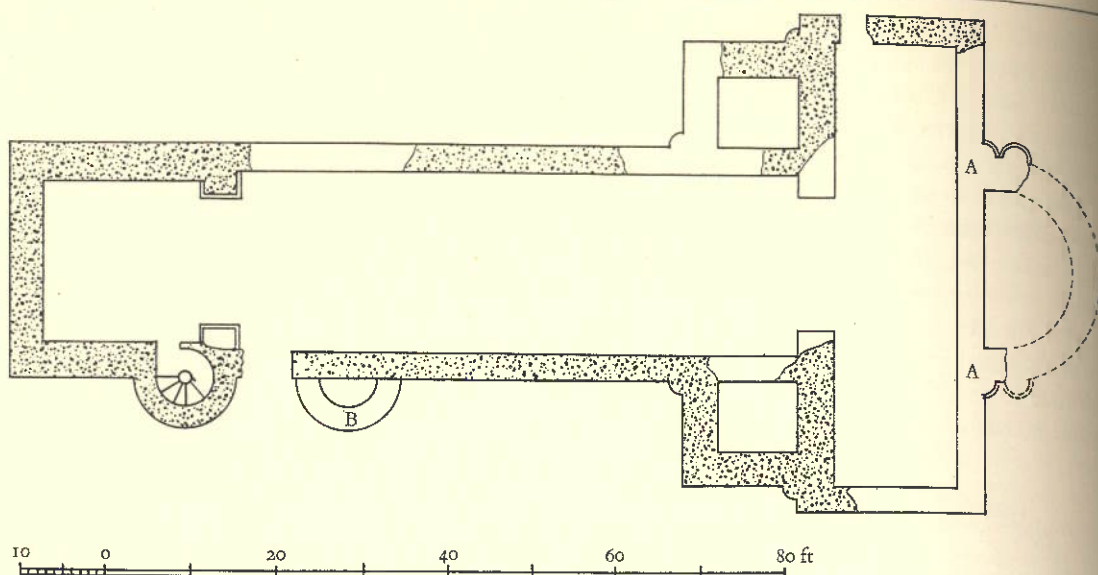


FIG. 103. NORTH ELMHAM, NORFOLK

Ground plan. A, foundations of ruined east wall and apse; B, post-Conquest staircase. The west tower and its stair-turret are probably of a later pre-Conquest date than the nave although they have not been distinguished in the plan.

teries to which they came]';¹ he suggested further that the earthwork within which the church is placed was first begun by the Danes, and that the whole area within it was raised by them about 5 ft, using the spoil from the ditch, and partially covering the ruins of the church. The arrangement of the church with three towers, however, suggests a much later date, since it has commonly been believed that bell-towers were not introduced into England before the ninth century, at the earliest. Butterick suggested that a slight change in masonry, and the re-use of older material at higher levels, indicated that the church had in fact been rebuilt at a later date; and he assigned the rebuilding and the provision of a tower or towers to the tenth century. He also suggested that at this period of rebuilding, the raised mound, which partially overlay the early church, was dug away in the region of the church, so as to restore the original ground-level in that area. After the Conquest, a new parish church on a grander scale was erected nearby, and the fortified enclosure surrounding the early church was further

strengthened by raising a mound in one corner in the usual Norman fashion, from which date there is reason to believe that the bishops had a residence within the enclosure. Bishop Henry Despenser obtained a licence in 1387 to fortify his manor at Elmham and it is thought that the demolition of the apse, and its partial removal by the digging of a subsidiary ditch, date from this period when Despenser adapted the old church to form a fortified house.

Clapham and Godfrey give much the same history, though with less detail, with less certainty that anything remains of earlier date than the tenth century, and with rather more inclination to regard the enclosure as a wholly Norman structure.

Excavations which have recently been carried out under the direction of the Ministry of Works have been claimed to show that the stone church is not earlier than the middle of the tenth century.² But a subsequent reappraisal of all the architectural evidence has been claimed to support an eighth-century date for the earliest stone fabric

¹ The original text of the chronicle does not include the words which are enclosed in square brackets and which were an insertion into the twelfth-century Peterborough version of the chronicle (D. Whitelock, *English Historical*

Documents (London, 1955), 177).

² S. E. Rigold, *North Elmham Saxon Cathedral* (London, H.M.S.O., 1960), 1, and 5-6. Also *Med. Arch.* 6-7 (1962-3), 67-108.

at North Elmham, and a date about the middle of the tenth century for the enlargement of the church by the addition of the transepts and apsidal east end.¹ We wish at present to reserve judgment on the date.

The internal divisions in the nave, and the projecting stair-turret at the south of the nave, all date from the use of the church as a residence after the Conquest. The projecting stair-turret at the south of the west tower is, however, a pre-Conquest stairway of similar construction to that in the western stair-turret at Brixworth. It should be noted particularly how the central newel has been formed separately from the treads, and how, although all the sections of the newel have been robbed away, their impressions remain clearly in the concrete rubble which supports the treads.

DIMENSIONS

The internal dimensions of the church are as follows: the tower is 19 ft by 18 ft 6 in., the nave 66 ft by 20 ft 6 in., the transept 14 ft 6 in. by 51 ft 6 in., and the apse 11 ft by 18 ft 6 in., the first dimension in each case being from east to west.

The walls of the nave, transepts, and apse are all about 3 ft in thickness, but the walls of the west tower and of the twin eastern towers are about 1 ft thicker.

REFERENCES

- T. BUTTERICK, 'Remains of a pre-Conquest church at North Elmham in Norfolk', *Builder* (14 March 1903), 267-70. Carefully reasoned account of the existing remains and of their history.
- R. HOWLETT, 'The ancient see of Elmham', *Norf. Arch.* 18 (1911-14), 105-28. Plan of ditch and mound; carefully reasoned argument for accepting North Elmham as the seat of the Saxon bishopric of Elmham.
- A. W. CLAPHAM and W. H. GODFREY, 'The Saxon cathedral of Elmham', *Ant. J.* 6 (1926), 402-9; reprinted in *Norf. Arch.* 23 (1927-9), 56-67. Results of excavation described in detail, with good plan and illustrations.

¹ C. A. R. Radford, 'The Bishop's throne in Norwich Cathedral', *Arch. J.* 116 (1959), 115-32, particularly 120.

² Bede, *H.E.*, II, 15, and IV, 5. *Dommoc* has commonly been identified with Dunwich; but S. E. Rigold (*J.B.A.A.*, 3rd ser., 24 (1961), 55-9) has given reasons for thinking it was near Felixstowe.

ELMHAM (SOUTH)

Suffolk

Map sheet 137, reference

TM 309826

DEDICATION UNKNOWN

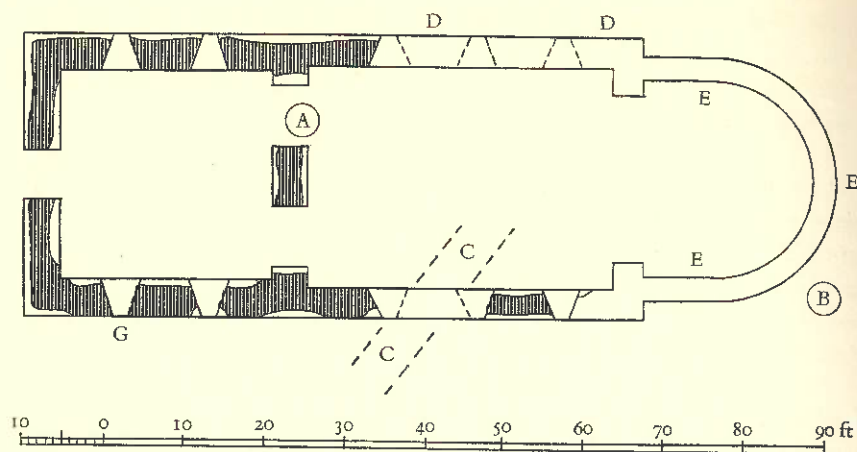
Ruins of western chamber, nave, and apsidal chancel; period A3 or B

At the turn of the century, argument raged hotly as to whether South Elmham in Suffolk or North Elmham in Norfolk was the place which had shared with *Dommoc* the distinction of having one of the two Anglo-Saxon cathedral churches of East Anglia, in the period from 673 to about the end of the ninth century.² It now seems to be reasonably certain that it was North Elmham which had the cathedral church; but this does not at all detract from the interest of the ruins of the Old Minster at South Elmham. During and since the period of the controversy, far less attention than is due seems to have been given to this building, which presents so many unusual features and is so difficult to date with certainty.

The ruins, lying in the area of the nine Elmham parishes, are not easy to locate; and, when we visited them in 1956 and 1957, were sadly overgrown. The best approach appears to be from Elmham St Cross by way of the Hall and then along a footpath to the interesting moated precinct of about 3½ acres, known locally as Minster Yard. This precinct is surrounded by a shallow ditch and a low bank planted with beech trees, which effectively screen the Old Minster and give its yard an air of mystery.³

The remains now consist of a rectangular area of uncut flint walling, roughly 76 ft long and 33 ft broad, with traces of foundations of an apse extending the ruins eastward to make an overall length of about 100 ft. At the west end the walls

³ The traditional use of the name Old Minster for the existing ruins does not imply the former existence of a cathedral; the four categories of churches established in the eleventh century were *high minsters* (or cathedrals), *minsters* (sometimes called *old minsters*), *lesser churches* with cemeteries, and *field churches* (see C. A. R. Radford, *R.P. Northants. A.A.S.* 59 (1953), 17).



Exterior and interior elevations of window G
showing how stone quoining has been
robbed from F

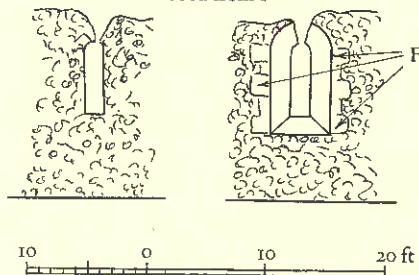


FIG. 104. SOUTH ELMHAM, SUFFOLK

A, B, trees growing in the ruined church; C, line of fallen tree; D, walls standing only a foot or two in height; E, outline of apse defined by foundations; F, toothing on the interior of the walls showing where stone quoining has been robbed from the jambs of the windows.

stand about 15 ft high, and the jambs of the western windows, two in the north and two in the south wall, as well as parts of the jambs and arched head of the west door, are still sharply defined, showing that the rather large, round-headed windows were splayed towards the inside only, and that the tall narrow door was cut straight through the wall, without recessing. The south wall stands to a considerable height for the whole length of the nave, and the rectangular area is divided by a well-defined cross-wall into a western area about 26 ft square internally and a nave of the same width but 40 ft in length. The western area, which may have been intended as a porch or chapel, is entered from the west by the doorway already mentioned, about 6 ft wide and 11 ft high, and the wall dividing it from the nave has two doorways separated by a central pier

about 8 ft wide, which, if the porch had been used as a chapel, would have served as the background for an altar. In each of the north and south walls of the nave there were formerly three windows, similar to those in the west chamber; until recently, the south wall was fairly complete, but now the part with the central window has fallen. At the east of the nave it is still possible to trace the southern jamb of the opening to the chancel, and to see that a solid sleeper wall runs right across the church under this opening. If the chancel was entered by a single arch, the position of the southern jamb fixes the span as about 21 ft, and, since this is unusually wide, it has been suggested that the heavy sleeper wall supported a triple chancel-arch as at St Pancras, Canterbury, and at several other early churches in the south of England.

B. B. Woodward, writing after a visit to the site in 1857,¹ recorded that he had been told by the steward of the estate that, although the Minster Yard had been ploughed and drained, the moat cleared and searched, and the interior of the church explored for a depth of 5 ft, no floor had been found within, nor had any trace of interments or any relics of antiquity been found either within or without. Woodward also drew attention to the holes which are still visible in the walls of the building for the support of scaffolding; and on these evidences against the completion and occupation of the church he suggested that it was a late-Saxon structure, which was in course of erection at the time of the Conquest, and was then abandoned and never completed.

But the characteristics of the building are on the whole more suggestive of an early Saxon than a late Saxon date; its windows have single splay, and its east end is apsidal; moreover there is the indication that the chancel-arch may have been triple. The walls of the nave are uniformly about 3 ft 10 in. thick and those of the apse are recorded as having been about 3 ft. Largely on the evidence of these thick walls, Baldwin Brown assigned the ruin to a Norman date; but the doorways cut straight through the walls do not easily fit this period, nor does the absence of dressed stone at the quoins and around the window-openings. Moreover, the excellence of the mortar suggests an Anglo-Saxon rather than a Norman date, and it must be remembered that the walls of the early Anglo-Saxon church at Brixworth are no less thick than these.

We incline to the view expressed by R. Howlett,² that the Old Minster at South Elmham was begun at a period when the Danes were active or becoming active in East Anglia; that it was placed for defence within the existing moat and rampart, which were either made for the purpose or already existing; and that, in spite of these precautions, the building of the church was stopped by the Danish invasion. The early Anglo-Saxon

characteristics and the unfinished and unoccupied state of the church would both fit this hypothesis, which would place the church in period A3 or B.

DIMENSIONS

The western porch and the nave are each 26 ft in width internally, and together represent a rectangular area 70 ft in length. The apse is 24 ft 5 in. wide and 21 ft 3 in. deep; and the overall length of the ruin is just over 102 ft. The walls of the nave and west porch are of a uniform thickness of 3 ft 10 in., and those of the chancel are 3 ft.

Two windows are sufficiently preserved to fix their internal dimensions as 5 ft in width by about 9 ft in height, narrowing to an aperture 1 ft 10 in. by 5 ft 10 in. in the exterior face of the wall. Externally their sills are 7 ft above the present level of the ground. The western doorway is 6 ft wide and 11 ft tall, and the twin doorways from the western porch to the nave are each about 6 ft 9 in. wide.

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- H. HARROD, 'On the site of the bishopric of Elmham', *ibid.* 7-13.
- J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, 'Something about Saxon church building', *Arch. J.* 53 (1896), 293-351. South Elmham, 317.
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- N. PEVSNER, *Suffolk (The Buildings of England)* (London, 1961), 396.

¹ *P. Suff. Inst. Arch.* 4 (1874), 1-7.

² *Norf. Arch.* 18 (1911-14), 105-28.

ELSTED

Sussex

Map sheet 181, reference SU 816197

Figure 462

ST PAUL

*North and west walls of nave; chancel-arch:
period C3*

In 1848 this pleasant little church, about 5 miles east-south-east of Petersfield, together with the churches of the neighbouring parishes of Treyford and Didling, was abandoned in favour of a new structure which had been built midway between Elsted and Treyford as a 'cathedral of the Downs'. By the early years of the twentieth century, the nave of Elsted church had become a roofless ruin of which only the east and north walls, and parts of the west and south walls, remained; while the chancel was in use for occasional services. Towards the close of the Second World War it was found that the pretentious church erected a century earlier was almost beyond repair, and the sensible decision was taken to bring the ancient parish churches back into use once more.

At Elsted, the work of repair was carried out between 1952 and 1957, and the church now consists of the restored nave and chancel, with a modern porch and vestry flanking the nave on the south. The original north and east walls of the nave, and the early parts of the west wall, are of distinctive, herring-bone construction, of chalk rubble. The north wall is only 2 ft 4 in. thick, but contains two simple round-headed Norman arches which are now blocked but which formerly opened to a north aisle. These arches are almost certainly later insertions in an earlier wall, since they are separated by a solid section of the herring-bone walling and have long, but unequal, sections of herring-bone walling to the east and west. Moreover, the wall in which they stand would be exceptionally thin for a Norman wall.

The chancel-arch, of plain square section, is distinctly stilted. It has plain square jambs, and simple, chamfered imposts, which are returned for short distances along the walls facing the nave and

chancel. Neither the jambs nor any of the stones of the arch are through-stones.

The quoins of the nave are hidden by buttresses or other later work, except that to the north-east, which is of ashlar construction, without any very definite character that would serve to fix its date.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 30 ft 8 in. long internally, and 17 ft 9 in. wide. Its original north wall is 2 ft 4 in. thick and about 20 ft high. The chancel-arch, in a wall only 2 ft 2 in. thick, is 7 ft 8 in. wide and 14 ft 9 in. tall to the crown of the arch, although the tops of its imposts are only 9 ft 9 in. above the floor.

REFERENCE

H. L. JESSEP, *Anglo-Saxon Church Architecture in Sussex* (Winchester, undated), 50-1. Church described in its ruinous condition.

ESCOMB

County Durham

Map sheet 85, reference NZ 189301

Figures 463, 464

ST JOHN

Complete church of nave and chancel: period A

Before the age of coal-mining, Escomb must have been a beautiful village, on the banks of the River Wear, about a mile upstream from Bishop Auckland and accessible, as at present, only by the steep, narrow road that leads down through the village to the water's edge. The whole district suffered severely in the nineteenth-century mining development, but in recent years has recovered some of its former rural tranquillity.

The church of St John is perhaps the most complete small Anglo-Saxon church now standing, its only rivals for this distinction being Odda's Chapel at Deerhurst and St Laurence's Church at Bradford-on-Avon. Unlike these two, however, Escomb church, in its circular churchyard, has been in continuous use as a church since Anglo-Saxon times, except for a short interval in the nineteenth century, when a new church was built at the top

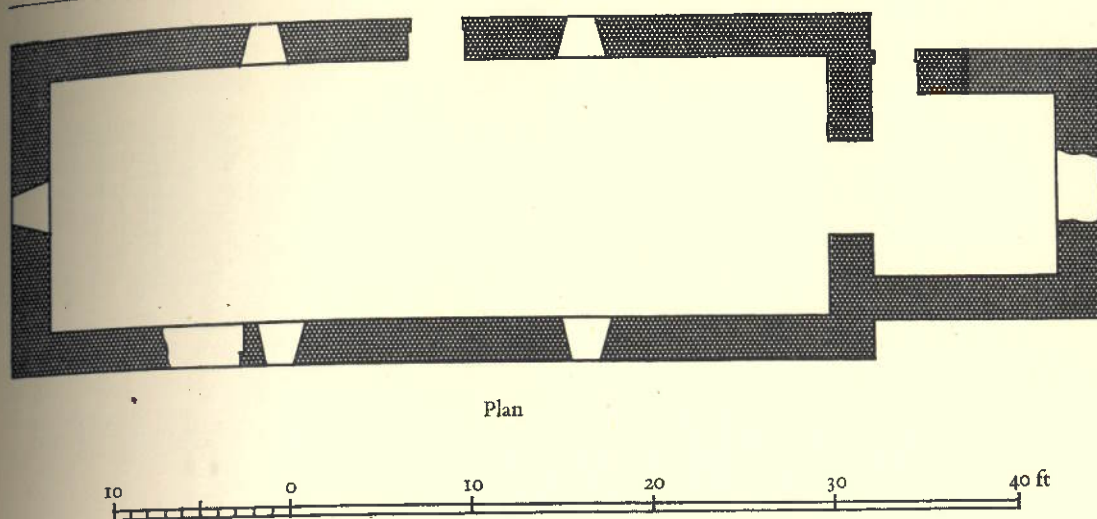


FIG. 105. ESCOMB, COUNTY DURHAM

of the hill and the old church was allowed to lie derelict and partly unroofed from 1863 until 1867. The early character of the church was not appreciated until it was recognized by the Rev. R. E. Hooppell and described by him to members of the Durham and Northumberland Archaeological Society in 1879.¹ The church is not mentioned by Bede, who lived close at hand at Jarrow, and it has therefore been argued that it is unlikely that it was built until after his death in 735; but this is by no means a valid deduction, because Bede named churches only when they were associated with events which he was recording. The early character of the building and its resemblance to other early work in Northumberland and Durham suggest that it was built in period A2 or A3, of which the latter would be consistent with a date after Bede's death.

Apart from the insertion of five medieval windows and the alteration of the south doorway, of which the eastern jamb alone is perhaps original, the body of the church stands now as it was built about twelve hundred years ago, a long rectangular nave, with five small windows high up in its lofty walls, and a small square chancel, entered through an arch of outstanding dignity.²

The narrow and lofty proportions of the nave are at once apparent even from outside the church, and the impression which they give of great antiquity is confirmed by the massive side-alternate quoins and by the very simple construction of doors and windows. The four original windows in the side walls of the nave, with sills about 13 ft above the ground, are now glazed near the outer face of the wall and are splayed internally to about twice their exterior size. All four of these windows are identical in construction: a large rectangular stone forms the sill; two narrower rectangular slabs of stone form the jambs, which slope slightly together, so that the opening narrows towards the top; and a single rectangular lintel larger than the sill forms the head. The two north windows have flat heads, while those on the south have round heads cut in the lower face of the lintel. High up in the west gable of the nave, with its sill about 26 ft from the ground, a similar round-headed window has its head cut in an exceptionally massive rectangular lintel, and each of its jambs formed from two stones instead of one. The west wall also shows clearly the lines of the steeply pitched roof of a western annexe of some sort, now destroyed.

¹ J.B.A.A. 35 (1879), 380.

² Mr Hooppell seemed to imply that the south porch is original, in support of which suggestion he drew attention to the stone benches formed of massive blocks like those

of the main fabric, with marks of Roman tooling. It is, however, much more likely that the porch is a post-Conquest addition, built with stone from a former western annexe, to which reference is made below.

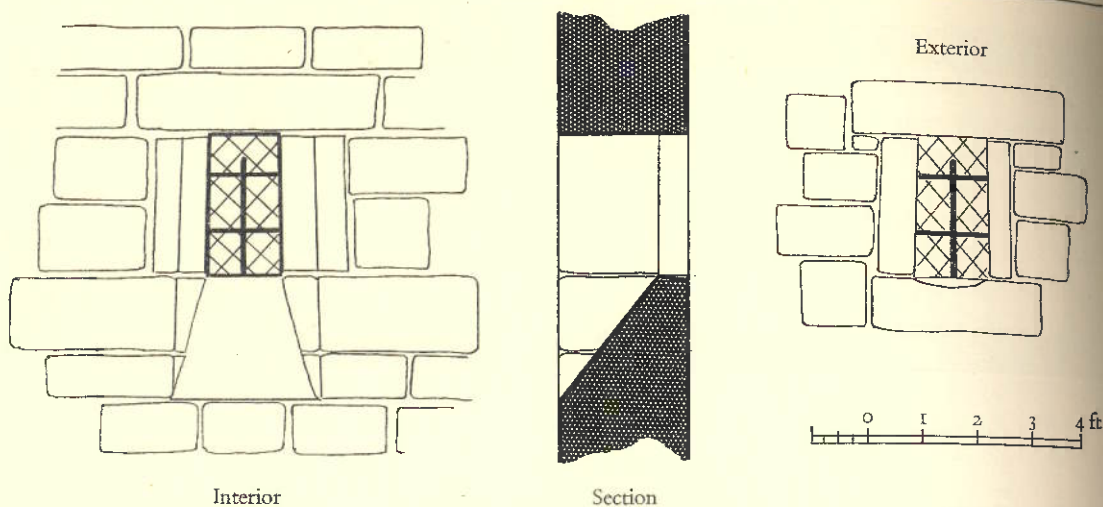


FIG. 106. ESCOMB, COUNTY DURHAM
Details of the eastern window on the north side of the nave.

On the north are two original, square-headed doorways, that in the nave still in use, and that in the chancel now blocked. The jambs of these doorways do not pass straight through the wall, but are rebated for the hanging of their doors in the middle of the wall, where the north door of the nave hangs to this day. The jambs of the doorway of the chancel are of single, tall stones, while those of the north door of the nave are of three stones, two laid upright, and one laid flat between them to bond them into the wall. It should also be noticed how the upper stone of each jamb of the door of the nave is mortised into the lintel, in a fashion suggesting woodwork rather than masonry. The very different treatment of these two doorways suggests that they are of different dates, that in the nave being part of the original structure, and that in the chancel a later insertion, but still in Anglo-Saxon times.

High up in the south wall of the nave, between the heads of the two original windows, is an Anglo-Saxon sundial, almost certainly the oldest now in its original setting in the walls of a building. The dial is almost a complete circle, standing forward from the surface of the wall, and outlined by an ornamental border in still higher relief; over the top and down the sides, this border takes the form of a serpent, and round the bottom of the circumference the border is in the form of a plait. Three lines may be seen on the dial, although

now very faint, one vertically downward, and the others at 45° on either side. The hole for the gnomon is also visible, coated internally with lead. Above the dial, and apparently forming part of the same decorative feature, is a projecting animal's head; of tall, narrow and very conventionalized cubical form.

Internally, by far the most impressive feature is the tall, narrow chancel-arch, of which the jambs and head are formed of stones that pass through the full thickness of the wall. The jambs are of stones laid alternately upright and flat in the way now conveniently described as 'Escomb fashion', and the semicircular arch itself is formed of well-cut voussoirs with radial joints. The imposts do not project on the east and west faces of the wall, but on the soffit face they have a square projection, chamfered below. It may be noticed that the southern impost has been cut from a stone which is thicker than the impost itself, and that the lower part of the face of the stone has been cut to form part of the vertical face of the jamb; Baldwin Brown (p. 140) compared this unusual feature with similar work in one of the gateways of the fort of Chesters on the Roman wall, and used this similarity to support his suggestion that this archway, like the tower-arch at Corbridge, was removed bodily from a Roman building, in this case probably from the neighbouring fort of *Vinovia* (Binchester). In further support of this

suggestion it will be noted that a great many of the stones of the building show Roman tooling.¹

The construction of the inner faces of the Anglo-Saxon windows is of great interest when viewed from the interior. The round heads of the two south windows are seen, like those of the west window at Corbridge, to be cut from two stones: one of these in each window has already been noticed as a square stone forming the outer head of the window, the other extends through the greater part of the wall and is about 6 ft or 7 ft in length along its inner face. The upright stones which formed the outer faces of the jambs are seen from the interior to extend through the full

DIMENSIONS

Internally, the nave measures 43 ft 6 in. by 14 ft 6 in. and its walls are 2 ft 4 in. thick and about 23 ft high; the chancel is about 10 ft square; and the chancel-arch is 5 ft 3 in. wide and 15 ft high, measured from the floor of the nave. The church is built of large, roughly dressed, squared stones, with particularly large quoin-stones, many of which are up to 2 ft in height and between 3 ft and 4 ft in length along the wall-face. Towards the eaves the size of the stones of the walling decreases markedly, but not the size of the quoin-stones.

The dimensions of the windows are as follows:

| | Exterior faces | | | Interior faces | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|--------|
| | Width of aperture | Height of aperture | Height of sill above ground | Width | Height |
| | ft in. | ft in. | ft in. | ft in. | ft in. |
| Round-headed south windows | 1 3 | 2 8 | 13 2 | 2 5 | 5 7 |
| Square-headed north windows | 1 3 | 2 6 | 13 0 | 2 5 | 4 10 |
| Round-headed west window | 1 3 | 3 6 | 25 9 | 3 0 | 4 3 |

thickness of the wall and to rest on large flat stones, which form the remaining lower part of the jambs, beside the downward inner slope of the sill. It is of particular interest to note that the jambs still show the vertical grooves which held the original wooden shutters, near the outer face of the wall but inside the line of the present glazing. The square-headed windows in the north wall are of roughly similar construction, except that their flat lintels extend as one stone through the full thickness of the wall.

The church as now seen, and as described above, is almost without ornament, but that its builders, or others working in the same district, were able to make carved stones of great merit has been shown by fragments that were recovered during the restoration of the church in 1880. Built into the gables, no doubt at earlier restorations, there were found to be a number of delicately carved fragments of cross-shafts of the high quality commonly assigned to the Hexham school.²

The rebate in the north doorway of the nave is 2 in. in depth round the jambs and the head, and is placed about 8 in. from the outer face of the wall. The doorway narrows toward the top, and its dimensions internally are 5 ft 9 in. in height and 3 ft in width at the top, widening to 3 ft 4 in. at the floor.

The sundial is placed mid-way between the two south windows, about 16 ft above the ground, and the dial measures 1 ft 7 in. from side to side.

REFERENCES

- R. E. HOOPPELL, 'On a perfect Saxon church at Escomb in the County of Durham', *J.B.A.A.* 35 (1879), 380-4. Plan, perspective and elevation drawings, with details of doors, windows, and sundial. Mr Hooppell's claim to be the discoverer of the Saxon character of this church.
- W. H. D. LONGSTAFFE, 'Escomb church', *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., 8 (1879), 281-6. Church described in detail. Mention of cross-shaft, of Hexham school, built into north end of east gable of nave.

¹ A re-used Roman stone near the east of the exterior north wall of the nave shows the lettering VI LBG, now set upside down in the wall. It is known that the sixth legion served in this district.

² *P. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, 2nd ser., 2 (1885), 96-7. Moreover, the sundial constitutes an ornamentally carved stone *in situ*.

- C. LYNAM, 'Escomb church, Bishop Auckland', *J.B.A.A.* 43 (1887), 44-6. Brief description, with sketches.
- Editorial, 'Escomb Saxon church', *P. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, 2nd ser., 2 (1885), 96-7. Good drawing of carved stone, of Hexham school, from east gable of nave.
- Editorial, 'Escomb', *ibid.*, 2nd ser., 7 (1895), 53-63. Pictures of church before and after repair. Plan, showing foundations to the west of the church and doorway at a lower level. Account of the work, by Mr R. J. Johnson, who superintended the repairs.
- C. C. HODGES, 'Escomb church, Durham', *Illustrated Archaeologist*, 1 (1893-4), 225-36. Detailed description, with plans and drawings. Foundations of original western annexe remain in part, 236.
- C. C. HODGES, 'The pre-Conquest churches of Northumbria', *Reliquary*, n.s., 8 (1894), 65-83. Escomb, 65-9. Good architectural description and brief historical note.
- J. F. HODGSON, 'The churches of Escomb, Jarrow, and Monkwearmouth', *T. Durham Northd. A.A.S.* 6 (1906-11), 109-87. Escomb, 109-30. Detailed architectural description, with many drawings. Church compared with early Irish churches.

FAKENHAM MAGNA

Suffolk

Map sheet 136, reference TL 910765

ST PETER

Eastern parts of side walls of nave: period C3

About 5 miles south-south-east of Thetford, the tall tower of this church forms a prominent landmark, close beside a wide bend in the main road to Ixworth. At first sight the church is all of the Decorated period, a simple, aisleless building with a nave and chancel of the same width, and a tall, graceful tower.

There is, however, clear evidence that the church began before the Conquest, with a nave and a narrower chancel; that the nave was altered in Norman times by extending it westward, or by rebuilding its western part; and that the church assumed its present form only in the fourteenth century by the building of a new and larger chancel outside the former one, by the piercing of the Decorated windows through the walls of the nave, and by the erection of the tower.

The evidence for the pre-Conquest character of the nave is given by the survival of its eastern quoins, in excellent long-and-short technique. The

south face of the south-east quoin is fully visible, except for a few inches at the bottom. It rises to a height of about 13 ft, showing four well-defined long-and-short pairs, above which the remaining couple of feet of quoining are of random character. The north-east quoin is partially hidden by a modern north vestry but, nevertheless, it shows four well-defined pairs and one further upright, to a total height of 15 ft. Beneath this quoin, and

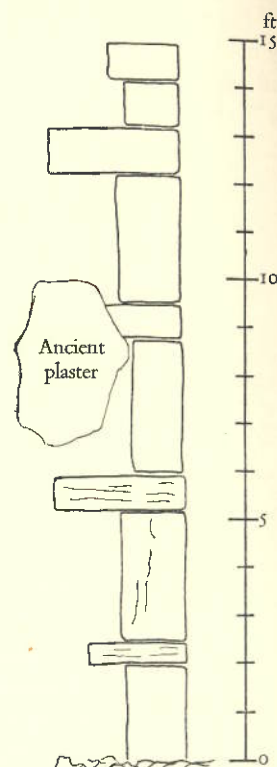


FIG. 107. FAKENHAM MAGNA, NORFOLK
The south-east quoin of the nave.

running westward for some feet, is a well-preserved plain flint plinth of square section. No such plinth is at present visible on the south, where the ground appears to have risen some inches.

There appears to be a change in texture in the flint walling, about 16 ft to the west of these quoins, and in the later western part of each of the north and south walls there may be seen a tall, narrow, round-headed early Norman window, with jambs and pseudo-arched head in well-dressed ashlar. It seems hard to believe that the original nave would have been as short as 16 ft

externally, and it would therefore follow that for some reason the western part of the nave was rebuilt in early Norman times.

DIMENSIONS

The original nave is 20 ft 4 in. wide internally, with side walls 2 ft 10 in. thick and about 15 ft high.

The eastern quoins comprise 'longs' averaging over 30 in. in height and 'shorts' averaging 8 in. in height and about 30 in. in horizontal length.

FAREHAM

Hampshire

Map sheet 180, reference SU 582065

ST PETER AND ST PAUL

*Side and east walls of chancel, now used as
Lady Chapel: period C*

The church of St Peter and St Paul at Fareham is by no means one of the major examples of pre-Conquest architecture, but, as will be seen from the following notes, we find it both more attractive and also less problematical than would be supposed from any of the descriptions which we have read elsewhere. The church stands on rising ground on the west side of the main road A32, immediately opposite the minor road which forks north-east to Boarhunt.

Most of the present church dates from the eighteenth century, or later, including the chancel, tower, transepts, and fine, spacious, well-lit, aisled and galleried nave; but by good fortune the many reconstructions have spared the lower walls of the chancel of the pre-Conquest church, which now forms part of the Lady Chapel, flanking the present chancel.

Of the present Lady Chapel, about 43 ft long and 16 ft wide internally, only the eastern part, of about 20 ft in internal length, represents the pre-Conquest chancel, the remainder being a thirteenth-century westward extension. The junction between the early and the later work may clearly

be seen beside the Early English north door, not only by a change in the fabric and by a vertical straight joint, but also much more clearly by a change in the thickness of the walling, which in the Anglo-Saxon eastern part is only 27 in. by contrast with a thickness of about 39 in. in the thirteenth-century addition.

It is perhaps worth while here to correct an error into which both Baldwin Brown and the Greens seem to have been led by their having failed to notice that only the eastern part of the Lady Chapel represents the pre-Conquest fabric.¹ They regarded the whole of the lower walling of the Lady Chapel as being of pre-Conquest date, and argued that, since 43 ft would clearly be unduly long for a chancel of that date, it must therefore have been the nave of the Anglo-Saxon church. They noted, but gave no explanation for, the absence of any sign of an opening in the east wall, as a means of access from the supposed nave into a chancel. The explanation is immediate, namely, that there was no opening, as may be verified on the site, because the existing remains are those of a *chancel*, about 16 ft wide and 20 ft long internally, with walls 2 ft 3 in. thick, and now surviving to a height of about 6 ft.

The north-east quoin² has survived in this early walling, to about the same height, and shows four well-defined long-and-short pairs of quoin-stones. It is also quite easy to distinguish the rough, flint-rubble fabric of the original Anglo-Saxon walling from the finer, and more carefully laid, flints above. It is now impossible to say whether the south-east quoin has survived behind a modern buttress, or whether it has been removed in order to give a better bonding between the original east wall and that of the later chancel.

Internally, there are no pre-Conquest features, but there is no reason to doubt that the thin dividing wall between the Lady Chapel and the later chancel is of the same pre-Conquest date as the other two walls.

DIMENSIONS AND REFERENCES

These have been fully given in the text and footnotes.

¹ Baldwin Brown (1925), 453; A. R. and P. M. Green, *Saxon Architecture and Sculpture in Hampshire* (Winchester, 1951), 15.

² V.C.H., *Hampshire*, 3 (London, 1908), 214, refers to a long-and-short *south-west* quoin, but this must be an error.

FETCHAM

Surrey

Map sheet 170, reference TQ 149555

ST MARY

*Nave, and possibly part of chancel:
period C*

About 2 miles south-west of Leatherhead, the small church of Fetcham has a delightful setting in the extensive grounds of Fetcham Park. The church now consists of an aisled nave with modern north porch, a long chancel with transeptal north chapel and modern north vestry, and a twelfth-century tower, at the east of the south aisle. The fabric is of flints, and in the west wall it is not difficult to distinguish the outline of the original, aisleless nave, from the later work in the west walls of the aisles.

The original, aisleless nave and small square chancel seem to have remained unchanged until about the middle of the twelfth century, when an arcade of three round arches was opened into a south aisle. Later, the tower was added at the east of this aisle, and then, in the thirteenth century, the chancel was lengthened, and the north transept and north aisle were added. In the eighteenth century, the south aisle became ruinous and was demolished; it was rebuilt in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the north porch and north vestry were also added.

Two distinctively pre-Conquest features have survived in the nave, namely, the western quoins, and the south window, which is partially cut away by the central arch of the Norman south arcade. The south-west quoin has survived almost intact, partly of flint, but mainly of Roman tiles, with the west wall of the aisle meeting the old work in a straight vertical joint. The north-west quoin has been much more severely cut about by later work, but it has survived in part. The south window is a small, round-headed, internally splayed opening, without any external rebate or splay for the fixing of a shutter or glass. Its outer face is wholly constructed of tiles, which are neatly laid to face the jambs and to arch the head. The construction of its inner face is hidden by

modern plaster, except for the head, which, like the exterior, is neatly arched in tiles.

No details of early work are visible in the chancel.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 34 ft long internally and 20 ft wide, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick and about 22 ft high. The south window is 8 in. wide externally by 2 ft 5 in. tall, splayed internally to become about 4 ft wide by 6 ft tall, with its interior sill about 13 ft above the floor.

REFERENCES

- P. M. JOHNSTON, 'Stoke d'Abernon Church', *Surrey Arch. C.* 20 (1907), 1-89. Stoke d'Abernon compared with Fetcham, 11-13. Plan, and details of Fetcham, 12.
J. G. W. LEWARNE, *Fetcham Church Guide* (Leatherhead, 1956). Architectural and historical description.

FLIXTON

Suffolk

Map sheet 137, reference TM 312866

ST MARY

*The pre-Conquest tower was completely rebuilt in
1861: originally period C*

Of the two Flixtons in Suffolk, the church of one, near Oulton, was destroyed by a hurricane in 1703, and never rebuilt, while the other, near Bungay, was so drastically restored by Salvin in 1861 that nothing remains of the original fabric except the Early English north arcade. It is, however, an extraordinary fact that the tower was rebuilt in pseudo-Saxon style, with a German-helm roof, like that at Sompting. The following description of the tower before its rebuilding is copied from the Rev. A. Suckling's *History and Antiquities of the County of Suffolk* (London, 1846):

The church of Flixton comprises a square tower, a nave with north aisle, and a ruined chancel. The tower is by far the most ancient part of the edifice, being unquestionably of Anglo-Saxon construction. It is built entirely of uncut flints, laid in rude horizontal courses, and is at present entered from the body of the church through an arch in its eastern wall, enlarged about the time of Henry the Third, if we may judge from the fashion of the pillars which sustain it.

The original entrance was beneath a low triangular-headed arch on the western side, which has recently been discovered by the removal of plaster from its interior face.

On each side of the lower part of the tower is a circular aperture, equally splayed inside and out. A stage higher we have on the west a circular-headed window, splayed at the sill but not in the jambs or the arch. In the next stage, on each side, is a circular-headed window, deeply splayed within, so as to leave but a small narrow aperture in the external face of the wall. The jambs of these windows are very far from the vertical, inclining towards the arch and being wider towards the bottom.

On each side of the belfry is a balustre window. The balustre is a cylinder of equal thickness throughout, and is surmounted by the ordinary Norman cushion capital. The arches and jambs of the windows are made up of rag and flint, and here and there a large smooth pebble. The outside face of the arch, with part of the soffit adjoining, is coated with rough-cast.

The tower leans fearfully towards the south-west, in consequence of the subsidence of its foundations. At what time this took place is unrecorded, but it evidently occurred after the thirteenth century, as the pillars of the arch in its east wall, constructed about that period, are thrust out of the perpendicular by the declination of the tower.

Suckling's account of the church includes a picture of one of the belfry windows, and is therefore a valuable record of one of the early towers which were swept away in the nineteenth century.

FORNCETT ST PETER

Norfolk

Map sheet 137, reference TM 166928

Figure 465

ST PETER

Round west tower, part of west wall of nave, and possibly south wall of chancel: period C3

The church and rectory of St Peter at Forncett stand at the end of a long avenue, amid fields, beside a tributary of the Yare, about 10 miles south-south-west of Norwich and 2 miles to the west of the Roman road which runs from Norwich to Ipswich. In its present form the church con-

sists of a round west tower, an aisled nave, and an aisleless chancel, all built of flint rubble, with dressed-stone facings.

Pre-Conquest work is immediately recognizable in the tower and the adjoining west wall of the nave, in which a vertical straight joint marks the original width of the nave, before its widening and reconstruction in the Perpendicular period. The tower is unusually rich in early openings, most of which have retained their original form. The pseudo-Norman west doorway and the cushion capital and round-arched heads of the western double belfry window are, however, Victorian insertions, in replacement of Perpendicular facings which are shown in Ladbroke's drawing of the church in 1823.¹ Apart from the battlemented parapet of cut flints, the tower is of Anglo-Saxon workmanship throughout, and close below the parapet is an unusual row of no less than eight evenly spaced, circular, double-splayed windows. Next below come the four double belfry windows, of which all but the western one have double triangular heads, formed of flint rubble like the walls themselves. The window-heads are carried by thin imposts and by plain rectangular through-stone slabs, which are supported on tall cylindrical mid-wall shafts, each formed of a single stone, and each having a simple base and a cushion capital. The windows themselves now have wooden mid-wall shutters, pierced with ornamental openings.

Close below the belfry there follows another set of four windows, these, however, being narrow round-headed slits, splayed internally, and placed not directly below the four belfry windows, but mid-way between. Somewhat lower again, and facing north, west, and south, are three circular windows, perhaps a little larger than the upper row of eight but, like them, splayed within and without. Finally, a single, narrow round-headed window over the west door serves to light the ground floor of the tower. All these openings are constructed without the use of dressed stone, mainly from flints, but with some slight use of larger stones and tiles in the arches of the round heads.

¹ R. Ladbroke, *Views of the Churches in Norfolk* (Norwich, 1821-34).

Internally, the principal feature is the tower-arch, one of the most impressive of its kind in East Anglia, almost 15 ft in height, only 5 ft 4 in. in width, and entirely plain, save for simple, chamfered imposts which are not returned along either wall-face. The main body of the west doorway of the tower has escaped the 'improvement' suffered by its outer face and is a good example of simple Anglo-Saxon workmanship in which, as in the tower-arch, the only use of dressed stone is in the plain chamfered imposts. Within the tower it may be seen that the square jambs and round heads of both the west doorway and the tower-arch are formed of flints, with some use of flat stones and tiles in the arched heads, which are laid with considerable disregard for radial setting of the stones.

In the exterior south wall of the chancel, above the priest's doorway, there may be seen the vestiges of a somewhat problematical blocked round arch, presumably of a blocked window, which from its shape cannot reasonably be assigned to periods other than Anglo-Saxon, Norman, or the Classical revival. Since the lower part of this window has been blocked and cut away by a pointed doorway, it cannot itself have been built later than the fourteenth century. It seems most likely that it represents the remains of an Anglo-Saxon double-splayed window, and that it serves to fix this part of the chancel as being contemporary with the main walls of the nave and the tower.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is circular in plan, 11 ft in internal diameter, with walls nearly 4 ft in thickness and about 60 ft in height. The nave is 38 ft long internally, and 19 ft wide, with side walls 2 ft 10 in. thick. The chancel is 31 ft long and 15 ft 4 in. wide.

The tower-arch is 5 ft 4 in. wide and 14 ft 10 in. high, and the original west doorway, as measured within the tower, is 3 ft wide and 5 ft 8 in. high. The round-headed window immediately above the west doorway has an exterior aperture 6 in. wide and about 3 ft 6 in. tall, with its sill 11 ft above the ground. Internally, it is splayed to become 3 ft wide and 5 ft 6 in. tall, with its sill 7 ft above the floor.

FOSTON

Leicestershire

Map sheet 133, reference SP 603950

ST BARTHOLOMEW

North wall of nave, with round-headed window partly cut away by Norman arch: probably pre-Conquest

About 6 miles south of Leicester, Foston church is pleasantly situated in wooded rolling country, between Countesthorpe and Kilby, without any village nearby. It now consists of a rectangular west tower; a nave, with south porch and north aisle; and a chancel, with a north chapel. A blocked arcade in the south wall of the church shows that the surviving north aisle once had a companion on the south. The blocked south arcade is of pointed, Gothic style; but the north arcade, which opens from the nave to the north aisle, is Norman, with three simple round arches. It is, however, at once apparent that the three Norman arches are of different dates, for, while the two western arches are similar, each of two plain square orders, the eastern arch is even simpler since it is of one square order.

Above the eastern curve of the eastern arch there is visible towards the nave the blocked round head of a window whose jambs have been cut away by the arch. The window is therefore earlier than the arch; it must, therefore, be either very early Norman or else pre-Norman. Since the wall is only 2 ft 3 in. thick, there is a strong presumption in favour of a pre-Norman date. The interior head which is visible in the nave is arched with eleven roughly shaped stone voussoirs, which are set with fairly radial joints. The exterior head is not visible in the aisle, but it might be revealed if the plaster could be removed from the wall. The small size of the interior head does not define with certainty whether the window was single-splayed or double-splayed, and it is, therefore, desirable that the plaster should be removed from the outer face in order to settle this question.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 36 ft long internally, and 16 ft wide, with walls 2 ft 3 in. thick, and about 20 ft high. The blocked window is 1 ft 6 in. wide internally.

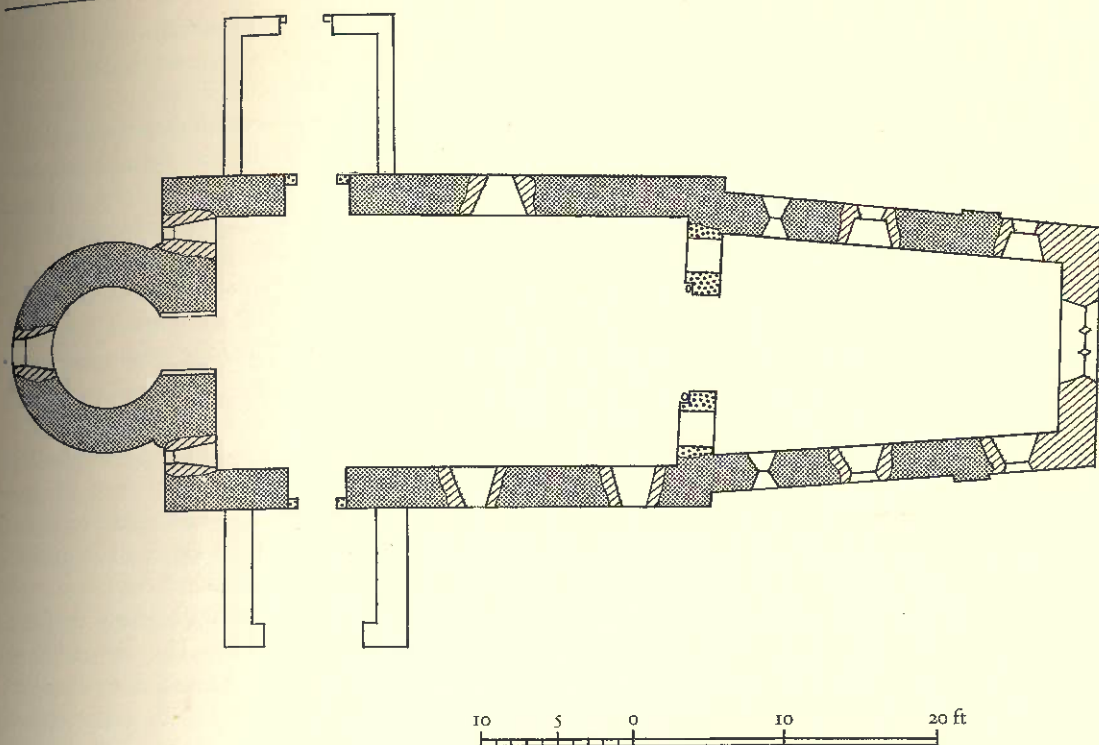


FIG. 108. FRAMINGHAM EARL, NORFOLK

FRAMINGHAM EARL

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 277028

Figure 466

ST ANDREW

Round west tower, nave, and chancel: period C3

Until the middle of last century, the churches of the two Framinghams, about 4 miles south-east of Norwich, had suffered little change from the time of their erection about the Conquest; but at Framingham Pigot the church was entirely rebuilt in 1859, and that at Framingham Earl was rather drastically restored at about the same time. It is a flint-built church, now consisting of a circular west tower, an aisleless nave with north and south porches, and an aisleless chancel in two bays, separated externally by broad, flat pilasters on the side walls. About mid-way between these pilasters and the later, medieval, square east end, the original side walls begin to curve inwards, indicating that the original east end was apsidal.

In spite of the drastic nineteenth-century restoration, many interesting and unusual features have survived, making the church one of some importance in the study of East Anglian characteristics of the late-Saxon period. This is particularly true of the quoins, all of which are formed of flints alone, without any use of freestone, in sharp contrast to the Norman use of dressed stone in the facings of the north and south doorways. The quoins are unusual in the way in which exceptionally large flints, up to about 1 ft in height, have been used in the lower parts, cut to give flat faces along the two sides of the angle, while the upper parts of the quoins are formed in the more usual way with uncut smaller flints like the main body of the walling.

If the church were of early Norman date, as has been very generally supposed, surely it would be difficult to understand why dressed stone was used for the facings of the Norman chancel-arch and doorways but was not used at all in the quoins or in the flat pilasters of the chancel. The proper explanation appears to be that the main fabric is Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman, built

before the use of dressed stone became common, and that the facings of the doorways and the chancel-arch are later insertions.

Further support for this view is given by the two small circular double-splayed windows, one of which has survived in each of the side walls of the chancel, about 3 ft from the nave and 3 ft from the top of the wall. These also are built wholly without dressed stone, their splays and heads formed of the same flint fabric as the walls, and, like them, retaining some vestiges of a light protective coat of plaster. As with most of the East Anglian double-splayed circular windows, the apertures, about 9 in. in diameter, are about the middle of the wall, and the splay is such as to give a diameter of about 2 ft in the wall face.

The shallow pilaster-strips, at the east of this section of the chancel, are of the same coursed, undressed flint as the main body of the walling. They project about 3 in. and are 2 ft 3 in. in breadth. They appear to have been a special feature introduced to separate the rectangular western part of the chancel from an apsidal east end, and as such are a unique survival. In a different context, however, the use of raised flint-work as an ornamental feature is quite common in churches of this period in East Anglia, as in the external arcading of the towers at Tasburgh and Haddiscoe Thorpe, and in the plastered internal arcading at Great Durham.

The exact size and shape of the original east end is now difficult to discover, but of the 6 ft 8 in. of walling eastward from the pilasters about one-half on each side appears to be original, while the remainder continuing eastward is of a different and later character. The original parts show a distinct inward curvature just before the junction with the later eastward walling, as if to indicate an apsidal termination. It therefore looks as if the original east end had been a semicircular apse, with its diameter at the east face of the wide pilasters, in which case the eastern face of the curved wall would have been about 2 ft further east than the present square east end. It would be of interest to see whether any evidence in support of this deduction could be found by careful excavation beside the east wall of the chancel. It

should be noted that the whole chancel is laid out on a plan which narrows quite markedly towards the east, even with its present straight walls.

As the church now stands all the windows other than the circular pair in the chancel are later insertions, but Mr J. H. Parker, writing in 1847,¹ said that there were two circular windows on the north and one on the south. He also referred to two small narrow lancet windows, but unfortunately gave no details that would serve to settle whether they were the precursors of the small nineteenth-century windows so unusually placed in the narrow sections of west wall that flank the tower.

The fabric of the tower, although of flints like the nave and chancel, is, nevertheless, of very different quality. While the walls of the nave and chancel contain flints of very varying size, including some very big flints with cut faces, the tower is built of carefully coursed flints of fairly uniform, small size. It seems reasonable, therefore, to think of the tower as a later addition to the nave; but as it is joined to the nave with quarter-round pilasters in the re-entrant angles, like those at Roughton and Tasburgh, there seems no reason to doubt that the tower is of pre-Conquest date. The Norman appearance of the windows in the tower should not be accepted as evidence for assigning the tower itself to the twelfth century, since all of these are nineteenth-century restorations.²

By contrast with the elaborate Norman chancel-arch, Parker described the tower-arch in 1847 as 'round, small, plain, square-edged, not recessed, but with the usual Norman imposts'. He went on to say that 'over the tower-arch is a small window that opened into the church' and he added that 'many persons will consider this part of the church to be Saxon'. Such a statement from one who so stoutly denied the survival of any masonry from before the Conquest is very strong confirmation that he was almost convinced, against his will, of the pre-Norman character of the tower-arch and its surroundings.

The tower-arch is now much plastered, but is a simple, round-headed opening, whose jambs and round-headed arch are cut straight through the wall with a plain square section. The quirked and chamfered imposts do not run through the full

¹ *Proc. Arch. Inst., Norwich*, 1847 (London, 1851), 180-I.

² None of them appears in Ladbrooke's drawing of 1823.

45-in. thickness of the jambs but only through the 34 in. adjoining the nave. It is, therefore, possible that this eastern part of the tower-arch represents an original west doorway, and that the remaining western part (without any imposts) represents a thickening of the wall when the tower was added later in the Anglo-Saxon era. It is impossible to settle this point with certainty save by removing the plaster and inspecting the wall beneath, but additional support is given to the suggestion by the way in which the wall becomes thinner on the west towards the top of the tower-arch.

The west wall of the nave is obscured, above the tower-arch, by the modern organ, but the small window to which Mr Parker referred may be seen within the tower itself, a round-headed opening cut straight through the wall, and therefore more probably a doorway than a window. Its jambs and head are of plain flints, with no dressed stone, and no imposts.

In an account of the repair of one of the circular windows of the chancel, last century, Mr Manning recorded the existence of a groove round the aperture in its narrowest part, in which he said there was found 'a circular wooden frame pierced with eyelet holes, evidently in order to thread with string or some other substance to keep out birds or weather, in the place where the glass would now be'.¹

DIMENSIONS

The tower is circular in plan, about 8 ft in diameter internally and about 14 ft externally. It is now about 45 ft in height, but Ladbroke's drawing showed it only about 30 ft high in 1823, with a conical 'pepper-pot' roof.

The nave is 30 ft long internally on the south side, and 31 ft 2 in. on the north side, and 17 ft wide. The chancel is 22 ft long and is 14 ft 6 in. wide at the west, narrowing to 11 ft at the east. The side walls of nave and chancel are about 2 ft 7 in. in thickness, and those of the nave are about 15 ft tall.

The tower-arch is 4 ft 3 in. wide and 10 ft 5 in. tall, measured from the floor of the nave. The doorway above is 2 ft 6 in. wide and about 5 ft high.

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 C. R. MANNING, 'Notes on the Architecture of Framingham Earl church', *Norf. Arch.* 8 (1879), 334-6. Description of the church before restoration.

FRAMINGHAM PIGOT

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 277035

ST ANDREW

No existing remains: complete period C3 church survived to 1859

The small, late-Saxon church at Framingham Pigot, about 4 miles south-east of Norwich, was swept away in 1859 to make way for the present church, which, having been built in the early Decorated style at the sole expense of a local resident, was opened with great rejoicing on 15 September 1859, when a poem celebrating the event contrasted the ample and dignified character of the new church with the inappropriate character of its predecessor which 'three years ago was comparatively speaking a mere barn, uglier than the meanest conventicle'.² But it is possible, from two brief accounts of the church and from an engraving, to piece together a fairly reliable picture of the late-Saxon fabric which had survived almost unchanged until the Victorian rebuilding.

Brief notes on a number of churches in and about Norwich were published in the volume commemorating the visit of the Archaeological Institute to Norwich in 1847, and in those notes Mr J. H. Parker said of Framingham Pigot:

A small plain church of early character, built of flint, with brick and tile quoins. It has a small round window, and a plain loop splayed inside and out like the other Framingham.

¹ *Norf. Arch.* 8 (1879), 334. There are other instances of pierced wooden frames in Norfolk, e.g. South Lopham.

² A. L. M., 'Memorial lines on the opening of Framingham Pigot church', *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. (1859), 428.

Two years later, in the *Archaeological Journal*, Mr John Gunn discussed with great perception the special local characteristics of the early Norfolk churches that are 'supposed to be of the Saxon period'. He said of Framingham Pigot that the entire church is of one period except the more modern inserted doors and windows; he noted the occurrence of 'double-splayed windows, both circular and oblong, in the nave and chancel'; he remarked on the quoins of Roman tile and on the appearance of herring-bone work in places; and finally he contrasted the use of rubble for the early windows with the ashlar freestone that had been used for the jambs and arches of the more modern windows and doors.

Gunn's article contained an engraving of the church, showing a simple two-cell structure, with a single bell in a bell-cote over the west gable. A circular double-splayed window is clearly shown over the pointed, ashlar, north doorway; and further east in the north wall of the nave is a tall window which looks as though it is one of the round-headed, double-splayed openings. In the west wall there is clearly shown a tall, blocked doorway reminiscent of the existing tower-arch at Framingham Earl. We think it is therefore reasonable to suggest that both churches were originally of similar form, with western doorways, and that the west tower at Framingham Earl was a later addition.

REFERENCES

See the articles by J. H. Parker, and J. Gunn, to which reference is made under Framingham Earl.

FRESHWATER

Isle of Wight

Map sheet 180, reference SZ 347873

ALL SAINTS

Side walls of nave, over later arcades: period C

The church at Freshwater, about 2 miles south of Yarmouth, looks over the long tidal estuary of the River Yar, while the village has now mostly moved away nearer the sea, leaving only a nucleus beside the church. A major reconstruction in 1874 provided the church with wide aisles, flanking the

nave on both sides, under separate gabled roofs, and at the same time the chancel was extended eastward and a north vestry added.

Until recently it was thought that the earliest parts of the church were a small Norman doorway, and the central core of the chancel, together with the two side-chapels which open from it through Transitional Norman arches. But recently there have been exposed in the walls of the nave three long-and-short quoins which serve to establish the plan of a simple, aisleless, pre-Conquest nave, through whose side walls the later Transitional Norman arcades were subsequently cut.

The first operation of enlarging the pre-Conquest church must have been the provision of a new chancel, flanked by the side-chapels already mentioned; for the walls containing the Transitional Norman arches opening to these chapels are built in direct continuation of the side walls of the Anglo-Saxon nave, as is proved by a small remaining fragment of the north-east quoin of the nave. The Anglo-Saxon chancel must then have been demolished, and no trace of it now remains except possibly foundations beneath the present floor.

Later in the twelfth century the nave was enlarged by the provision of aisles on each side, opening from the nave through arcades of three Transitional Norman arches, which were cut through each of the side walls of the Anglo-Saxon nave. A broad pier of masonry separates each of these arcades from the thirteenth-century arch to the west, which represents a later westward extension of the nave. During this extension the original west wall was completely cut away except for its quoins, which are now exposed to view in the broad masonry piers. They may be seen to consist of several pairs of long-and-short stones, with the faces of the 'shorts' cut back slightly, where they extend beyond the 'longs', so as to show a neat pilaster, clasping the angle of the wall.

DIMENSIONS

The surviving quoins serve to show that the nave was roughly 42 ft long internally, and 17 ft broad. Its walls are 32 in. thick, of roughly coursed stone rubble.

GAYTON THORPE

Norfolk

Map sheet 124, reference TF 745185

Figure 467

ST MARY

Round west tower, and west and south walls of nave: period C3

On flat land, about 7 miles east of King's Lynn, the interesting church of Gayton Thorpe stands in a raised churchyard of roughly circular shape, about a mile from the site of a Roman villa. The church consists of a tall, round, Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman west tower, with a late-Norman belfry; an aisleless chancel; and an aisleless nave that has later been widened on the north and provided with a north vestry and a south porch. The fabric is mainly of flint, but the lower part of the tower is of large blocks of stone, of which some are grey and others are dark brown carstone. The nave also has some carstone in its south wall, as well as a few surviving blocks in the west wall, to mark the former position of the original north-west quoin of the nave.

By contrast with the elaborate late-Norman or Transitional work in the belfry, the tall lower stage of the tower is very plain, rising sheer, and with no openings except the two round-headed double-splayed west windows, which light the two lower floors. The jambs and arches of both these windows are formed without the use of dressed stone or tiles, but the upper window has a stone slab set in the thickness of the wall to form the actual aperture, only 42 in. tall and 13 in. wide. The position of this slab, nearer the inner than the outer face of the wall, and the very wide external splaying of the window, to form an opening about 9 ft tall by 5 ft wide, are both so unusual as to suggest that this window is either heavily restored or else a modern insertion. Further support is given to this suggestion by the fact that Ladbroke's drawing of the church shows only the lower window in the west of the tower.¹

The indication of pre-Conquest date given by these double-splayed windows, or at any rate by the lower one, is supported by the interior of the tower; for, above the tower-arch, and now visible only within the tower, is a blocked upper doorway, of characteristically Anglo-Saxon type, both in shape and construction, its jambs and triangular head being cut straight through the wall and being formed of plain flints, without any use of dressed stone. The triangular head has no imposts, but each side is set back about 2 in. behind the jambs.

The tower-arch is of Norman proportions and of Norman construction, except for its very rough imposts, which are of through-stones and may have come from an earlier arch, whose outline may be traced within the tower, about 2 ft above the head of the present arch. The long rough stones of the earlier arch form a sharp contrast with the carefully dressed voussoirs of the Norman arch beneath it.

The tower is markedly oval rather than circular in plan, and from outside it may be seen that this peculiarity arises principally from a flattening of the eastern wall, perhaps in order to simplify the junction between the tower and the roof of the nave. In the eastern face of the early lower part of the tower there may be seen, close above the roof of the nave, the outline of an earlier window, or perhaps an ornamental arch similar to those that have survived much more distinctly at Burnham Deepdale. It is possible that the original tower had single belfry windows at this lower level, and that the later Norman belfry, separated from the rest of the tower by a characteristic string-course, was not a substitution for an earlier belfry, but rather a completely new addition, which materially raised its total height.

The south wall of the nave is 3 ft 4 in. thick, but is in the original alignment, as indicated by the western quoins. In this wall, and high up between its two Perpendicular windows, may be seen an area of carstone, as if an earlier, double-splayed window had been blocked when the later ones were formed. It would be interesting if the interior face of the wall could be examined in this area.

¹ R. Ladbroke, *Views of the Churches in Norfolk* (Norwich, 1821-34).

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 9½ ft in internal width from north to south, and has walls about 4 ft thick. The lower west window has an aperture about 1½ ft wide by 4 ft tall, splayed to become about 4 ft by 7 ft in the wall-face. The tower-arch is 5 ft 2 in. wide and 9 ft 9 in. tall, in a wall 3 ft thick. The earlier and rougher arch visible above has its crown at about 11 ft 6 in. from the floor.

The triangular-headed doorway opening east from the upper chamber of the tower is 2 ft 8 in. wide and 7 ft 8 in. tall, overall. The sloping sides of its head are set back 2 in. on its jambs, which have no imposts. The present first floor of the tower, about 15 ft above the ground floor, is so placed as to cut off 1 ft of the lower part of this eastern doorway.

The nave is at present about 39 ft long and 21 ft wide internally and seems originally to have been about 19 ft wide. Its present south wall is 3 ft 4 in. thick.

GEDDINGTON

Northamptonshire

Map sheet 133, reference SP 895830

Figure 468

ST MARY MAGDALENE

Nave walls, above later arcades: possibly period B

Of all the crosses erected by King Edward I in memory of his Queen Eleanor, the best preserved is now to be seen in the quiet village of Gedding-ton, about three miles north-east of Kettering, where a former palace of the Plantagenet kings has been less fortunate than the monument and is now to be seen only as a group of indistinct mounds in the fields to the north of the church. The monument and the ruined palace are, however, some centuries younger than the core of the church; for, although its exterior shows nothing older than the thirteenth century, yet substantial parts of the nave date from before the Conquest.

The church now consists of a western tower with spire, an aisled nave with south porch, and a chancel partially flanked by aisles and chapels. In the course of the complicated alterations and

additions which have changed the original aisle-less Anglo-Saxon church into its present form, the original chancel has been completely removed; but the north, south and east walls of the original nave remain, above the later arches that have been cut through them. These walls serve to define a number of interesting features of the nave, and they also specify the height and width of the original chancel, for the original exterior east wall of the nave is now visible within the later chancel, clearly showing the marks where the steeply pitched roof of the original chancel was torn away, and thus serving to define its height and width.

The complicated architectural history of the church, both before and after the Conquest, is best shown by the north wall of the nave, in which a blocked, internally splayed window is partially cut away by a Norman arcade, an arrangement which proves that the window is earlier than the Norman arcade, which must therefore have been cut through the wall of an aisleless pre-Norman church. The western jamb of the window has vanished, but its eastern internal jamb is of alternate upright and flat stones, and its round head is arched in stones that are laid with considerable disregard for radial setting.

The special interest of the north wall is, however, best seen on its north face, which was originally external, but which is now enclosed in the north aisle. The outer face of the blocked window should first be noticed, with its tall monolithic eastern jamb and its round head roughly cut in the lower face of a rectangular lintel. Attention should next be given to the remarkable line of triangular-headed arcading, which is carried along the whole length of the wall as a decorative feature, interrupted only by the head of the window. This interruption, apparently destroying two bays of the arcading, is so much at variance with the careful and continuous nature of the remainder of the work that there is a strong presumption that the pre-Conquest window was itself a later insertion in an even earlier fabric.

Although there are several other examples of Anglo-Saxon use of decorative arcading (e.g. Bradford-on-Avon, and Milborne Port), the treatment at Geddington is unusual in its use of undressed stone. The wall itself and the arcading

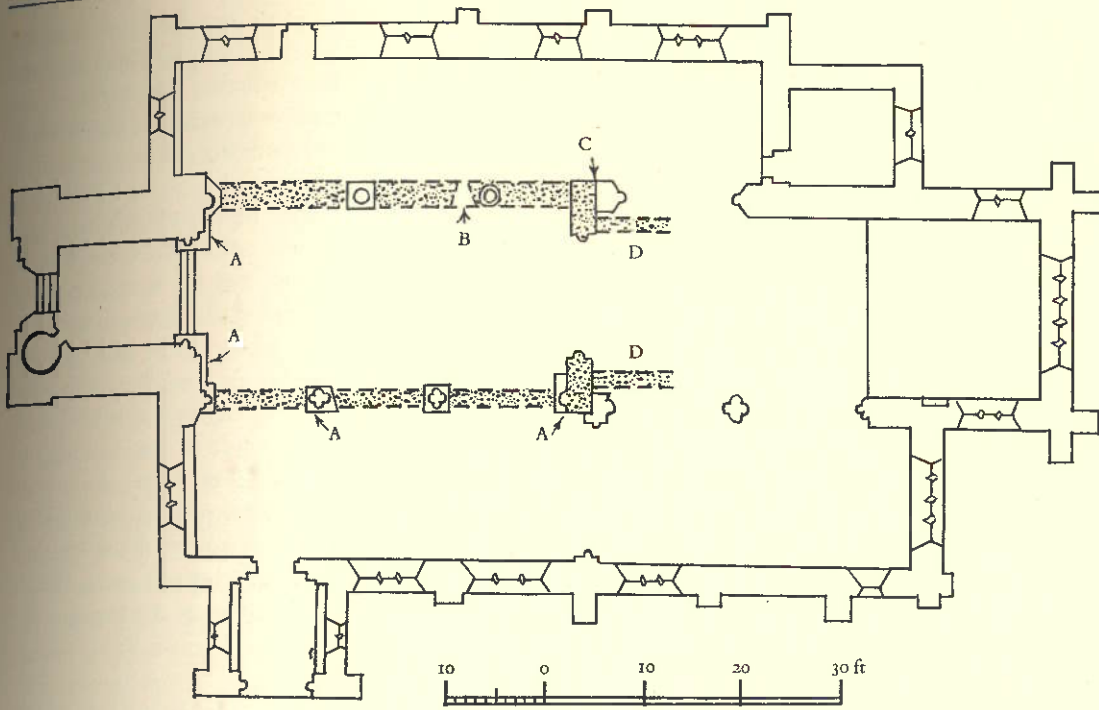


FIG. 109. GEDDINGTON, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

A, A, A, plinths of early character, possibly survivals of plinths of original walls of nave; B, single-splayed window, now blocked and partially cut away by Norman arcade; C, long-and-short north-east quoin of original nave; D, D, conjectured position of side walls of original chancel as indicated by surviving line of gable on east wall of nave above much later chancel-arch.

are all of rubble; the background of the individual bays is recessed behind the main surface of the wall; and the structural features of the arcade are carefully built from appropriately shaped stones, carefully selected for the purpose, but not dressed, to form upright pilasters, flat imposts, and triangular-headed arches, all of which lie in the main surface of the wall. At the east, the arcading is carried right up to the north-east quoin of the nave and is carefully worked into the angle, thus leaving no reasonable doubt that the arcading and the quoin, which is in distinctive long-and-short technique, are contemporary.

By comparison, very little of the distinctively Anglo-Saxon work has survived on the south wall of the nave, which was pierced in the thirteenth century by an arcade of three tall, pointed, Early English arches resting on delicate piers of clustered shafts. The Anglo-Saxon decorative work can be traced near the east of the south aisle, where parts of one triangular-headed arch remain, but nothing has remained to show whether there was a southern

window to match the one on the north. Vestiges of a long-and-short quoin can, however, be seen at the south-east, with parts of its south face visible in the aisle and parts of its east face in the chancel.

Parts of the original Anglo-Saxon walls may be preserved in the plinth which runs along the interior face of the west wall, and in the large blocks of masonry which form the bases of the columns of the south arcade.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 37 ft 6 in. long internally by 18 ft 6 in. wide, with side walls 2 ft 7 in. thick and about 20 ft high to the top of the surviving original work. The north window is 11 in. wide and 4 ft tall externally, splayed internally to become 3 ft 2 in. wide and at least 5 ft tall.

The arcading is recessed about 2 in. behind the main face of the wall, its sill is 15 ft 6 in. above the floor and each bay is about 2 ft 3 in. tall and about 2 ft 6 in. wide. The vertical pilasters are about 1 ft 6 in. tall and about 4 in. in width.

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GISSING

Norfolk

Map sheet 136, reference TM 147854

ST MARY THE VIRGIN

Round west tower: period C3

The small village of Gissing, about 4 miles north of Diss, is somewhat long and straggling, so that its church can be quite difficult to find without the help of a map. The church now consists of a round west tower, an aisleless nave with a large north porch, and a chancel with chapels to north and south. Except for the Anglo-Saxon tower and a Norman south doorway, the detail is mainly of the Perpendicular period.

The round west tower is built of coursed flints with a projecting flint plinth of square section. It rises sheer from plinth to parapet without string-course or off-set, and its most definitely Anglo-Saxon characteristic is provided by three circular double-splayed windows in its north, west, and south faces respectively, at a level a little higher than the eaves of the roof of the nave. These windows are formed in the fabric of the wall without dressed stone facing. Towards the west, at a lower level, is a tall narrow round-headed window with dressed stone jambs and head, and the belfry has four double windows with round heads and mid-wall shafts; but the detail of all of these latter windows suggests Norman workmanship or nineteenth-century restoration rather than Anglo-Saxon work.

Internally, the tower-arch is tall and narrow; its mouldings are of Norman appearance, suggestive

of Victorian restorations; but its form suggests genuine Anglo-Saxon character. There are no features to determine whether any parts of the original walls of the nave remain; but the western gable and its junction with the tower suggest that at least the west wall is original.

Ladbroke's drawing of the church in 1832¹ showed a circular window towards the east of the south wall, high up near the eaves, and two other windows of similar size further west, of pointed form perhaps arising from later adaptations. The present upper part of the south wall appears to be a modern rebuilding associated with the addition of the south aisle to the chancel, and all trace of the circular window seems to have been lost. There is, however, some ground for thinking that the south wall may be part of the original church, particularly since it stands on a simple square plinth of flint, like that of the tower.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is 10 ft 10 in. in internal diameter, with walls about 3 ft 9 in. thick and about 60 ft in total height. The nave is 38 ft 9 in. long and 21 ft wide internally, with walls 3 ft 2 in. thick and about 20 ft high.

The tower-arch is 6 ft wide and 15 ft 9 in. tall, in a wall nearly 5 ft thick. The circular double-splayed windows have apertures about 1 ft in diameter, about 25 ft above the ground, and their splays widen internally and externally to openings about 3 ft in diameter.

GLASTONBURY

Somerset

Map sheet 165, reference ST 501388

ABBAY CHURCH OF ST PETER
AND ST PAUL*Foundations of early churches: periods A to C*

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Four centuries of neglect and decay since the Dissolution have reduced Glastonbury Abbey, in the heart of the busy west-country town, to a

¹ R. Ladbroke, *Views of the Churches in Norfolk* (Norwich, 1821-34).

picturesque ruin; but its extent still gives some indication of the former size and importance of the abbey, while recent excavation has established on a firmer basis many of its traditional claims to exceptionally early foundation. The abbey has long been the centre of innumerable legends, and its origins may truly be said to be lost in the mists of antiquity.

The first of the buildings which come within the scope of this book is a church which was built by Ine, king of Wessex 688–726, in honour of our Lord and of St Peter and St Paul.¹ St Dunstan, while Abbot of Glastonbury from 940 to 957, added a tower to Ine's church and lengthened it considerably. Moreover, he added aisles, or *porticus*, thereby 'making its width square with its length'.² He also built a wall round the monks' cemetery and raised the level of the ground, so as to make a fair meadow where the bodies of the saints could rest undisturbed by the noise of those who passed by.³ Dunstan's additions also included cloisters and monastic buildings,⁴ as well as a separate church which he built, and dedicated in honour of St John the Baptist, at the west of the Old Church, after having seen a vision while in that place.⁵ Until recent excavations it was thought that all trace had been lost of these pre-Conquest buildings, as the result of post-Conquest reconstructions, and of the disastrous fire of 1184 which destroyed not only the Norman abbey but also such of the pre-Norman buildings as had escaped destruction by the Normans. But the result of recent excavations, which are fully described below, has been to disclose surviving foundations which can be identified as parts of Ine's church and of Dunstan's additions. The excavations have

also indicated that additions were made to the church at periods between Ine and Dunstan, and they have given some confirmation to the traditions of earlier churches than that of Ine. The existence of the monastery before Ine built his church is implied by somewhat doubtful records of grants of land to it in 678 and 680.⁶ There is probably a basis of truth in William of Malmesbury's records of a Celtic foundation, in spite of the many later embellishments which were added to the story in an attempt to make it more convincing. The account given by William claimed Ine's church as the fourth in order of foundation, with three earlier churches to the west of it.⁷ The earliest and most sacred was a structure of wattles, known as the Old Church (*Vetusta Ecclesia*), which was said to have been built by disciples of missionaries who had come to Britain at the request of King Lucius in the second century. This wattled structure had later been covered with wooden planks and lead, a work traditionally attributed to Paulinus.⁸ Next in order of foundation was a church which was said to have been built by St David of Wales; he had come to Glastonbury with the intention of consecrating the Old Church, but, having been warned by a vision not to do so, he built the new church and consecrated that instead. The third of the early churches was traditionally associated with twelve holy men who came from the north of Britain, and it, like the others, was to the east of the Old Church.⁹ Later medieval writers greatly extended these early traditions and even claimed that the Old Church had been founded early in the Christian era by Joseph of Arimathea.¹⁰

Soon after the Conquest two Norman abbots,

¹ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (Rolls Series, 52) (London, 1870), 196. Subsequent references to this volume are given in the form 'Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*'.

² William of Malmesbury, *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, in *Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series, 63) (London, 1874), 271. Subsequent references to this volume are given in the form Malmesbury, *Sancti Dunstani*.

³ Malmesbury, *Sancti Dunstani*, 271–2.

⁴ *Ibid.* 271; *Gesta Pontificum*, 196.

⁵ Anonymous, *Vita Sancti Dunstani*, in *Memorials of St Dunstan* (Rolls Series, 63), 48.

⁶ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1947), 66 and 68. The doubtful charters may be based on earlier and more reliable evidence. See also J. A. Robinson,

Somerset Historical Essays (London, 1921), 29–30.

⁷ William of Malmesbury, *De antiquitate ecclesiae Glastoniensis*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1727), 53–4; tr. F. Lomax (London, 1908), 73. Subsequent references to these two volumes are given in the form 'Malmesbury, *De antiquitate*, ed. Hearne, and tr. Lomax'.

⁸ Malmesbury, *De antiquitate*, ed. Hearne, 28; tr. Lomax, 34. There is no good evidence that Paulinus had any connexion whatever with Glastonbury. But this need not throw doubt on the existence of a wattled chapel that was later covered with wood and lead.

⁹ Malmesbury, *De antiquitate*, ed. Hearne, 53; tr. Lomax, 73.

¹⁰ John of Glaston, *Historia de Rebus Glastoniensibus*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1726), 17.

Thurstan and Herlwin, built much greater churches on the site of Ine's and Dunstan's church of St Peter and St Paul; but the Old Church remained unchanged and cherished as a place of exceptional sanctity, around which traditions of divine foundation had become woven. Thurstan's abbacy began about 1082, and in 1083 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records how a serious quarrel broke out between the abbot and his monks, and how soldiers broke into the church, where they wounded some of the monks and killed others. The dates are such that there could not have been time for the church of Dunstan and Ine to have been replaced, and the account in the *Chronicle* is of particular interest because of its reference to the soldiers' having climbed up into a gallery to shoot at the monks.¹ Unfortunately in May 1184 a disastrous fire destroyed not only the new Norman abbey church but also the Old Church, and thus all the ancient buildings of which William of Malmesbury had written in the early part of the century had been swept away by the end of it.²

No doubt as a result of the special veneration in which the Old Church had been held, the first building to be erected after the fire was a Lady Chapel which is said to have been built on exactly the same site,³ and which is the most complete building now standing in the ruined abbey. The Lady Chapel was consecrated about 1186; and all through the thirteenth century the rebuilding of the great abbey church continued until, by the end, there was a complete church comparable in scale with the great cathedrals of the land, and joined at the west by a Galilee Porch to the earlier Lady Chapel. Extension and enrichment of the church continued throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries until, under the last abbot but one before the Dissolution, a further chapel was added eastward in memory of King Edgar, and a

great crypt was excavated beneath the Lady Chapel and the western part of the Galilee Porch, possibly to provide space for the burial of persons who were prepared to pay handsomely for their bones to be laid beneath the shrine of St Joseph of Arimathea.⁴

EVIDENCE DERIVED FROM EXCAVATIONS

The historical introduction indicates not only the claims that were made for the great antiquity of the earliest buildings but also the extent to which the replacement of the main church in Norman times and its rebuilding in Gothic form after the great fire of 1184 might reasonably be expected to have obscured all trace of the Anglo-Saxon church and chapels. Moreover, since the Dissolution, not only have time and weather played their part in destruction, but the work has been ruthlessly pressed forward by man, even to the extent of removing stone by the cartload for road-building. It is therefore doubly exciting to find that systematic and careful excavation carried out on the site since 1920 has succeeded in establishing the existence of foundations or other unmistakable traces of almost all the early buildings mentioned above. The plan (Fig. 110) shows the pre-Conquest foundations which have been discovered below ground, in relation to the visible ruins of the medieval abbey church. The excavations on which the following account is based were undertaken under the joint direction of the Society of Antiquaries and the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society.⁵

The excavations of 1928 established the eastern part of Ine's church with flanking *porticus*, A and B; its chancel, C, had apparently been rebuilt between the time of Ine and Dunstan in fabric which was distinguishable by mauve-coloured mortar. A square to the east with more massive

¹ In the 'E' version of the *Chronicle*, s.a. 1083. The story is also in Malmesbury, *De antiquitate*, ed. Hearne, 114; tr. Lomax, 125.

² Adam of Domerham, *Historia de Rebus Glastoniensibus*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1727), 333-4.

³ *Ibid.* 336.

⁴ In the fourteenth century the legend that the Gospel was brought to England by St Joseph of Arimathea was given great prominence and Edward III is said to have supported a divinely inspired search at Glastonbury for the original tomb of St Joseph, whose traditional association with the

abbey had been recorded by William of Malmesbury. The remains were said to be discovered in 1367 and a shrine of great beauty was built for them in the Lady Chapel, which then became a place of pilgrimage associated more particularly with St Joseph than with its earlier dedication to St Mary. (Adam of Domerham, *loc. cit.* 341-3.)

⁵ Excavations up to 1930 were fully reported by Peers, Clapham and Horne, *Ant. J.* 10 (1930), 24 ff. Excavations since 1950 have been reported by C. A. R. Radford, *Ant.* 25 (1951), 213; 27 (1953), 41; and 29 (1955), 33. The account given in the text is based on these reports.

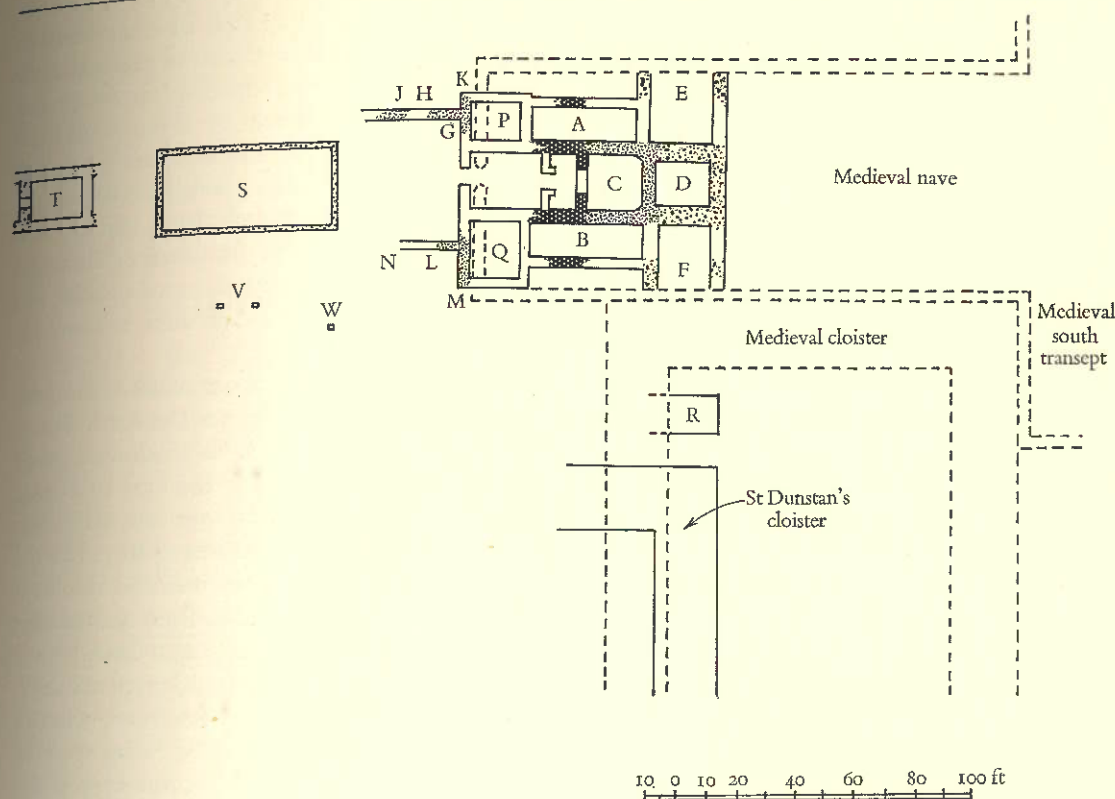


FIG. 110. GLASTONBURY ABBEY RUINS, SOMERSET

A, B, the lateral *porticus* flanking King Ine's nave of c. 700; C, later chancel, between 700 and 950; D, St Dunstan's tower, c. 950; E, F, lateral *porticus* of St Dunstan's extended church; G, west wall of about King Ine's time; H, J, westward extension towards the Old Church; K, M, eastward return walls defining the breadth of the church shortly after King Ine's time; L, N, westward extension towards the Old Church; P, Q, lateral *porticus* of time shortly after King Ine; R, wattled chapel in the ancient cemetery; S, Lady Chapel of c. 1186, on the site of the Old Church; T, St Dunstan's westward church of St John the Baptist; V, site of two 'pyramids', or carved shafts; W, site of the pillar which carried the medieval inscription saying that it marked the site of the junction between the Old Church and St David's eastward extension of it. Reference should be made to the larger-scale plan published by Peers, Clapham and Horne for the conjectural site of St David's chancel east of S, and for the crypt that was found in 1928 below the tower D.

walls, D, is to be assigned to Dunstan's tower, for reasons which follow. It enclosed a crypt or shrine which had apparently been re-used to house a collection of bones, which were found in it, and which are thought to have been collected and placed there when the building of the tower D and the *porticus* E and F disturbed the earlier graveyard.

The excavations of 1929 determined the western extent of Ine's church as well as completing the story of Dunstan's. To the west of the west wall of the medieval north aisle, foundations of a west wall, G, were exposed, together with a westward extension, H, J, and a return wall, K, on the north. These walls all showed the same mauve mortar

as the rebuilt chancel, C. The orientation of the wall HJ was the same as that of the medieval Lady Chapel, which diverges slightly to the south from the axis of the main church and of Ine's church beneath; it therefore seemed reasonable to regard the wall HJ as part of a passage linking the Old Church to Ine's church, and this interpretation was supported by the presence of a large area of flooring at J, crossing the wall itself and thus indicating a lateral doorway. During the earlier excavations carried out by Mr Bligh Bond, he had reported in 1911 a somewhat similar wall at L and M on the south, which he attributed to a medieval chapel; but it now seems certain that this also belongs to the pre-Conquest church, since its north-south and

east-west alignments agree with those of the walls on the north, except that the return wall M defines a *porticus* Q extending rather further from the axis of the church than does the *porticus* P defined by the return wall K on the north. The central part of these foundations may therefore be accepted as defining the west wall of Ine's church to which flanking *porticus* P and Q have been added, between the time of Ine and Dunstan, in connexion with the reconstruction of the chancel C and the addition of the westward connecting link GJ, LN, to join Ine's church to the Old Church.

In the same season further parts of Dunstan's additions to the church were established by the discovery of east and west walls of flanking *porticus*, E and F, which were traced up to but not beyond the foundations of the medieval aisle walls. There was therefore no doubt that the outer walls bounding these *porticus* on north and south had lain beneath the present lines of these aisle walls, thus giving an overall width of about 85 ft, which roughly equals the length from the east of Dunstan's work to the west of Ine's, and thus conforms with William of Malmesbury's statement that Dunstan made the length of the church square with its width. It may therefore be accepted that these eastern extensions are Dunstan's work, and it then reasonably follows that the central compartment, D, with thick walls, was the base of Dunstan's tower which, from recorded burials, lay between the northern *porticus*, E, of St John the Baptist and the southern *porticus*, F, of St Andrew.

Of the Old Church itself, or of the extension which St David was said to have built to its east, no trace has been found; but it was not to be expected that anything would have survived the fire, the rebuilding, and Abbot Bere's sixteenth-century excavation of a crypt below the twelfth-century Lady Chapel. The indication of the Old Church on the plan is, therefore, based on the traditional assumption that the walls of the Lady Chapel were built on the same alignment as those of its revered predecessor.

The excavations since 1950 were directed particularly towards discovering the earliest buildings on the site, and the history and nature of the monastic buildings prior to the fire of 1184. They have established the existence of part of a

walled and paved cloister 20 ft wide, attributed to St Dunstan's time, in the same alignment as the east end of his church, extending for over 100 ft southward, but separated by about 60 ft from the south wall of the church, no doubt because of the intervening graveyard. Where the paving of Dunstan's cloister passes beneath the line of the west walk of the medieval cloister it is overlaid successively by the paving slabs and foundations of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century cloisters.

The excavations have also established that there was a wattled building between Dunstan's cloister and the church. The post-holes which were found defined a building 13 ft wide and over 17 ft long, with its main axis running east and west; but evidence of its west end had been destroyed by the medieval cloister. The remains indicated a building of some importance which, from its position within the ancient cemetery, must have been a chapel and not a dwelling. It had no paved floor, and the fragments of pottery found trodden into the clay included a scrap of native ware of the first century A.D., some Samian ware of the second century, and a number of pieces of the fifth and sixth centuries, thus giving a range of dates which no doubt serve to define the period for which the building was in use. The discovery of this wattled structure on a frame of wooden posts is of importance, not only as general confirmation of the reasonableness of the traditional account of the original wattled fabric of the Old Church, but also as an indication of the development of the site as a whole from an early date.

The existence of a monastery of the Celtic type on the site has been further confirmed by the discovery of part of the typical enclosing boundary which served to divide such a monastery from the outer world. In some such monasteries the boundary took the form of a high fence or wall of earth; here it took the form of a broad ditch, 8 or 9 ft deep, whose line has been found at two points near the crossing of the medieval church, running roughly from north to south. The early cemetery and all signs of early habitation so far found on the site lie to the west of this boundary, and no signs of occupation have been found to the east. As yet it is not possible to say anything about the extent

of the area enclosed by the boundary except that it must obviously have included the Old Church and the early cemetery with its wattled chapel.

We do not as yet know what form of dwellings may have been provided for the monks at the time when King Ine built his stone church; but the excavations have produced evidence to show that in the tenth century Dunstan built cloisters in accordance with the usual custom of Benedictine monasteries. The excavations which established the line of the east walk of Dunstan's cloisters also established that their construction had destroyed a group of glass-kilns near the south-west corner of the later medieval cloister. From the fragments found in them, as well as from their being destroyed by the making of Dunstan's cloisters, these kilns have been dated about the time of King Alfred, in the latter part of the ninth century.

The excavations also exposed a series of burials, which, from the level of the bodies, seemed to have been made at a time when the surface of the cemetery had been about 4 ft above the natural level of the ground, thus confirming the account given by William of Malmesbury that Dunstan had raised the level of the cemetery so that it should become a fair meadow in which the bodies of the saints could rest in peace.

The summary here given is the merest outline of the discoveries recorded in the original papers, to which references have been given, and to which the reader should refer, not only for further details of the discoveries, but also for a fuller appreciation of the extreme difficulty of tracing the early history of the site under the successive disturbances created by a thousand years of active building operations and four hundred years of decay and deliberate destruction.

THE PYRAMIDS

There are so many confused and somewhat conflicting accounts of pyramids and pillars beside

the church at Glastonbury that it seems desirable to record briefly both the evidence that is given in early writings and also such confirmation as has been found more recently.

In his *De Antiquitate*, William of Malmesbury referred to two pyramids which were near the Old Church, *bordering the monks' cemetery*. One, nearer the church, was 26 ft high, divided into five panels, of which three were carved to show figures, including a bishop and a king; while several of the panels carried lettering which he thought might record the names of persons who had been buried there.¹ The second pyramid was 18 ft high and had four panels with lettering. On one of these panels he read the names ['Kentwin'], 'Hedde episcopus', 'Bregored', and 'Beorward'.² In his *Gesta Regum*, William of Malmesbury referred to two pyramids in almost exactly the same words, but he gave their heights as 28 and 26 ft.³ It seems reasonable to assume that these were the same pyramids and that the discrepancy in heights is merely an error in one of the records.

William of Malmesbury, or one of the later emendators of his *De antiquitate*, also referred to two pyramids between which, *within the monks' cemetery*, the famous King Arthur and his queen had been buried.⁴ William of Worcester visited Glastonbury about 1480 and recorded the dimensions of the Lady Chapel, which took the place of the Old Church after the fire of 1184. He also noted that 'opposite the second window on the south there are in the cemetery two stone crosses, hollowed, where the bones of King Arthur were buried, and where Joseph of Arimathea lies'.⁵

John Whitaker visited Glastonbury in 1777 and was shown the ruins of the abbey by a guide who told him that he had himself seen the remains of the pyramids, which he believed (although they were weathered away to a height of only 9 or 10 ft) to be the same as those that had been described in the original account by William of

¹ Malmesbury, *De antiquitate*, ed. Hearne, 44-5; tr. Lomax, 60.

² *Ibid.* ed. Hearne, 45; tr. Lomax, 60. Kentwin was King of Wessex, 676-85; Hedda was Bishop of Winchester, 677-705; and the other two were mentioned by Malmesbury as Abbots of Glastonbury in the time of the Britons.

³ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. W. Stubbs

(Rolls Series, 90, 1) (London, 1887), 25. The name of Kentwin occurs in this account, but not in the description in *De antiquitate*.

⁴ Malmesbury, *De antiquitate*, ed. Hearne, 42-3; tr. Lomax, 58.

⁵ William of Worcester, *Itinerarium*, ed. J. Nasmith (Cambridge, 1778), 294.

Malmesbury.¹ Whitaker said that the pyramids had stood 'a few feet from the north-west angle of the church'; and that the cavities in which they had been set were still to be seen. He justly deplored the recent removal of these historic monuments to serve as gate-posts or as props for a cottage.

From these accounts it seems clear that the pyramids (*pyramides*) recorded by William of Malmesbury were the same as the crosses (*cruces*) recorded by William of Worcester, and that they must have been stone shafts, or columns; otherwise it would be hard to understand how they could have been used as gate-posts, or how their removal could have left cavities in the ground. In this connexion it should be noted that a confident interpretation of the *pyramides* as carved cross-shafts was given by Sir Alfred Clapham in 1930.²

There remains some doubt about the number and the precise position of the cross-shafts recorded by William of Malmesbury, for in one place he spoke of a pair as being *within the cemetery*, which was on the south of the church, while in another place he spoke of a taller pair as being *near the church and bordering the cemetery*. The pair on the south of the church, in the cemetery, are clearly substantiated by the observations of William of Worcester, whereas John Whitaker's account referred to the holes left by the removal of pillars from places close beside the *north-west* angle of the church. Professor Willis used this discrepancy to decide that William of Malmesbury's two differing expressions must have meant that he was describing two separate pairs of crosses, of which the two *in the cemetery* were those that were noted by William of Worcester about 1480 while the two *bordering the cemetery* were those that had recently been removed from beside the north-west angle of the church when John Whitaker visited it in 1777.³

A brief reference should be made to the

remark by William of Worcester that the bones of King Arthur were buried by the crosses on the south of the church. For a variety of reasons, great prominence was given in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to the legends that innumerable saints and heroes, including St Joseph of Arimathea and King Arthur, were buried at Glastonbury. King Henry II was said to have been told by Welsh bards of the burial of Arthur at Glastonbury; but, although he urged the monks to search for the grave, it was not until 1191 that a double grave was found, to the south of the church, below the level of Dunstan's cemetery, with simple coffins of hollowed tree-trunks, containing the bones of an exceptionally tall man and a small woman. These were identified by the monks with King Arthur and Queen Guinevere.⁴

It remains to describe a stone pillar, which must have stood, in the Middle Ages, on the south of the Lady Chapel, about mid-way between its west wall and the west wall of the great church. From the accounts given by Spelman and by Willis,⁵ it seems clear that this was a monument erected by the monks in order to foster the traditions of the early foundation of their original church. It carried a brass plate of which Spelman gave a facsimile reproduction; this recited the belief of the monks that the Old Church had been built soon after the death of Christ by twelve holy men, with Joseph of Arimathea at their head; it continued with the story of St David's addition to the church; and it recorded that the pillar had been placed 48 ft to the south of the church to mark the point of junction of St David's addition with the Old Church, which, it said, had been 60 ft in length and 26 ft in width. A small-scale plan showing the church, with the four pre-Conquest pyramids and this post-Conquest pillar, was published by Willis as the frontispiece to his *Architectural*

¹ J. Whitaker, *Life of St Neot* (London, 1809), 19 and 35-7.

² A. W. Clapham (1930), 61-2.

³ R. Willis, *Architectural History of Glastonbury Abbey* (Cambridge, 1866), 30 and 85. Heights of 28 and 26 ft would be remarkable for carved stone columns and even the smaller heights of 26 and 18 ft cited in *De antiquitate* would be easier to understand if the columns were placed on tall burial mounds, such as that which is still to be seen

beside Valle Crucis Abbey as a base for the Pillar of Elesig. In Fig. 110 we show only two columns, at V on the south of the church.

⁴ Adam of Domerham, *Historia de Rebus Glastoniensibus*, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1727), 341-3. Also, Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, 5 (London, 1770), 45-6.

⁵ H. Spelman, *Concilia* (London, 1639), 8-10; R. Willis, *loc. cit.* 19.

History of Glastonbury Abbey. By what seems to have been a curious error, the much more detailed plan published by Peers, Clapham and Horne to illustrate the excavations of 1928-9 shows the pillar as having been on the *north* of the church.¹ The error is repeated in their text.

DIMENSIONS

The Old Church, if of the same size as the surviving Lady Chapel, was about 60 ft long and 25 ft wide internally. St Dunstan's church had an overall length and breadth of about 85 ft, excluding the part which ran westward as a passage to connect it to the Old Church. The wattled chapel, of which evidence was found in the graveyard, was 13 ft wide and over 17 ft long.

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- C. R. PEERS, A. W. CLAPHAM and E. HORNE, 'Interim report on the excavations at Glastonbury abbey', *Ant. J.* 10 (1930), 24-9. Plan showing church before and after Ine's additions, additions between 700 and 950, and Dunstan's additions of c. 950.
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- C. A. R. RADFORD, 'Excavations at Glastonbury, 1954', *ibid.* 29 (1955), 33-4. Post-holes defined a building 13 ft wide, and over 17 ft long. Pottery of first century and Samian ware from second to sixth. Romano-British pottery in clay used by medieval builders in levelling their site no doubt came from foundation-trenches which cut into buildings such as this.

¹ C. R. Peers, A. W. Clapham and E. Horne, 'Interim report on the excavations at Glastonbury abbey', *Ant. J.* 10 (1930), 24-9. Plan, 25; text, 26.

GLENTWORTH

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 104, reference SK 945881

Figure 469

ST MICHAEL

West tower: period C3

Glentworth is one of the considerable class of Anglo-Saxon villages which stand near, but not actually on, a Roman road, perhaps sufficiently far from it for purposes of concealment, while yet sufficiently close for reasonable convenience of communication. There is now very little village, but the church and hall stand about a mile west of the Roman Ermine Street and about 10 miles north of Lincoln, just at the foot of the western slopes of the long ridge that overlooks the valley of the Trent.

In addition to the west tower, the church has an aisleless nave and chancel, which were rebuilt in the eighteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively. It also has fine monuments to members of the Wray family, of whom Sir Christopher was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1571 and Lord Chief Justice in 1574.

The tower is typical of the late-Saxon work of Lincolnshire; its tall, plain, lower stage, representing more than two-thirds of its total height, has two keyhole windows, and is separated from the upper stage by a plain square string-course and an off-set; the upper stage has the usual four tall, narrow, double belfry windows. The fabric is undressed rubble, of predominantly square shape in the lower part of the tower, but of flatter shape higher up, where it is also more carefully coursed. The quoins are of dressed stone laid in side-alternate fashion.

High up in the south face, immediately below the string-course, is a narrow keyhole window, with tall, rectangular monolithic jambs, and round head cut from a single stone, whose upper semicircular face is outlined by a hood-moulding of square section. The lower ends of the hood-mould rest on short, horizontal impost, and its

outer face is ornamented with the palmette loop pattern which is so characteristic of late-Saxon work in Lincolnshire (cf. Barholm, Coleby, Stow). In the west face, above the inserted Perpendicular window, is a second narrow keyhole window, generally similar to the first, but with its left jamb formed of two stones of which the upper is now much decayed, and with its round head cut in a square stone which has no outlining hood-mould. Neither window has any dressed stone for its sill. Below the Perpendicular west window there are evident signs of the former existence of a west doorway, now removed and blocked. A debased medieval door is shown in this position in a drawing by Mr Fowler in 1876 so that it is not possible to say with certainty whether there was originally an Anglo-Saxon west doorway.

The belfry windows stand immediately above the string-course; their jambs are mainly of dressed stone, but not through-stones; the mid-wall shafts have square bases and interesting capitals; the through-stone slabs on the shafts and the imposts on the jambs are of flat rectangular shape, projecting a few inches from the wall face; and the arched round heads of the individual windows are faced with well-dressed stones of very irregular shape. The mid-wall shafts in the north and west windows are octagonal; that on the east is a circular cylinder; and that on the south is somewhat bulbous, and is ornamented with a line of cable-ornament which is carried vertically down its outer face. All four shafts stand on square bases, and each has a somewhat different capital; those on the east and south have volutes at all four corners, while that on the west seems to have roughly shaped animals' heads instead of volutes. The northern capital differs completely from all the others by being rectangular instead of square in plan, with volutes on its outer corners, and a long projection running inward to the belfry.

In the western belfry window there is clear evidence, first recorded by Fowler in 1876, that a bell formerly hung in the space between the mid-wall shaft and the jamb. The evidence is similar to that to be seen at Bolam, namely a groove and deep hole for the axle, and a groove in the form of a larger concentric circle, where the rim of the bell cut into the stone as it swung.

Above the belfry is a second string-course

similar to that below, and the tower is then finished with a simple square parapet.

Internally, the tower-arch has square jambs of dressed stone, square chamfered imposts, which are not returned round the faces of the wall, and dressed stone facings for the arrises of the arch, which is plastered below. From the first-floor chamber of the tower a doorway originally opened to the nave; this is now blocked, but it is still visible inside the tower in the form of a square-headed recess, with jambs of large dressed stones, laid in some semblance of 'Escomb fashion'. The interior of the western keyhole window is also visible in this chamber; its jambs are formed of large stones which run through the thickness of the wall from its inner face as far as the outer facing of the window; and its head is formed of two flat lintel-stones.

DIMENSIONS

The two stages of the tower are respectively about 32 and 14 ft in height, the ground floor is 9 ft 9 in. (east-west) by 9 ft 2 in. (north-south) internally, and its walls are about 3 ft 4 in. thick.

The tower-arch is 6 ft 2 in. wide and about 10 ft 6 in. tall to the crown. The southern keyhole window is 6 in. wide and about 4 ft tall.

REFERENCES

- C. H. FOWLER, 'Glentworth church', *A.A.S.R.* 14 (1877-8), 57-60. Good architectural description. West elevation before restoration, several sketches of architectural detail.
- A. H. THOMPSON, 'Pre-Conquest church towers in north Lincolnshire', *ibid.* 29 (1907-8), 43-70. Photograph from the south-west facing p. 43.

GODALMING

Surrey

Map sheet 169, reference SU 968440

Figure 470

ST PETER AND ST PAUL

Parts of original nave and chancel within present nave and tower: period C

At first sight, the fine parish church of St Peter and St Paul at Godalming shows no evidence of Anglo-

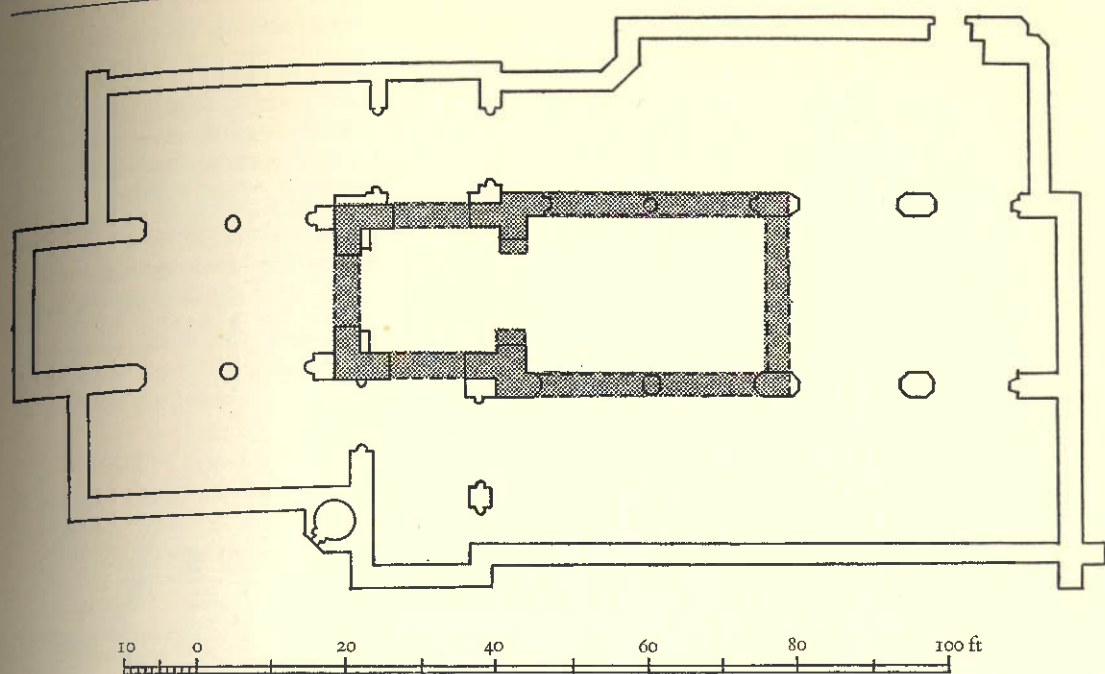


FIG. III. GODALMING, SURREY

Plan showing the relation of the original Anglo-Saxon church to the greatly enlarged church of the present day.

Saxon workmanship either externally or internally; and even after careful inspection it is difficult to believe that there is anything earlier than the Norman work in the chancel, transepts, and lower part of the tower. But an Anglo-Saxon chancel-arch had survived until it was swept away in 1879, and two circular double-splayed windows which were allowed to survive at that time may still be seen, if permission be obtained to ascend through the bell-ringers' chamber to the cramped space next above it in the tower.

Mr Nevill, who acted jointly with Sir George Gilbert Scott in directing the alterations of 1879, appreciated and recorded the pre-Conquest character of the chancel-arch and also the significance of the surviving remains in the tower;¹ but his account of the church seems to have escaped general notice, and the true character of the early work seems to have been independently discovered by Mr Welman in 1900.²

According to Nevill, the present large and elaborate church developed from a small Anglo-

Saxon aisleless church in the following way: first, a tower was added on top of the Anglo-Saxon chancel, and a new longer chancel was added eastwards; next, transepts were added to the north and south of the tower; still later, aisles were added to the north and south of the chancel and the nave; and finally the nave was lengthened to the westward.

The evidence advanced by Nevill to prove that the Norman tower was built on top of an Anglo-Saxon chancel may be set out in the following way. In the first place, at a level just above the bell-ringers' chamber, the west wall of the tower showed a break in its masonry, where the upper part of the wall had been built on top of the eastern gable of the original nave, while in the bell-ringers' chamber itself there could be seen on the east face of this wall the line of attachment of the original roof of the chancel. In the second place, a section of the south-east quoin of the nave had survived at the level of the capitals of the later arcade of the nave. Finally, the original chancel-

¹ R. Nevill, *Surrey Arch. C.* 7 (1880), 277-87.

² S. Welman, *The Parish and Church of Godalming* (London, 1900), 12-13.

arch was still in position, under the west wall of the tower; a plain round arch of a single square order, quite different from the arch of two recessed orders which the Normans inserted in the original east wall of the chancel when they built their new chancel to the east.

To this evidence recorded by Nevill in 1879, Welman added in 1900 the discovery of the two blocked, double-splayed circular windows in the west wall of the tower; and he correctly inter-

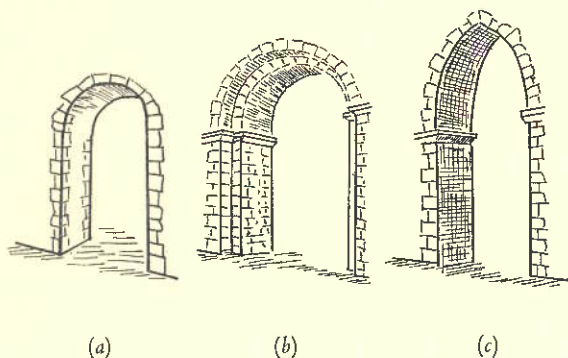


FIG. 112. GODALMING, SURREY

The arches of the tower, after S. Welman. (a) The early arch to the nave, destroyed about 1880 by Sir Gilbert Scott and Mr Ralph Nevill; (b) the Norman arch to the chancel, still standing; (c) one of the lateral arches to the transepts, still standing, and of transitional character.

preted these windows as having originally opened through the east gable of the nave so as to look out over the roof of the chancel. These windows therefore served either to light the upper part of the east end of the nave or to light a chamber or gallery over that part of the nave. They were opened out in 1920 and may now be inspected in the stage of the tower next above the bell-ringers' chamber (compare Figs. 113 and 470).

The detailed description of the eastern gable of the nave, as recorded by Nevill in 1879, is of sufficient interest and importance to justify its inclusion here in his own words, particularly since the strengthening of the tower involved the destruction of much of the evidence:¹

Visible from the ringing floor was the line of attachment of a queenpost roof, clearly marked on the east side of the wall, and a stage above that [was] the line of termination of a gable, showing the original height of the roof over

this wall. It will scarcely be credited that the builders who raised the next stage of the tower, finishing with the heavy spire, never took the trouble to bond their work into this old gable, except just at the bottom and the top, in consequence of which an opening about an inch wide existed along the line of the gable, admitting through the 3-ft wall a draught strong enough to blow out a candle held against it, so that the tower had for the last 700 years virtually stood on the three [other] sides. In order to make this side secure, we have been forced in great measure to obliterate these roof marks by cutting out the wall and putting bonding stones and irons across the cracks. I should add that the topmost gable line has no connexion with the present early roof of the nave.

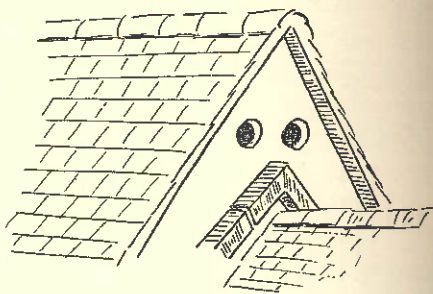


FIG. 113. GODALMING, SURREY

Reconstruction of the original appearance of the circular double-splayed windows in the eastern gable of the nave, after S. Welman. See Fig. 470 for a photograph of these circular windows as they survive today.

It is also of interest to record Nevill's description of the chancel-arch which Scott and he destroyed, and of the wall in which it stood:²

The arch was a plain round arch on a simple impost, and of rude workmanship, and the walling [was] of loose masonry of thin Bargate stones laid in herring-bone fashion differing therein, and in the inferior quality of the stone, from the rest of the tower.

The present nave has arcades of four bays, and the construction of its walls is hidden by plaster; but the original western extent of the aisleless Anglo-Saxon nave may be inferred as about half the present length, ending at the point where solid blocks of masonry stand, instead of columns, between the second and third bays from the east. Short sections of the original solid side walls of the nave remain at the east as responds for the later arcades, and the unusually tall character of the nave is at once apparent.

¹ *Surrey Arch. C. 7* (1880), 277-8.

² *Ibid.* 277.

DIMENSIONS

The original nave is 20 ft 7 in. wide internally, and was about 31 ft long. Its side walls are 2 ft 9 in. thick and about 26 ft high. The original chancel, now the interior of the tower, is about 16 ft 6 in. square internally.

The circular double-splayed windows have apertures about 8 in. in diameter, splayed to a little over 1 ft; their centres are 2 ft 3 in. apart, from north to south, and are at a height of about 37 ft above the ground.

REFERENCES

- R. NEVILL, 'Notes on the restoration of Godalming church', *Surrey Arch. C.* 7 (1880), 277-87. Very valuable account of accurate observations made during restoration. Original church deduced as Saxon.
- S. WELMAN, *The Parish and Church of Godalming* (London, 1900). Independent deduction of Saxon character of core of church.
- V.C.H., *Surrey*, 3 (London, 1911), 37-41. Good architectural description, dated plan.
- G. T. PILCHER, 'Godalming church, the Saxon windows', *Surrey Arch. C.* 33 (1920), 116-17. Note about access to windows.

GOSBECK

Suffolk

Map sheet 150, reference TM 150556

ST MARY

Nave: Saxo-Norman

Gosbeck church, about 7 miles north of Ipswich, stands remote from its small village, in a circular churchyard, surrounded by a ditch or moat partially filled with water. The fabric is of flint, with stone dressings, and to the aisleless nave and chancel there have been added in later times a vestry to the north of the chancel, and a square tower, which also forms an entrance-porch, at the south-west of the nave. The church was heavily restored in 1883, but the north wall of the nave seems to have been left substantially unchanged.

The eastern quoins of the nave are in long-and-short technique of the sort in which the 'longs' are rectangular in plan and are not particularly

tall. The western quoins have vanished or have been covered by the addition of a stair-turret at the south and a diagonal buttress at the north. High up, about the centre of the north wall, is a tall, narrow, round-headed, single-splayed window with monolithic head, monolithic sill, and jambs built of several small stones. Internally this window has a segmental head and stepped sill, but all details of its construction are hidden by plaster. Somewhat to the west of the window is a round-headed doorway of simple character. Its jambs and arched head are cut straight through the wall, and, although neither jambs nor head are built of through-stones, the salient angles of the jambs are formed of big stones set in side-alternate fashion.

It is impossible to say with any certainty that the features described above are Anglo-Saxon rather than early Norman, but they certainly show Anglo-Saxon influence, particularly in the quoining and in the cutting of the doorway straight through the wall, without any rebate for the door.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 39 ft long internally and about 20 ft wide, with walls 2 ft 10 in. thick and about 16 ft tall. The north window is 9 in. wide and 3 ft 10 in. tall externally, splayed to 3 ft 2 in. wide by 6 ft tall internally. Its external sill is 9 ft 6 in. from the ground, and its glass 3 in. from the outer face of the wall. The north doorway is 3 ft 3 in. wide and 7 ft 5 in. tall.

REFERENCE

- J. G. WALLER, 'Notes on Anglo-Saxon masonry', *J.B.A.A.* 1 (1846), 117-20. Gosbeck briefly mentioned, 118.

GREEN'S NORTON

Northamptonshire

Map sheet 146, reference SP 669499

Figures 471, 472

ST BARTHOLOMEW

Nave: period C or earlier

The Anglo-Saxon churches of the villages of Green's Norton, about 2 miles north-west of Towcester, and its two neighbours, Pattishall and

Stowe-nine-Churches, all lie within about a mile of the Roman Watling Street. The church of St Bartholomew now consists of a west tower and spire, an aisled nave with south porch and north vestry, and an aisleless chancel. The original Anglo-Saxon aisleless nave is entirely enclosed within the medieval structure, except where its tall western quoins appear externally on either side of the tower. The north and south walls of the tower are built against the old west wall of the nave, and can be seen not to be in bond with it, until, above the topmost stones of the long-and-short quoining, the later stonework of the raised walls of the nave is in bond with that of the tower.

The medieval aisle walls have been carried eastward for one bay beyond the original east wall of the nave, and the ground plan of the church now provides an ambulatory between the nave and chancel. Within this ambulatory, the eastern quoins of the old nave can be seen; that on the north shows clearly defined long-and-short work, while that on the south is only fragmentary, but rests on a projecting plinth of square section, which runs westward along the original south wall from the quoin to the first arch of the medieval arcade.

The greater part of the Anglo-Saxon east wall of the nave has been cut away to provide a wide, pointed opening to the ambulatory and chancel; but, above this pointed chancel-arch, the original wall remains, with a narrow, blocked doorway in it, close to the present roof. The monolithic jambs of this doorway, sloping slightly inwards towards the top, are visible both from east and west. On the west face of the wall they rest on boldly projecting corbel bases, which suggest supports for a floor or gallery; on the east there is an even larger corbel-like base for the south jamb, but a very decayed one for the north. Both jambs have flat, rectangular, projecting imposts,

and the doorway has its triangular head formed of two large sloping stones.

Additional evidence of the Anglo-Saxon nature of the main side walls of the nave is provided by the presence, over the two pointed arches of the north arcade, of the round-arched heads of three blocked windows. Their outer faces are not visible, and therefore it is not possible to settle whether their splays were double or single.

DIMENSIONS

The nave measures 37 ft by 18 ft 6 in. internally and its walls are about 2 ft 8 in. thick and over 25 ft high, excluding the later clear-storey. The triangular-headed doorway above the chancel-arch is about 2 ft wide and about 6 ft tall, with its sill about 30 ft above the floor.

REFERENCE

Editorial, 'Green's Norton', *A.A.S.R.* 21 (1891-2), xl.
Report of thorough restoration, including rebuilding of the chancel and porch.

GREENSTED

Essex

Map sheet 161, reference TL 538030

ST ANDREW

Wooden nave, unique in England: period C

The timber nave of Greensted church, near Chipping Ongar and about 5 miles east of Epping, is of great interest because it is the only remaining example of the many timber churches of Anglo-Saxon days and also because a thirteenth-century writer claimed that it was in existence in 1013 when the body of St Edmund, King and Martyr, was conveyed from London to Bury.¹ The church, now consisting of a modern wooden west tower,

¹ G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 39. It is commonly said, as in the note by Baldwin Brown, that the church was built to house the sacred body when it rested near Ongar for the night. There is no evidence to prove that the church was built for this purpose, and the solid, careful construction seems more appropriate to a church that was previously in existence, having been built at leisure. Moreover, although Dugdale says that the body of St Edmund rested near Ongar on the journey from London to Bury,

there does not seem to be an authority earlier than the thirteenth century for this detail, and the earliest authority known to us does not include it (Hermann, *De miraculis Sancti Edmundi*, in *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series, 96, 1) (London, 1890), 44-5). Hermann wrote towards the end of the eleventh century (*Dictionary of National Biography*, 26, ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee (London, 1891), 249).

the Anglo-Saxon nave, and a Tudor brick chancel, was restored in 1848, when the lower parts of the oak tree-trunks of which the nave is built were sawn off and the whole structure rebuilt on a brick plinth and oak sill. It is difficult to be sure, a hundred years later, how necessary this restoration actually was, but the Rev. A. Suckling recorded his opinion in 1845 that the walls were then so sound and strong as to defy conjecture about the limits of their durability.¹ Many

it was dismembered.² His brief history of the church was first published in 1869, and the first three editions (1869, 1871 and 1881) all contained a scale drawing to show how the individual logs were shaped, with a tenon at the bottom and the top, so as to be fitted securely into mortises cut in the oak sill and the oak roof-plate. Ray's drawing shows the logs, as now set, with the oak sill resting on the brick base; but his text quite unambiguously describes the arrangement of sill, roof-plate, tenons and mortises as having been original. The text also describes, and the drawing shows, that the adjacent curved surfaces of the tree-trunks were each prepared with a long groove, so that tongues of oak could be let in between each pair of logs to join them securely together and exclude all draughts. Ray's account also draws attention to the way the interior faces of many of the logs seemed to have been surfaced with an adze, leaving a rough surface with plenty of texture to form a good attachment for the plaster with which the interior of the church was covered before the restoration. It seems hard to understand why, after the restoration, the interior walls were left bare; and even harder to understand why unsightly wooden battens were nailed against the inner faces of the logs so as to cover the joints.

A particularly interesting feature of the original construction is that the north-west corner is formed from a single log out of whose inner face one quadrant has been cut, so that the log forms a part of each of the two adjacent walls. The south-west corner is similarly treated, but it seems to be of modern workmanship; and the eastern corners have not survived.

Recent excavations in the chancel have established the former existence of a small wooden chancel, of upright logs set in the ground, without any sill, and of a larger wooden chancel which replaced it; the larger chancel had a wooden sill and may therefore be assumed to have been of the same general type as the existing nave. We are indebted to Dr Olaf Olsen and Mr Haakon Christie, and to Messrs Dufty and Hope-Taylor for permission to include this brief note of the results of their excavations during June 1960.

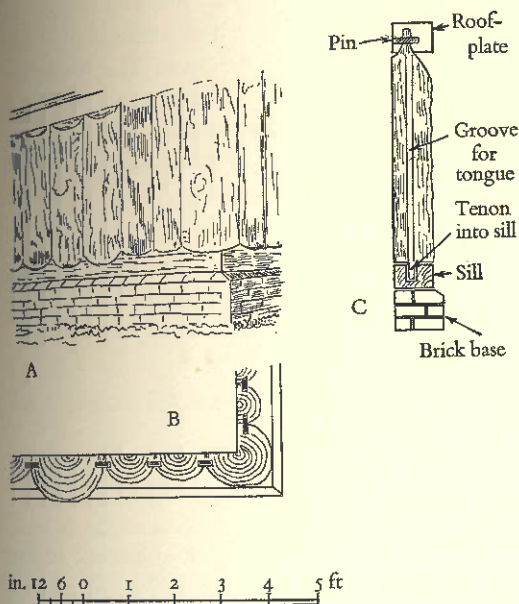


FIG. 114. GREENSTED, ESSEX

The north-west corner of the wooden nave. A, perspective view; B, plan; C, a section through the wall, showing the groove for the tongue which joins adjacent trunks. Note the way in which the uprights are mortised into the sill and into the roof-plate.

interesting details were lost in the restoration, but the form of the original nave can still be visualized, namely, a rectangular chamber whose walls are formed by tree-trunks that have been cut or split apart near the centre and arranged in an upright position, with their curved surfaces outside, and their flat surfaces forming the inner walls of the nave.

A careful account of the precise fashion of the jointing of the timbers before the restoration is given in a booklet published by the Rector who held office at that time and saw the structure when

¹ A. Suckling, *Weale's Quarterly Papers*, 3 (1845), 4-7.

² P. W. Ray, *The History of Greensted Church*.

DIMENSIONS

Internally the nave is 29 ft 5 in. long and 17 ft 3 in. wide. The walls vary in thickness between about 5 in. and 10 in. The height of the original walling between the sill and the roof-plate is now 4 ft 4 in. on the south wall and 4 ft 8 in. on the north.

REFERENCES

- S. LETHIEULLIER, *Vetusta Monumenta*, 2 (London, 1789), plate 7.
- Anonymous, 'Wooden church at Greensted, Essex', *Builder*, 7 (1849), 115.
- A. SUCKLING, 'County of Essex', *Weale's Quarterly Papers*, 3 (1845), 4-7. Historical account and brief architectural description of church as it was before restoration. Plan inaccurate both in details and in dimensions.
- P. W. RAY, *The History of Greensted Church* (Ongar, 1869, 1871, and 1881). Historical account and scale drawing of details.
- H. LAVER, 'Greensted church', *T. Essex Arch. S.* 10 (1906-8), 99-103. Good bibliography and good general account of the church.
- V.C.H., *Essex*, 4 (London, 1956), 60-2. Historical and architectural description. Copy of Lethieullier's drawings.

GREETWELL

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 113, reference TF 013714

ALL SAINTS

Keyhole window in south wall of nave: period C

Greetwell church is pleasantly situated in open fields about 2 miles east of Lincoln, on the north side of the River Witham. It now consists of an apsidal chancel, an aisleless nave with south porch, and a square west tower. The main fabric is all of limestone; but in the walls of the chancel the stones are large and roughly squared, whereas in the nave they are much smaller and much rougher in shape. The quoins of the nave seem in the main to have been rebuilt; but the south-east quoin is perhaps mainly original, and is of side-alternate construction, without any very large stones.

The only distinctively pre-Conquest feature is a blocked keyhole window, about the middle of the south wall of the nave, partly cut away by a Perpendicular window. The keyhole window is tall and narrow, and its head is much wider than the main body of the window. The head is cut in a single large stone, while each jamb is formed of one tall upright stone and two flat stones.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is irregularly laid out and is 39 ft in length internally, and 18 ft 3 in. wide at the east, but only 15 ft 11 in. at the west. The walls are only 2 ft 6 in. thick and are about 20 ft high. The keyhole window is 7 in. wide and about 4 ft 8 in. tall, with its sill 11 ft above the ground. Its head is about 10 in. in diameter.

GUESTWICK

Norfolk

Map sheet 125, reference TG 062270

Figures 473, 474

ST PETER

Lower stages of tower, formerly axial but now at east of north aisle; vestiges of north wall of chancel; and north-east quoin of nave: period C

The small village of Guestwick, about 9 miles east of Fakenham, has a church whose history is now difficult to interpret because of the many changes that must have taken place. Of the original church only the tower now remains, a simple, square, unbuttressed structure, mainly of uncut flints, with a fragment of the north wall of the vanished chancel attached to its east face, and the north-east quoin of the vanished nave standing like a buttress at its north-west corner. The present church has grown up to the south of the one which it supplanted; and the original tower now stands at the east of the north aisle, having apparently served for a time as a north transept, but being now isolated from the church save for a doorway from the aisle. The church now consists of an aisled nave, with south porch; an aisleless chancel; and the original tower, now carrying an additional belfry stage in the Perpendicular style.

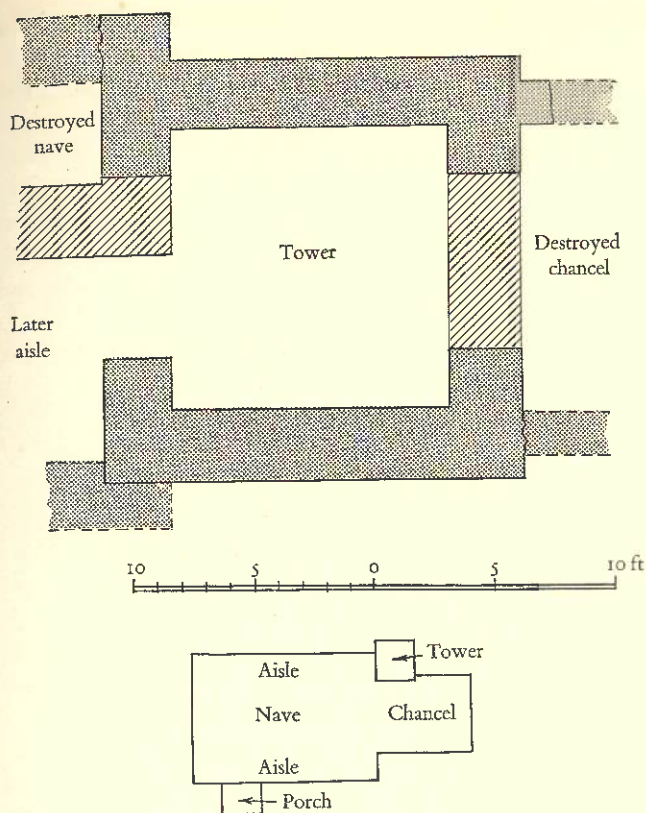


FIG. 115. GUESTWICK, NORFOLK

The main diagram shows the tower as it survives today, with its eastern arch blocked and the stumps of the side walls of the ruined chancel visible on the east. The stump of the north wall of the ruined nave appears like a buttress at the north-west corner of the tower. The small-scale diagram below shows the position of the tower in relation to the much greater church which has grown up to the south.

The quoins of the tower are of considerable interest; those below the original belfry are of small blocks of limestone laid on their faces, while the original belfry has plain flint quoins without any stone facings. The later Gothic belfry has ashlar quoins.

The former existence of the original chancel is shown clearly not only by the broken remains of its north wall projecting from the east face of the tower, and by the gable-marks of its steeply pitched roof, but also by the blocked arch which formerly opened from the tower to the chancel. On its eastern, exterior, face this is a plain round-headed arch with no specially Anglo-Saxon characteristics except the non-radial setting of the rough, thin voussoirs. The jambs are ornamentally formed of alternating blocks of brown carstone and light-coloured limestone, and the impost are of small blocks of the latter, chamfered below.

Above this chancel-arch there is no opening below the roof-line of the chancel; but above the gable is a small, round-headed, internally splayed window whose head is cut in the lower face of a single, rectangular stone and whose jambs are each formed of four small, roughly dressed stones. The original belfry stage, next above, has a large, single, round-headed window, formed in the flint fabric of the wall, without any dressed stone for its jambs or head.

The north face of the tower has a modern light for the ground floor; the first and second floors each have narrow, round-headed, single-splayed windows, like that in the east face, but with their jambs each built of three stones; and the original belfry stage has a large, round-headed, belfry window like that to the east.

The lower part of the west face is almost completely covered by the later north aisle of the

present church; but the north jamb of the blocked arch that originally opened westward may still be seen, as well as the lower few voussoirs of the arch. These are of dressed stone, completely different from the rough, thin voussoirs of the eastern arch, and much more reminiscent of Norman work. Beside the lowest voussoir is a grotesque head, like that of a pig or a muzzled bear. Above the roof of the aisle may be seen the round head of a doorway, which originally opened from the first floor of the tower towards the nave, a doorway with rough, rubble jambs, and rough, thin voussoirs laid in non-radial fashion. There is no opening at second-floor level, and the belfry opening is similar to the two already described. The lower part of the south face of the tower is wholly obscured by the later chancel, but the original belfry stage is visible, of exactly the same form as in the other three faces.

The interior of the tower is now used for storage; but it is perhaps the most interesting part of the early fabric, for the western face of the chancel-arch is outlined by triple strip-work mouldings, which are carried up beside the jambs and round the head of the arch. These mouldings are formed of small stones, carefully chosen and accurately laid to form half-round mouldings, each about 4 in. in diameter. The western arch towards the original nave is quite plain; and above it the doorway, which opened westward from the first floor of the tower, is also a perfectly plain, round-headed opening.

The interior faces of the windows are widely splayed, and a clear line marking the former position of the first floor may be seen at the level of the sill of the western doorway, about 2 ft below the sills of the first-floor windows.

In the south face of the tower an irregular archway has been cut at some time at ground-floor level, presumably to open the tower into the present church like a transept; but this archway has later been blocked.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is roughly square in plan, 11 ft 5 in. from east to west internally, by 11 ft 10 in. from north to south. Its walls are about 3 ft thick, and the height to the top of the original belfry is about 40 ft.

The surviving fragment of north wall of the

chancel is only 1 ft 10 in. thick, and is set in 1 ft from the angle of the tower, so that the chancel must have been about 12 ft wide internally. The surviving north-east quoin of the nave projects 2 ft to the north of the tower.

The east arch of the tower is 7 ft 3 in. wide and 9 ft 10 in. high. The three mouldings outlining the arch measure 1 ft 3 in. in total breadth. The west arch is 7 ft 6 in. wide and 10 ft 4 in. high. The doorway above it is 2 ft 4 in. wide and about 6 ft high, with its sill 15 ft above the ground floor.

REFERENCES

- H. M. CAUTLEY, *Norfolk Churches* (Ipswich, 1949), 203. Tower dated as Norman.
A. W. CLAPHAM, 'Great Dunham', *Arch. J.* 106 (1949), 105. The towers of Great Dunham, Newton-by-Castleacre, and Guestwick all noted as axial (or originally axial), and of much the same age.

GUILDFORD

Surrey

Map sheet 170, reference SU 996494

Figure 475

ST MARY

Tower: period C

On rising ground to the east of the River Wey the handsome tower of St Mary's church stands in Quarry Street, a little to the south of High Street, and in the angle between it and the river. The present church, largely of Norman and Early English date, wholly surrounds the lower part of the tower, the chancel covering its east face, the nave its west, and the aisles flanking it on both sides. The whole church is full of interest, but the only Anglo-Saxon part is the tower, which is built of flint, without any use of dressed stone for facings or quoins, but with four vertical pilaster-strips, also formed of flint, on each of its faces.

No clearly defined original openings remain visible from outside; but on the north, south and west there are round-headed windows of uncertain date, asymmetrically placed, with patches of tile in their jambs; while lower down on the north face traces may be seen of tiles laid in an arched formation, as though for an arcade, or

for the round heads of windows that have now disappeared.

The tower is of late-Saxon date, and after the Conquest the Normans used it as the west tower of a church which they built to the east of it, probably extending further east than the present chancel. Early in the twelfth century the east end took its present form, when the apsidal chapels were built on each side of the present chancel, which until

tower was originally western or axial, with these faces external to the church. In each of these faces is a round-headed double-splayed window, with its sill about 9 ft above the floor, and its aperture in the middle of the thickness of the wall. The window in the north face is centrally placed between the two central pilasters, but that in the south is curiously placed in the eastern compartment, with its outer splay cutting away

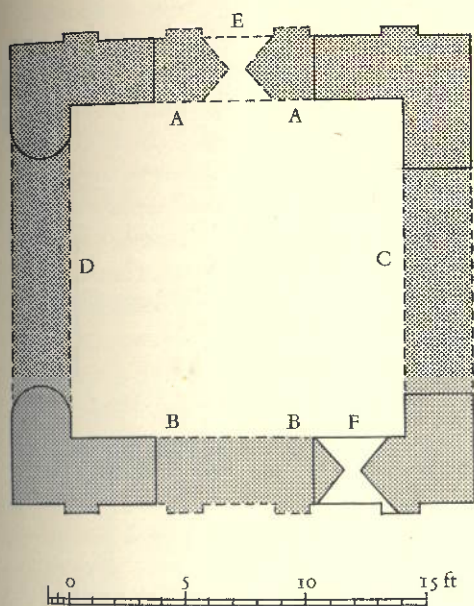


FIG. 116. GUILDFORD, SURREY

Plan of the Anglo-Saxon tower, showing the four pilaster-strips on each of the north and south faces. Norman openings have been cut through the north and south faces at A and B; and post-Norman openings to east and west at C and D. The original double-splayed windows are shown at E and F. It should be noted particularly how the window F cuts into the eastern pilaster-strip on the south face.

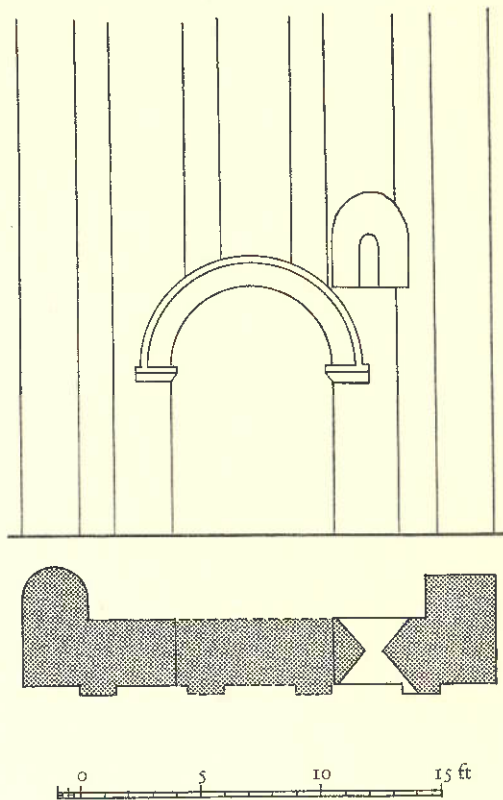


FIG. 117. GUILDFORD, SURREY

Elevation and plan of the south wall of the tower.

then had probably been the Norman nave. Shortly thereafter the present nave was built, to the west of the tower, and an opening was made into it through the west wall of the tower. Early in the thirteenth century the east end was remodelled in the Early English style, and later in the same century the narrow Norman aisles of the nave were widened to their present form.

In the interior of the church, the walls of the tower are plastered within and without; but on its north and south faces the pilaster-strips still continue to the floor, thus indicating that the

about half of the eastern pilaster. Both north and south walls have been pierced in Norman times by round-headed arches, which give access to the side aisles, and which, by cutting away parts of the double-splayed windows, prove them to be of earlier date than the arches themselves. There are no Anglo-Saxon features visible inside the church in the east and west walls of the tower.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 14 ft square internally, with walls varying between 2 ft 8 in. and 2 ft 10 in. in

thickness; its total height is about 60 ft. The pilaster-strips project about 4 in. from the wall-face, and are between 1 ft 6 in. and 1 ft 8 in. wide at the base.

The apertures of the double-splayed windows are about 9 in. wide and 1 ft 6 in. tall, splayed to become about 3 ft by 4 ft in the wall-face.

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V. C. H., *Surrey*, 3 (London, 1911), 563-9. Architectural description, with dated plan.

HACKNESS

Yorkshire, North Riding

Map sheet 93, reference SE 969905

Figure 476

ST PETER

Nave: period B1

Few churches have preserved such an ideally rural setting as that of St Peter at Hackness, beside a quiet lake in the well-wooded Forge Valley, only 5 miles west of Scarborough. The church itself is full of interest; and the broken cross-shaft preserved in its south aisle provides material for a whole chapter in the sixth volume of Baldwin Brown's *Arts in Early England*, at the end of which it is nevertheless described as presenting some unsolved problems.

It is recorded by Bede that in A.D. 680, the year of her death, the abbess Hilda of Whitby built a monastery at Hackness.¹ In 1096, in spite of the Danish destruction of the monastery of Whitby about 867-9, there were still two churches in Hackness, dedicated to St Peter and St Mary, and both were still in existence, c. 1160.² All trace has now been lost of St Mary's, as well as of the monastery, but it is possible that stones from these earlier churches have been incorporated in St Peter's.³

From outside, the church appears to be wholly of Gothic construction, with a Perpendicular west tower surmounted by a spire, an aisled nave with south porch, and a chancel. But the interior of the church tells a different story, for the south arcade is Norman, with two bays of round-headed arches which have been cut through a wall only 2 ft in thickness, leaving vestiges of earlier windows near the two ends of the wall. The narrow, flat-headed, outer face of the eastern window may be seen in the south aisle, and both imposts of its inner face have survived in the nave, as well as its eastern jamb and part of its sill. The window has clearly been single-splayed, but it is not now possible to say what was the nature of its interior head. Of the western window only the western jamb and part of the head remain in the nave, and a trace of the western jamb in the aisle.

Whereas these early windows have been almost wholly destroyed by the Norman arcade, the chancel-arch has survived almost intact: a simple round arch, formed of nineteen well-laid voussoirs, all of which are through-stones. The arch springs from square imposts which project both on the soffit and also on both wall-faces. The north impost is carved on its soffit with a pattern of interlaced creatures, part bird and part beast, in a style which Baldwin Brown dates with some certainty to the second half of the eighth century, by comparison with a coin of Offa of Mercia (757-96).⁴ It is possible that the impost came from an earlier building and that the chancel-arch is later than the eighth century; but, as Baldwin Brown pointed out, there are no late-Saxon features in the church, and it therefore seems reasonable to accept the evidence of the impost and to assign the church to period B. The jambs of the chancel-arch are each formed of five through-stones, laid alternately flat and upright, in 'Escomb fashion'. These have most unfortunately been chamfered at some later date and have thereby lost much of their original simple dignity.

Three of the original side-alternate quoins of the nave may still be seen; both western quoins have survived for the greater part of their height

¹ *H.E.* iv, 23.

² W. Farrer, *Yorkshire Charters*, 2 (Edinburgh, 1915), 197-200.

³ A note in the church says that the vestry was built in 1625 with stones from the original abbey.

⁴ G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 204.

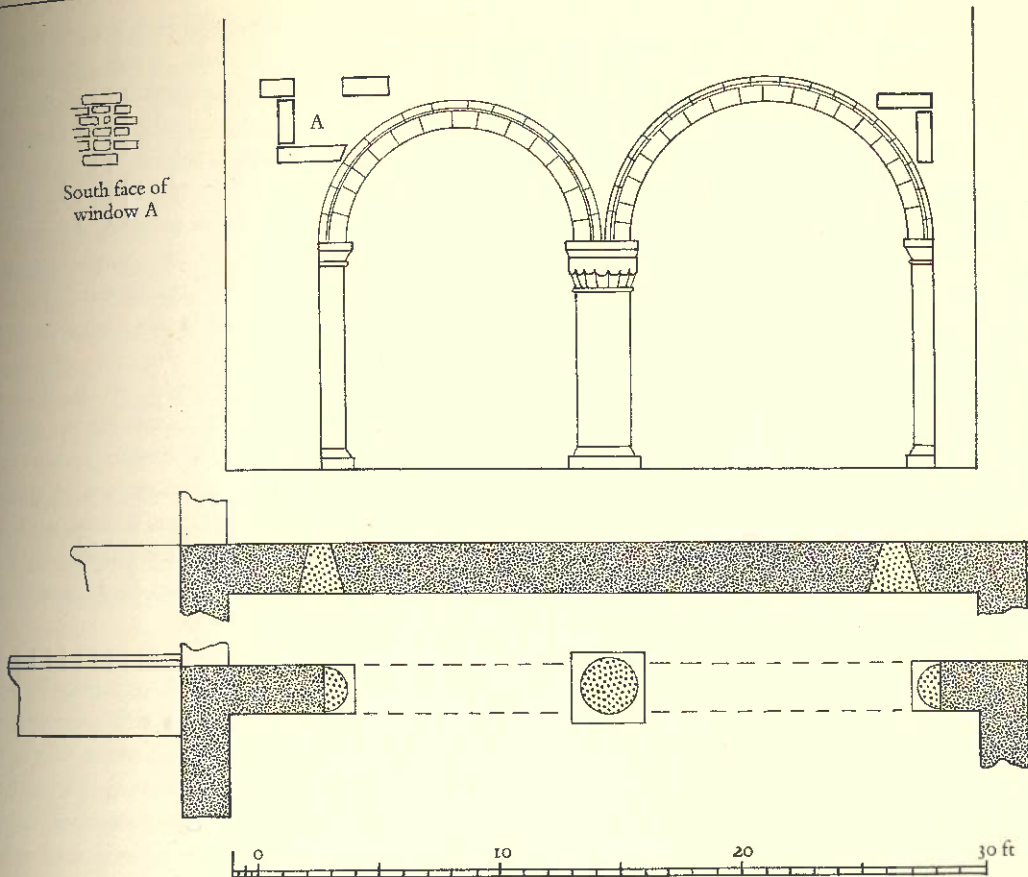


FIG. 118. HACKNESS, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)

Elevation of the south wall of the nave with plans at two levels. The upper plan is at the level of the windows and the lower plan at the level of the later Norman arcade.

beside the tower, while a part of the north-eastern quoin may be seen in the north aisle. The south-eastern quoin is entirely hidden by the east wall of the south aisle, but the south wall of the chancel, for a length of about 10 ft eastward from the nave and for about the same height, seems to be of the same character as the walling of the nave, and quite different from the remainder of the

chancel. This difference in walling of the chancel is equally visible internally.

The early fabric is of well-squared stones of considerable size, neatly laid, and the wall containing the chancel-arch seems to be original for its full height. In the upper gable of this wall are some traces of a blocked opening, perhaps a window or a door.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 31 ft long internally, by 18 ft wide, with walls only 2 ft thick and about 20 ft high. The chancel-arch is 10 ft wide and about 15 ft high, also in a wall 2 ft thick.

The blocked windows in the south wall had their interior sills at 13 ft 6 in. above the present floor, and were about 2 ft wide internally, narrowing to 1 ft externally.

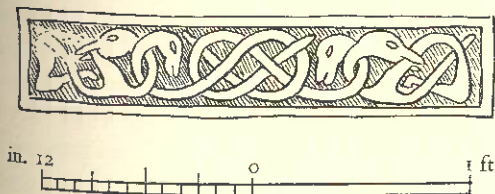


FIG. 119. HACKNESS, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)
Detail of the carving on the north impost
of the chancel-arch.

REFERENCES

- Anonymous, 'The ecclesiology of Scarborough', *The Ecclesiologist*, 9 (1848-9), 243-5. Chancel-arch noted as Anglo-Saxon, 243.
- A. H. THOMPSON, 'The monastic settlement at Hackness', *Yorks. Arch. J.* 27 (1924), 388-405.
- J. BILSON, 'Hackness church', *ibid.* 406-7. Brief architectural description, with special note of blocked windows.
- A. W. CLAPHAM, 'Hackness, the church and pre-Conquest crosses', *Arch. J.* 105 (1948), 82.
- V.C.H., *Yorkshire, North Riding*, 2 (London, 1923), 530-1. Plan, brief description, and interior view.
- V.C.H., *Yorkshire*, 3 (London, 1913), 107. Brief historical note.

HADDISCOE

Norfolk

Map sheet 137, reference TM 439969

ST MARY

Round west tower: period C3

About 4 miles north of Beccles the main road to Yarmouth dips sharply, to cross a small tributary of the River Waveney; and Haddiscoe church stands prominently on the opposite rise, a small flint-built church, consisting of a narrow, circular west tower, a nave with north aisle and south porch, and an aisleless chancel.

The late-Saxon round tower is built in flint, in four stages separated by chamfered string-courses of dressed stone, and crowned by a chequered Perpendicular parapet with battlements. Overall the tower is about 55 ft high, and its lowest stage is appreciably taller than any of the upper three, which are all roughly equal in height. The lowest stage has no external openings other than a western, round-headed, single-splayed window, apparently of modern construction. The next two stages each have three small, single-splayed, round-headed windows, which rest on the string-courses and are all of identical form, with heads each cut from a single stone and jambs each built of three well-dressed stones.

The fourth stage has four double belfry windows with triangular heads and cylindrical mid-wall shafts. The shafts have cubical scalloped caps; the

jambs have angle shafts; and each double window is outlined by strip-work, which follows the jambs and the double angular shape of the head, the strip itself being enriched with billet ornament. On the eastern window alone, the outlining strip-work has the appearance of having originally been arranged in semicircular form, to cover the whole head of the double window under a single arch, as at Herringfleet. The detail of these windows is Norman in character rather than Anglo-Saxon, except for the use of the through-stone slab supported on a mid-wall shaft. It therefore seems reasonable to put the tower in the period of the Saxo-Norman overlap. Some confirmation of Anglo-Saxon workmanship is given by the fact that the re-entrant angles between the nave and tower are relieved by small pilaster-strips of the same plain flint construction as the walls themselves.

The blocked north doorway is a good example of simple Norman workmanship; while the south doorway, of the same period, is richly ornamented in a form which shows distinct traces of the survival of Anglo-Saxon influence, particularly in the carved hood-mould of square section which is carried down on either side of the doorway as a square pilaster-strip. Above the door is a niche, framed by a round arch, which is supported on ornamental columns and outlined by a carved hood-mould and pilaster-strips. Within this niche is a seated figure of rather unusual appearance, shown in low relief, clad in elaborate vestments, with both hands upraised, holding what appear to be short sceptres. The figure has no halo, but may nevertheless represent a Christ in Majesty, since above its head a somewhat defaced carving suggests a dove, or the Hand of God appearing from a cloud, as at Headbourne Worthy.

Internally the Anglo-Saxon character of the tower is confirmed by the lofty tower-arch cut straight through the wall, with its round head formed in a single square order, and its plain, chamfered imposts returned into the nave but not into the tower. The whole interior of the nave is heavily plastered, so that it is at present impossible to obtain any details of the construction of the arch. Above the tower-arch, with its sill about 16 ft above the floor, a round-headed doorway gives access to an upper room in the tower; its

jambes are of dressed stone and its head is arched with well-laid voussoirs. The whole nave gives an impression of loftiness suggestive of Anglo-Saxon construction; but there are no features in either wall to confirm or refute this impression, although the north wall is only 2 ft 10 in. and the south wall 3 ft in thickness.

Altogether the church presents a fascinating combination of Anglo-Saxon and Norman features, well worthy of further detailed study. It has other, later, features of interest: the iron-work of the south door is good; there are four curious, blocked, circular windows, quite low down in the walls of the chancel, two in the north and two in the south, about 4 ft in diameter inside and 2 ft outside; while low down in the east wall, on either side of the east window, there are traces of blocked round-headed windows.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 8 ft 6 in. in diameter internally, with walls about 3 ft thick. The nave is about 54 ft long and 16 ft broad, with walls between 2 ft 10 in. and 3 ft thick, and about 20 ft high. The tower-arch is 3 ft 7 in. wide and 12 ft 4 in. high.

REFERENCES

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- C. E. KEYSER, 'The churches of south-east Norfolk', *Arch. J.* 64 (1907), 91-109. Haddiscoe, 96-7. 'The triangular arches appear to be of Saxon date, but all the accessories are of the later Norman type.'
- A. W. CLAPHAM, 'Haddiscoe church', *ibid.* 106 (1949), 106. Brief description and good references.

HADDISCOE THORPE

Norfolk

Map sheet 137, reference TM 436981

Figures 477, 478

ST MATTHIAS

*Round west tower, west wall and side walls of nave:
period C3*

Within a couple of miles of the late-Saxon round tower at Haddiscoe, and beside the extensive

marshes south of the Waveney, the small church of St Matthias at Thorpe has a somewhat similar round west tower, together with a small aisleless nave and chancel roofed with thatch, the whole forming a charming picture in a well-kept churchyard surrounded with trees. Except for the brick-built chancel, the fabric is of flints, with sparing use of stone for quoins and window openings.

The re-entrant angles between the round tower and the nave are relieved by quarter-round pilasters, of the same flint construction as the tower. These run up the whole height of the wall of the nave, and are finished above the wall on conical, dressed-stone blocks set in the tower. A chamfered off-set of dressed stone separates the later belfry stage from the earlier work below; but, apart from this feature, the tower rises sheer from the ground to the parapet. Whether by accident or design, the fabric of the tower shows four distinct stages, all of equal height, but each rather different in texture from the others, and each corresponding to one of the four tiers of windows.

In the lowest stage, the flints are set with a rough surface, which is smoothed in a few patches by a thin coating of plaster; in this stage there are no original openings, but a large, modern, round-headed window serves to light the ground floor. The second stage is of much smoother texture and has three original windows facing south, west, and north respectively; these are small, round-headed, internally splayed openings, with jambs each formed of three upright blocks of roughly dressed stone, and heads cut in the lower faces of single rectangular blocks. Simple ornament has been provided by the cutting of two shallow grooves concentrically round the head of each window, and by mounting a projecting corbel, or *prokrossos*, about 1 ft above the heads of each of the south and west windows. The third stage is of rougher texture, and is ornamented by the provision of ten pilaster-strips of shallow projection, and of about 1 ft in width; these have been built in the flint fabric and run the full height of this stage. In four of the spaces between the pilasters, facing in the directions intermediate between the cardinal points of the compass, four windows have been provided, generally similar to those below, but smaller and without ornament.

The pilasters of this stage probably ended on an arcade like that at Tasburgh; but, if so, the arches have been removed in the construction of the Norman belfry stage. This fourth stage has well-developed Norman double belfry windows, with Norman cushion capitals on the shafts, which, set in the outer face of the wall, serve to support the centre of the head of each double window. Above these windows the tower has a much later medieval or modern parapet with battlements.

The west wall of the nave projects on either side of the tower, and its quoins are faced with small, dressed stones which give little indication of date. The side walls of the nave are thin for Norman workmanship, but their simple, round-headed north and south doorways are externally Norman rather than Anglo-Saxon in form. That to the south has perhaps been rebuilt, for the simple mouldings on the jambs do not fit properly against those on the head, and yet there are no imposts to separate them. The blocked north doorway has jambs and round arch both of plain square section, but separated by quirked and hollow-chamfered imposts. Internally, both doorways have completely plain, round-headed rear-arches, about 3 ft 6 in. wide and 7 ft 6 in. tall. No original windows have survived to help in the dating of the side walls of the nave.

The west wall of the nave is, however, clearly earlier than the lower part of the tower. This is indicated by the way in which the straight western face of the west wall of the nave may be seen within the tower, forming about 6 ft in width of the eastern face of the ground-floor and first-floor chambers. More conclusive proof is, however, given by the survival of a double-splayed, circular window high up in the west gable of the nave, where it formerly opened westward to the outer air, but is now blocked by the tower. In the first-floor chamber of the tower it can also be seen that in places the walls of the tower are separated by a small gap from the straight western face of the west wall of the nave.

We accept the evidence of the flint pilaster-strips and the other early features of the tower as establishing a late-Saxon or Saxo-Norman date for the lower part of the tower. We therefore regard the west wall of the nave as being established with

reasonable certainty as Anglo-Saxon rather than Saxo-Norman; and the presence of the circular, double-splayed window is therefore of importance in providing evidence that this type of window was in use in the country churches of Norfolk in Anglo-Saxon times, and was not simply a feature of the Saxo-Norman overlap.

The doorway leading from the nave to the tower has been faced in modern times towards the nave with a dressed-stone frame copied from the outer face of the north doorway. Behind this modern facing, the archway is a rough opening most probably formed, when the tower was built, simply by cutting away the fabric of a continuous west wall.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 17 ft in diameter externally, and about 50 ft in total height, or 35 ft to the top of the pre-Norman work. The nave is 32 ft long internally, by 15 ft 8 in. wide, with side walls 2 ft 8 in. thick and about 15 ft high.

The circular double-splayed window in the west gable of the nave has an aperture about 9 in. in diameter, splayed to about 2 ft in the wall-face. Its centre is about 24 ft above the floor.

REFERENCES

- H. M. CAUTLEY, *Norfolk Churches* (Ipswich, 1949), 253. Tower dated pre-Conquest. Reference to circular, double-splayed window. Picture of tower from south-west, 67.
C. J. W. MESSENT, *The Round Towers to English Parish Churches* (Norwich, 1958), 214.

HADSTOCK

Essex

Map sheet 148, reference TL 558447

Figures 479-81

ST BOTOLPH

Nave, north transept, and jambs of opening to south transept: period C

This interesting church has a commanding position, to the south of the village, near the top of the ridge of high land which lies between Hadstock and Saffron Walden. Its church is of more

than usual interest in itself; and it has also assumed importance in connexion with the vexed question of the site of the battle of *Assandun*.

Historians have argued for over three hundred years about the site of the battle of *Assandun*, in which Cnut defeated Edmund Ironside in 1016 and 'destroyed the flower of the English nation'. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments apparently accepted the claims of Ashdon, near Saffron Walden, to be the site of this battle, for they said of the church of St Botolph at Hadstock that 'it is possibly the minster erected by Canute in 1020 to commemorate his victory over Edmund Ironside at *Assandun*'.¹ Baldwin Brown, however, in accord with the best historical and linguistic opinion, disagreed with the Royal Commission, and placed the battle at Ashingdon, 6 miles north of Southend-on-sea.² We have grave doubts about Baldwin Brown's assertion that the country about Ashdon is unsuitable for military operations on the scale of the battle of *Assandun*. It is, moreover, unfortunate that the identification of the site of the battle with Ashingdon cannot be clinched by architectural evidence such as would be provided by some vestige of the church of 'stone and lime', which Cnut built for the souls of the men slain at *Assandun*, and which in 1020 he consecrated 'with Archbishop Wulfstan and other bishops and abbots and many monks'.³

There are, however, strong arguments against accepting Hadstock church as the church which Cnut built after the battle of *Assandun* and consecrated in 1020. In the first place, the monks of Ely had possessed Hadstock since the reign of Ethelred, and it is hard to believe that Cnut would have built his church on their estate and put his own priests in it; and it is even harder to believe that, if he had done so, the fact would have escaped mention in the *Liber Eliensis*, the

Book of Ely, which gives a detailed account of the early history of the monastery and its possessions. Moreover, the monks of Ely believed that the body of St Botolph lay buried there;⁴ and this claim strongly supports a much earlier foundation for the church, even though the surviving buildings seem to be of a character appropriate to the beginning of the eleventh century. These detailed historical arguments, however, lie far outside our province, and we have introduced them only to record the evidence and then to state our opinion that the dating of Hadstock church must not be based upon an assumption that it is the church which Cnut consecrated in 1020.

The church at Hadstock is beyond doubt an important monument of late-Saxon date, containing an unusually interesting group of features of that period. It now consists of a fifteenth-century west tower; the original nave, almost intact; north and south transepts of the same period, but very largely rebuilt; and a chancel wholly rebuilt in 1884, but recorded by the Royal Commission as being probably on the old foundations.

Externally, the church is seen to be built of flint, with some brown ironstone and Roman bricks, all partially covered with plaster. In the south wall, where the fabric is less obscured by plaster, there is considerable evidence of herring-bone technique in the setting of the flints. The Anglo-Saxon character of the whole of the side walls of the nave is apparent from the two double-splayed, round-headed windows high up in each wall, and from the round-headed north doorway, with richly decorated imposts. Only one quoin of the original building remains unmasked by later buttresses, namely, that at the north-west of the north transept, formed of large dressed stones laid in side-alternate fashion. A small part of the top of the north-east quoin of the same transept

¹ R.C.H.M., Essex, I, 143.

² G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 306. See also F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1947), 387.

³ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1020; see, for example, D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents* (London, 1955), 228. The details suggest a church of some size and permanence. We are well aware that many early churches have completely vanished; but this is usually the result of urban development or of the building of a bigger church on the site. Neither of these reasons is valid at Ashingdon or in its neighbourhood.

⁴ *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, Camden Society Publications, 3rd ser., 92 (1961), Bk III, ch. 90, 91. The charter of Bishop Nigel there reproduced contains the words:

quia locus ille antiquae religioni sub beato Botulfo abbate ibidem quiescente fuerat consecratus.

The charter is not dated, but Blake places it about the end of 1144. The references to St Botolph also occur in confirmatory charters (A. A. Saltman, *Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1956), 319-20).

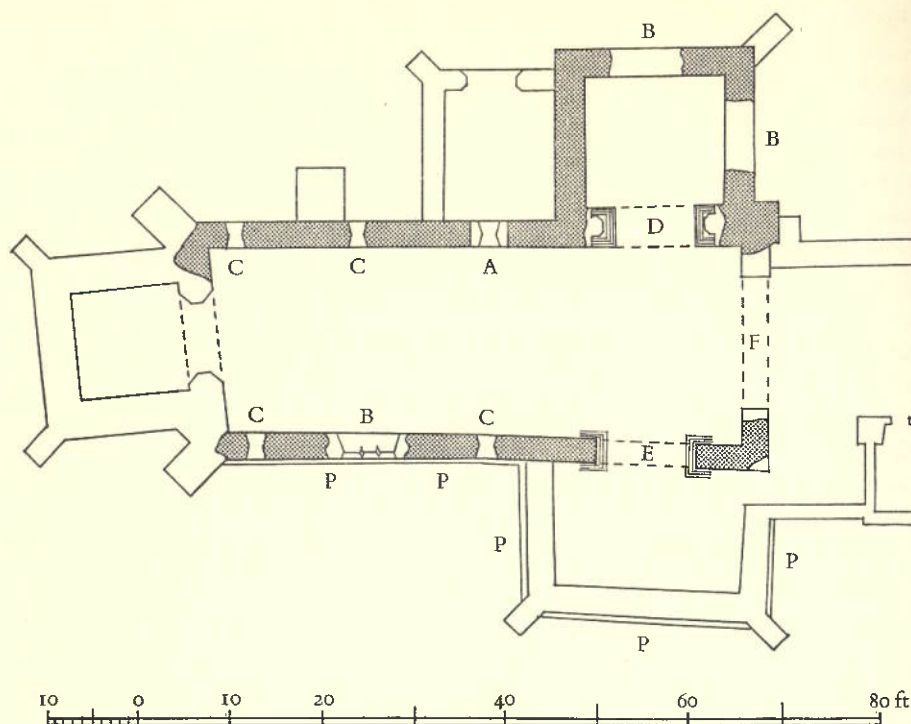


FIG. 120. HADSTOCK, ESSEX

A, original north doorway, with blocked original double-splayed window above it; B, wall disturbed for insertion of later windows; C, original double-splayed windows; D, arch and jambs of opening to north transept rebuilt, but original bases *in situ*; E, original bases and jambs of opening to south transept, but arch rebuilt; F, modern arch, jambs and bases of opening to chancel; P, simple plinth of plain square section, formed wholly of flints.

may, however, be seen above the later buttresses which clasp that angle; and there are also vestiges of the western quoins of the nave, above the diagonal buttresses which were added when the tower was built. On the south side it is possible to see that the original south-west quoin was enriched by the carving of a three-quarter-round shaft on its angle, with a simple capital near its top.

The north doorway is cut straight through the wall, and its unique battened door is hung against the inner face of the wall. At first sight it may appear that the door hangs in a recess, but we think that it was originally outlined above by a hood-moulding on the interior wall of the nave, and that a coating of plaster has thickened the wall above the hood-moulding. The round head of the doorway is built of through-stones in a single order, which is square internally but recessed externally, with a roll-moulding round the aris. Externally the head is outlined by a hood-moulding of square section, which ends on the impost and

is not carried down beside the jambs. The imposts are returned along the exterior wall-face, and are roughly square in section, but with a roll-moulding on the lower angle and a panel of carved ornament along the vertical face. This carved ornament, which occurs also, but less distinctly, on the hood-moulding, and on the capitals of the angle-shafts, is referred to by the Royal Commission as 'crude honeysuckle ornament'; it seems to us to be a close relative of the palmette ornament so characteristic of many late-Saxon churches in Lincolnshire. The jambs, like the arch, are of through-stones, square in section internally and recessed externally, with free-standing angle-shafts, which stand on sloping annular bases, and support capitals of an elementary cushion type, whose vertical faces are enriched with the honeysuckle ornament.

Of the six double-splayed, round-headed windows, which originally served to light the nave, five remain, and the sixth has clearly been re-

moved by the insertion of the large Perpendicular window of three lights in the centre of the south wall. Four of the original windows are still in use; tall openings, with their sills about 15 ft above the floor. Their oak frames are built into the fabric of the wall and are thereby shown with some certainty to be original. The fifth surviving window is blocked, but visible, above the north door, the blocking no doubt dating from the erection of the north porch.

Further east, inside the church, the remarkable original jambs still remain in the opening to the south transept, although the arch itself and the walls of the transept were both rebuilt in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The jambs rest on high plinths of four orders, the upper two chamfered and the lower two square, with mouldings which resemble those at Barholm, Lincolnshire; the jambs and imposts are similar to those already described on the north doorway, but the jambs have an angle-shaft on each angle and the shafts have well-defined bases. There seems no doubt that the lower two orders of the plinth are of the same workmanship as the north doorway. The two chamfered orders above are of quite different style and quite differently tooled. Improbable as it may sound, it therefore seems that the two chamfered orders are an insertion, dating from the rebuilding of the south transept. The jambs and imposts above, though much restored, seem to be in the main original work of the same date as the north doorway. In particular the imposts have the same honeysuckle ornament, and the same broad roll-moulding on the lower part of their faces. The capitals, too, have the honeysuckle ornament in good preservation.

Although the arch of the north transept and its jambs both date from the thirteenth century, the plinths are the original late-Saxon work, identical with those of the south transept. It is recorded by the Royal Commission that the church probably had a central tower which either fell or was taken down; and the walls of the north transept are thought by the Commission, with some reservation, to be either original or rebuilt with the original materials. Local tradition associ-

ates the removal of the tower with the effects of a tempest which swept the county in 1440. The evidence for a central tower of stone is somewhat slight, namely, a thickening of the side walls in the region of the crossing, and a roughness of the interior faces of these walls, in a way which is suggestive of the removal of the cross-wall that would have been needed to support the west wall of the tower. If there was originally a central tower, it is more probable that it was of wood like that at Breamore, Hampshire.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is very irregularly laid out. Internally, including the 'crossing', it is about 57 ft long by 21 ft 6 in. broad, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick, and about 23 ft high. The north transept is about 15 ft square, and the chancel is 32 ft 6 in. long by 17 ft broad. The walls of the nave and north transept are increased to about 3 ft in thickness beside the openings from the nave to the transept, presumably for carrying a tower. The openings to the transepts are about 11 ft 6 in. in width between jambs, although at the level of the floor the distance between the plinths is only 9 ft.

The double-splayed windows have apertures about 1 ft 8 in. wide and about 5 ft tall, placed at about 10 in. from the exterior face of the wall, with their sills about 15 ft above the ground. They are quite moderately splayed, so as to become about 2 ft 2 in. wide and about 6 ft tall in the exterior wall-face.

The north doorway is 4 ft wide and 9 ft 2 in. tall.

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- R.C.H.M., *Essex*, I (London, 1916), 143-5. Good architectural description with plan and photographs.
- M. CHRISTY, 'The battle of Assandun: where was it fought?', *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 31 (1925), 168-90. Site of battle claimed for Ashdon, and Cnut's church located at Hadstock.
- L. COBBETT, 'Ornament in Hadstock church, Essex', *P. Camb. A.S.* 37 (1935-6), 43-6. Architectural evidence in favour of Ashdon as site of battle of Assandun; with a note that Baldwin Brown, shortly before his death, had told the writer that he had changed his mind on this question.

HAINTON

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 105, reference TF 180844

ST MARY

Lower part of west tower: period C3

Hainton church is pleasantly situated in rolling wooded country, at the south-west of the Lincolnshire Wolds, about 9 miles west of Louth. It was largely rebuilt in 1859, but retains some Anglo-Saxon fabric in the lowest stage of its tower. The church now consists of this tower, with a medieval upper stage and spire, an aisled nave, and a chancel with a north aisle.

The tower is of much-weathered brown stone in fairly large blocks, with wide joints. It stands on a bold plinth of two square orders; and, above the added medieval buttresses, a short length of original side-alternate quoining may be seen, of the same stone as the walling, but in much larger blocks. The Anglo-Saxon lower stage of the tower ends above with a course of dressed stone, like a string-course, but set flush with the wall-face, above which the later stage of the tower is set back a few inches. Beside the north wall of the tower, the original north-west quoin of the nave may be seen, of side-alternate construction, like the quoins of the tower.

The north and west faces of the early tower have no original openings; but the south face has a characteristic Lincolnshire keyhole window, with sill, jambs, and lintel, each formed of a flat rectangular stone. The aperture of the window, about 6 in. wide by 20 in. high, is cut a little way down into the upper face of the sill, and the whole of its head as well as a short length of jamb is cut into the lower face of the lintel. The whole feature is massive, and simple in feeling; the head is markedly more than a semicircle, and is ornamented by the cutting of a small concentric rebate. The tower is now entered from the outside by a modern west door.

The tower-arch is no longer visible, having been used as a recess for housing an organ.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 16 ft square externally, and the nave is 15 ft broad internally, with side walls 2 ft 10 in. thick.

HALE, GREAT

Lincolnshire

Map sheets 113 and 123, reference TF 148428

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

West tower, and possibly nave walls: period C3

The varied interest of the parish churches of England is well illustrated in the neighbouring villages of Great Hale and Heckington, about 5 miles east-south-east of Sleaford, on either side of the road to King's Lynn. Heckington, to the north, is justly famous for its fine cruciform church of the Decorated period; Great Hale, less than a mile to the south, is less well known, but has a church of considerable interest, with a long, aisled, thirteenth-century nave, which now serves also as chancel, and a tall, west tower which probably dates from before or about the time of the Conquest.

The late-Saxon character of the tower is at once apparent from its simple unbuttressed form, rising sheer for about sixty feet from the ground to the medieval parapet, without string-course or off-set. Although the tower presents certain late features which led Baldwin Brown to say that it was probably erected after the Conquest, there is no doubt that its principal features are late-Saxon rather than Norman. Its fabric, of rough, flat slabs of rubble laid in courses with side-alternate quoins, gives little indication of date; but all four of its belfry windows are of the Lincolnshire late-Saxon type. Moreover, the tall, narrow, south window lighting the ground floor is of a pre-Norman type, with jambs each built of a single, tall, stone slab, and a round head shaped to a semicircle above as well as below, and ornamented on its outer face with concentric mouldings, of which the inner is a form of wheat-ear (see Fig. 121, A).

The round heads of the double belfry windows are also formed of single stones cut to semicircular form below and above; in the centre of each window these heads rest on a through-stone slab and mid-wall shaft; the square ashlar jambs have chamfered imposts; and the mid-wall shafts, rising from steeply sloping sills, have ornate capitals of unusual but nevertheless tentative form. In the east window the capital consists of

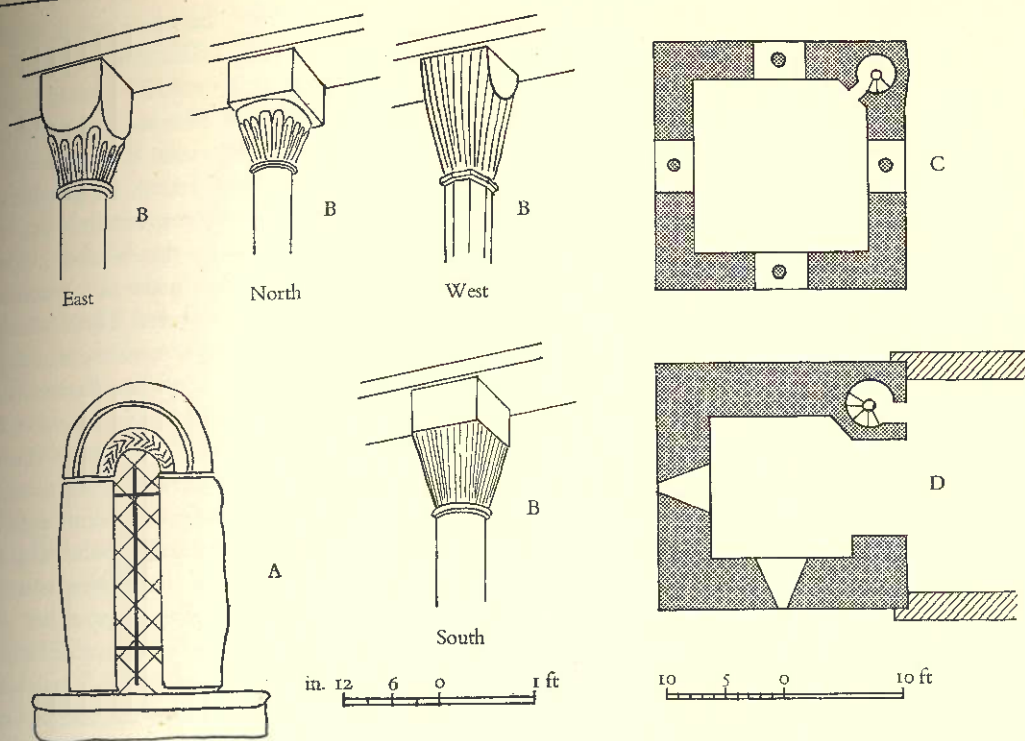


FIG. 121. GREAT HALE, LINCOLNSHIRE

A, detail of south window of ground floor; B, details of the capitals of the four belfry windows, not to scale; C, plan of tower at belfry stage; D, plan at ground-floor level.

a Norman cushion resting on an inverted cone enriched with upright leaves. The north window is similar, but with a simple cube in place of the Norman cushion. The south and west windows have simpler capitals, the former a cone surmounted by a cube, and the latter an elliptical cone cut to show a vertical semicircular face in front.

The east face of the tower has no external openings below the belfry, and the north face has only a series of small openings to light the turret-stair. The west and south faces each have one tall, narrow, internally-splayed window to light the ground floor of the tower, and a second to light its upper floor. The elaborate lower window on the south face has already been described; the others have simple monolithic heads and built-up jambs.

The unique feature of this tower is, however, the circular stone stairway in the thickness of the wall at its north-east corner; for, with the exception of the stone stairways in specially constructed external stair-turrets at Brixworth, Broughton,

and Hough-on-the-Hill, the upper storeys of all other surviving Anglo-Saxon towers seem to have been reached either by ladders or by wooden stairs.¹ The tentative nature of the construction at Great Hale is indicated by the narrowness of the stairway, which in places is only 1 ft 4 in. broad, and by the way in which the east wall of the tower is bulged outward, in order to provide a little more space for the stair (see Fig. 121, C).

The round-headed tower-arch, of a single square order, is more Norman than Anglo-Saxon, both in proportions and in construction, being 8 ft 2 in. wide and only 12 ft 9 in. to the crown, with neither the arch nor its square jambs constructed of through-stones.

The west walls of the aisles have been built across the west quoins of the original aisleless nave, so that these are not visible beside the tower; but by standing a little away from the church one may see short lengths of the original quoins above the roofs of the aisles. The nave is a fine example of

¹ Brigstock has an external stair turret of stone which seems to have housed a wooden stair.

the Early English period, with lofty arcades of five bays opening to the aisles. The original chancel has vanished completely, having been allowed to fall into disrepair in the sixteenth century by the lay rectors, who later used much of its stone for domestic buildings.¹

The stairs at Great Hale are formed in the normal medieval fashion, in which the newel is fashioned from the same stones as the treads themselves. In this respect they differ from the two Lincolnshire pre-Conquest turret-stairways at Broughton and Hough-on-the-Hill, in each of which the newels are formed of stones quite separate from the treads. This evidence is, therefore, in favour of a later date for the stairway at Great Hale than for the other two, since its builders followed the normal Norman method of construction whereas the work in the other two is of a character unknown after the Conquest.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 12 ft square internally, with walls about 4 ft 6 in. thick and roughly 60 ft high.

REFERENCES

- E. A. FREEMAN, *History of Architecture* (London, 1849), 211. Tower claimed as Saxon.
 Editorial, *A.A.S.R.* 23 (1895-6), lxvi. Brief description of tower and church.
 A. F. SUTTON, 'Churches visited from Sleaford, 1903', *ibid.* 27 (1903-4), 92-111. Gt Hale briefly described, 94.

HALES

Norfolk

Map sheet 137, reference TM 383960

Figures 482, 483

ST MARGARET

Round west tower, with double-splayed, circular windows to north and south, and triangular-headed upper window to nave: Saxo-Norman

About 5 miles north-north-west of Beccles, the small village of Hales is curiously remote from its church, which stands on higher land about a mile

to the south, in the charming open fields so characteristic of Norfolk. The church is of more than usual interest, in spite of its remote position, and its Norman features have been well illustrated by several of the historians and engravers of Norfolk.² The first reference to pre-Norman fabric appears to have been given in 1927, when attention was directed to the blocked, double-splayed, circular windows in the north and south faces of the round west tower.³ These windows, by no means unusual in themselves, are of great importance in the study of late-Saxon church construction, because in each of them the inner splay of the round head is built over a frame of basket-work, which has survived to this day, and may be clearly seen from floor-level, though now lightly covered with whitewash or paint (Fig. 483).

The church consists of a round west tower, an aisleless nave, with no porch over either of its doors, and an aisleless, apsidal chancel. The fabric throughout is principally of uncut flints; but, in the nave, small amounts of red tile and of brown carstone have also been used, while the Norman chancel has dressed stone for its buttresses and its string-course and arcading. At first sight, the church is clearly Norman in date, with later windows. The chancel is fixed as Norman by the features already mentioned; the nave is suggested as being of about the same date by its two well-known doorways; and the tower has no features visible externally to cast serious doubt on the propriety of assigning a Norman date to it as well.

Within the ground-floor chamber of the tower, however, the two circular, double-splayed windows first recorded by Kent serve as evidence that the tower is older than would be suggested on the evidence of its other windows, which are of the narrow, round-headed, single-splayed type that gives no reliable discrimination between Anglo-Saxon and Norman. Further confirmatory evidence of the survival of Anglo-Saxon traditions is to be found in the first-floor chamber of the tower, namely, a narrow, triangular-headed window, formerly opening towards the nave, but now blocked in its eastern part and no longer visible from the nave.

¹ Information supplied by the vicar.

² E.g. Cotman and Ladbroke.

³ E. A. Kent, *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 33 (1927), 187-8.

The circular windows of the lower chamber have been blocked externally; but their inner splays have survived intact, with the only example which we have seen of the basket-work frames, which were used to support the rubble concrete of the heads while the mortar was setting. These windows thereby provide an important confirmation of the theory so brilliantly advanced by Mr Ponting in 1883, when he claimed that the purpose of the series of holes drilled round the stone frames of the circular windows at Avebury must have been to support a conical array of sticks, round which the builders would weave just such a basket-work frame.

The triangular-headed window of the upper chamber is cut straight through the wall, without any splay. Its jambs and head are formed of the same flint rubble concrete as the main fabric of the wall, without any special support for the head; but the lower faces of the sloping sides of the head distinctly show the marks of the junctions of the boards which supported the concrete while it set, and the head is set back on the jambs in order to give a good support for those boards.

The arch between the tower and the nave is now much obscured by a winding wooden stair, which leads to a relatively modern wooden west gallery; but it must, in its original form, have been quite an important feature, about 6 ft wide and 12 ft 6 in. tall. It has a round head, supported by plain jambs, with tall chamfered bases. The imposts project 3 in. on the soffit face and are ornamented in an unusual fashion by the cutting of rectangular sections out of their lower faces, so that they look like inverted battlements.

The outer faces of the north and south doorways of the nave are of fully developed Norman technique; but it is possible that these are later insertions in earlier doorways, which were cut straight through the wall, and which are now represented internally by the tall rear-arches. These rear-arches are provided with simple ornament in the form of three-quarter-round roll-mouldings, which are carried up the arrises of the jambs but not round the heads. The quoins of the nave are of dressed stone in small blocks, with the unusual feature of a three-quarter-round moulding carried up the greater length of the salient angle. The buttresses of the Norman chancel also have roll-

mouldings as ornament on their salient angles, and it seems probable that this ornament fixes a similar date for all the features upon which it occurs.

All other features of the church are of Norman or later date, and it will be clear from the above account that the pre-Conquest features are somewhat problematical.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 44 ft long internally, by 15 ft 10 in. wide, with side walls 3 ft 1 in. thick and about 17 ft high. The tower is 11 ft 4 in. in internal diameter, with walls about 3 ft 8 in. thick and about 55 ft in total height. The tower-arch is about 6 ft wide and 12½ ft high, in a wall about 4 ft thick.

The circular windows are 2 ft 6 in. in diameter on the inner face of the tower, narrowing to 9 in. at the middle of the wall, and their centres are about 15 ft above the floor.

The blocked triangular opening in the west wall of the nave is 1 ft 6 in. wide and 4 ft 2 in. tall, with its sill 22 ft above the ground floor.

REFERENCE

E. A. KENT, 'The Saxon windows in Hales church, Norfolk', *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 33 (1927), 187-8. Brief description with photograph.

HALLINGBURY, GREAT

Essex

Map sheet 148, reference TL 511196

ST GILES

Chancel-arch, and south wall of nave: period C3

Although Great Hallingbury is only two miles distant from Bishop's Stortford, to the south-east, the town appears not to have spread in that direction, so that the church of St Giles stands in open country with only its vicarage, school, and hall beside it.

The church consists of a buttressed fifteenth-century west tower; a nave, originally aisleless, but now with a wide nineteenth-century north aisle and a pleasant south porch; and a chancel with extensive northern appendages also of the nineteenth century. Much of the church was rebuilt in 1873-4 by G. E. Pritchett, who added the north aisle, refaced all the windows, and

repointed or rebuilt the chancel-arch.¹ Before Pritchett's restoration, the chancel-arch was covered with plaster and had a sham wooden keystone; he removed these, and disclosed the arch as it now stands. He found the round-headed south window; and he recorded that there were others on the north, which he swept away in the adding of the aisle. He also recorded the finding of parts of a north doorway, arched, like the windows, in Roman tiles; the north quoins, also, were of Roman tiles, so that he concluded that dressed stone had not been used at all in the original fabric.

Externally, very little now remains of this early work; both the northern quoins have vanished in the addition of the aisle; the south-west quoin is of masonry, and therefore presumably is a rebuilding; the south-east quoin alone is of tiles, but it has clearly been very much restored. The simple, round-headed window in the south wall, to the west of the porch, is the only substantial survival from the early fabric; its jambs and head are wholly formed of tiles, which have been used in their complete rectangular form, so that the jambs of the window are not splayed at all in the outer foot of the thickness of the wall, but pass straight into the wall until the glass is reached; thereafter the opening is widely splayed to the interior.

The chancel-arch is the most impressive feature of the interior, an arch wholly formed of Roman tiles, in two square orders, with jambs similarly in two square orders, and stepped imposts formed of over-sailing tiles. The arch is set back on the imposts about 3 in. behind the alignment of the jambs, and the tiles in the arch are laid with considerable disregard for radial setting. The wall in which the arch stands is 3 ft 5 in. thick, and the whole of the soffit of the arch is lined with tiles, so that none of the rubble fabric of the wall may be seen.

Baldwin Brown says that the church has no Anglo-Saxon features; he refers to its being dated late in the eleventh century by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments; and he says that arches in Roman brick are not necessarily a pre-Conquest feature. We would not quarrel with the Commission's dating of the church late

in the eleventh century, but we would nevertheless regard it as having a good claim to inclusion in the category of the Saxo-Norman overlap. The features which, in our opinion, indicate Anglo-Saxon rather than Norman techniques are the non-radial setting of the tiles in the arch; the use of stepped imposts; and the quoins of tile rather than of stone. In addition, the complete facing of the soffit in the arch in tiles would be a somewhat unusual feature in Norman work, where it would be more usual for the tiles to be used to face the angles, and for the rubble infilling of the wall to appear in the middle.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 45 ft long internally, by 25 ft wide, with walls 3 ft 4 in. thick and about 20 ft high. The chancel-arch is 11 ft 6 in. wide and 16 ft 6 in. high. The south window has an aperture 1 ft 4½ in. wide by 4 ft high, with its sill 12 ft 9 in. above the ground; internally, the opening is splayed to become 4 ft 3 in. wide by 8 ft 7 in. high.

REFERENCES

- G. E. PRITCHETT, 'Notes on Great Hallingbury church', *T. Essex Arch. S.* 5 (1873), 310-17.
R.C.H.M., *Essex (Central and S.W.)* (London, 1921), 93.
G. BALDWIN BROWN (1925), 456.

HALLINGBURY, LITTLE

Essex

Map sheet 148, reference TL 503174

ST MARY THE VIRGIN

Nave: period C3

The neighbourhood of Bishop's Stortford is rich in antiquities, with the Roman Stane Street to the north, and the pre-Roman Wallbury Camp about 2 miles to the south. Little Hallingbury church stands beside an attractive green, close to Wallbury Camp, about mid-way between Bishop's Stortford and Hatfield Heath.

The church was a small, aisleless, two-cell building, until G. E. Pritchett added a broad north aisle to the nave about the middle of the nine-

¹ G. E. Pritchett, *T. Essex Arch. S.* 5 (1873), 310-17.

teenth century. In addition to the nave, chancel, and modern north aisle, the church has a fine open-work wooden south porch. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments place the church in the twelfth century; but it is difficult to give it a different date from the very similar work at Wendens Ambo and Great Hallingbury, both of which they place late in the eleventh century.

The indications of Saxo-Norman work at Little Hallingbury are the remains of a blocked, single-splayed, south window, in the same position as that of the window at Great Hallingbury; and the round-headed south doorway, cut straight through the south wall, save for a projecting door-stop formed of tiles at the outer wall-face. The arched head of this doorway is formed of tiles laid with considerable disregard for radial setting; and, although the imposts have been almost wholly cut away for the insertion of an embattled wooden lintel, there remains on the western jamb a clear indication of a stepped impost formed of oversailing tiles.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 40 ft by 18 ft internally, with walls 2 ft 11 in. thick. The present aperture of the south doorway is a rectangle 3 ft 6 in. wide and 7 ft 10 in. high; the rear-arch is round-headed, 3 ft 10 in. wide and 10 ft high.

REFERENCES

- G. E. PRITCHETT, 'Notes on Great Hallingbury church', *T. Essex Arch. S.* 5 (1873), 310.
R.C.H.M., *Essex (Central and S.W.)* (London, 1921), 154.

HALSTOW, LOWER

Kent

Map sheet 172, reference TQ 860674

ST MARGARET

Part of chancel: period C3

A little over a mile north of the Roman Watling Street, mid-way between Chatham and Sitting-

bourne, the little red-roofed church of St Margaret stands picturesquely beside the wharf of Lower Halstow, on one of the innumerable navigable creeks that run south from the main channel of the Medway. The church, dating mainly from the thirteenth century, now consists of an aisled nave and aisleless chancel, with a square tower over the western bay of the south aisle.

The walls of the chancel are of flint, clunch, and tile, with considerable evidence of herring-bone work, particularly near the ground. Towards the west of the south wall a blocked, narrow, round-headed window may be seen, about 9 in. wide and 3 ft 6 in. high, splayed internally; and with jambs and arched head constructed principally from tiles, which are laid round the head with considerable disregard for radial jointing in the way which Baldwin Brown noted as characteristically late Saxon.

Internally the whole of this wall is ornamented by an Early English arcade of three arches, which carry the upper part of the inner face of the wall; below the arches the wall is 1 ft 5 in. thick while above them it is 2 ft 2 in. thick. It seems impossible now to determine whether the original wall through which the window passed was the thin lower wall, to which the upper part was added when the arcade was built, or whether in its original state the wall was 2 ft 2 in. thick, and the arcade was then formed by cutting part of the wall away. The window is so placed that its head lies opposite part of the thicker wall, while the lower parts of its jambs are in the thinner part of the wall, below the arcade; but internally any trace of the window is obscured by plaster. The chancel now measures 36 ft by 20 ft internally.

The nave also presents a number of interesting features, including a fine twelfth-century lead font, with kings and angels beneath an arcade.

REFERENCE

- E. R. OLIVE, 'Lower Halstow church', *Arch. Cant.* 33 (1918), 157-66. Note of recent restoration, plan, picture of south wall and window. Brief architectural description.

HAMBLEDON

Hampshire

Map sheet 181, reference SU 646151

Figure 484

ST PETER AND ST PAUL

Walls of nave and chancel, wholly enclosed in later church, and above later arcades: period C

In the Forest of Bere, about 10 miles north of Portsmouth, Hambledon church has an attractive setting to the north of the village, on the slopes of Windmill Down. Externally, no Anglo-Saxon work is visible; and the church has all the appearance of a medieval structure, consisting of a west tower, an aisled nave, and a long, aisleless chancel. The church has a most complicated architectural history, however, for the side walls of an aisleless pre-Conquest nave and chancel have been pierced by arcades, and have become part of the medieval nave; the east and west walls of the original church have completely disappeared; the original chancel-arch has been replaced by a wider and taller pointed arch; but the original wall remains above; and the present nave is unusual in being divided by that wall into two compartments, of which the eastern is narrower than that to the west. The outer walls of the aisles run in a straight line from east to west, so that the aisles themselves are correspondingly wider in the region where the nave is narrower.

The Anglo-Saxon nature of the nave walls, which are only 2 ft 6 in. thick, is made clear by the presence on their outer faces of broad pilaster-strips, two above the pointed arches of the south arcade and two more above the round arches of the north. The walls of the original chancel extend eastward over the next one-and-a-half bays of the present nave, and their Anglo-Saxon character is indicated by the same thinness, and confirmed by the presence of a string-course of square section, which runs as an eaves-course along the top of the outer face of the north wall; a short fragment also appears at the west of the south wall. On the east face of the wall which divides the present nave into two compartments there can be seen, high up over the present

pointed arch, the original line of the steeply pitched roof of the chancel, thus confirming that this wall, which is also only 2 ft 6 in. thick, was originally the east wall of the Anglo-Saxon nave. In the solid part of the south wall of the nave, to the west of the arcade, is a wide, round-headed opening, high up above the floor. This is of uncertain date, and its construction cannot be seen clearly because of the plaster. Its considerable width makes it unlike any other Anglo-Saxon window, and its internal splay seems to preclude its having been a doorway to a gallery.

DIMENSIONS

The Anglo-Saxon church must have been similar to the neighbouring churches of Boarhunt and Corhampton, both of which have survived with much less alteration. Its nave measures 36 ft by 18 ft 6 in. internally, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick and about 18 ft high; its chancel is 12 ft wide and was probably about 20 ft long, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick and about 15 ft high. The pilaster-strips on the nave are about 8 in. wide, with a projection of about 2 in.

REFERENCES

- V.C.H., *Hampshire and the I.o.W.* 3 (London, 1908), 242-3. Good description, dimensions, interior view.
A. R. and P. M. GREEN, *Saxon Architecture and Sculpture in Hampshire* (Winchester, 1951), 16-17.

HANNINGTON

Hampshire

Map sheet 168, reference SU 538555

ALL SAINTS

North-east quoin of nave, and possibly other parts of nave walls: period C

This little church, about 6 miles west-north-west of Basingstoke, has suffered so much from alteration and restoration that very little of the original fabric has survived. It now consists of an aisleless chancel, and a nave with south aisle, north porch, and western bell-cote. The south aisle is of three bays, of which the eastern two are Norman whereas the western bay represents a nineteenth-century lengthening of the nave by about 13 ft. The

side walls of the nave, of flint and stone rubble, and the east wall, now containing a fourteenth-century chancel-arch, are only 2 ft 9 in. thick, and so may well be parts of the original Anglo-Saxon fabric; but they have no surviving original doorways or windows to fix their date with any certainty.

Clear evidence of Anglo-Saxon date is, however, provided by the north-east quoin of the nave, of unusually bold long-and-short construction. Three complete long stones survive, all over 3 ft in length, and one no less than 4 ft 10 in. The shorts are also of massive character, and, whereas the lowest is a single stone bonding into the two adjoining walls, the three above are each constructed of pairs of stones, of which one bonds deeply into the eastern wall and one into the northern. The quoin-stones are closely jointed, and their faces are carefully worked, so as to show a raised strip of stone, about 10 in. wide, which runs up the whole height of the quoin beside its salient angle, standing forward about 1½ in. from the main face of the wall. It is not now possible to say with certainty whether this feature was purely ornamental, or whether the raised strip was intended as a stop for plaster, which then covered the main surface of the wall, but which has now completely vanished.

DIMENSIONS

The chancel is now 20 ft 4 in. long internally by 15 ft 10 in. wide and the nave 41 ft 2 in. by 16 ft 9 in.; but the nave was originally about 13 ft shorter. The walls of the nave are 2 ft 9 in. thick and are now 17½ ft tall.

REFERENCES

- V.C.H., *Hampshire and the I.o.W.* 4 (London, 1911), 229.
Quoin and much of nave walls accepted as pre-Conquest.
A. R. and P. M. GREEN, *Saxon Architecture and Sculpture in Hampshire* (Winchester, 1951), 17. Brief description. Original nave wrongly described as about 38 ft long (in error for 28 ft).

HARDHAM

Sussex

Map sheet 182, reference TQ 038176

ST BOTOLPH

*Complete nave and chancel: probably
period C3*

About a mile south-west of Pulborough the church of St Botolph is now peacefully set back from the busy main road, on a loop of the old road which has been abandoned in favour of a more direct route. The church, built mainly of local sandstone and ironstone rubble, with some Roman bricks in the chancel, has large blocks of sandstone, set in side-alternate fashion, for its quoins. It has preserved its original form almost unchanged, except for the addition of a porch to protect the north door; and it still consists of the original aisleless square-ended chancel, and aisleless rectangular nave. There is a small bell-cote on the eastern gable of the nave.

The church is difficult to date with certainty, because, although a number of original features have survived, yet these are all of the type that could belong either to the late-Saxon period or to the early Norman. Three original windows have survived, one in the north wall of the chancel, and one in each of the side walls of the nave. The window in the chancel has a shallow rebate externally, for housing a shutter; but otherwise all are similar, round-headed, single-splayed openings, with their splays passing almost through the full thickness of the wall. All three are constructed with monolithic heads, and with their jambs built of smallish, roughly dressed stones; and all three are narrow openings, which are only moderately splayed internally. The north doorway, which now serves as the only entry, has been modified in later times, but the blocked south doorway, opposite, is of early form, with a square head formed of a massive tapering lintel, and square jambs worked in large blocks of stone. The blocked outline of the doorway is wider internally than externally, and it therefore seems to have been rebated for the hanging of the door.

The round-headed chancel-arch, of a single square order, is not built of through-stones, but it is entirely without ornament, save that its chamfered imposts carry a slight beading which Mr Johnston thought was a later addition.¹

¹ *Sussex Arch. C.* 44 (1901), 77.

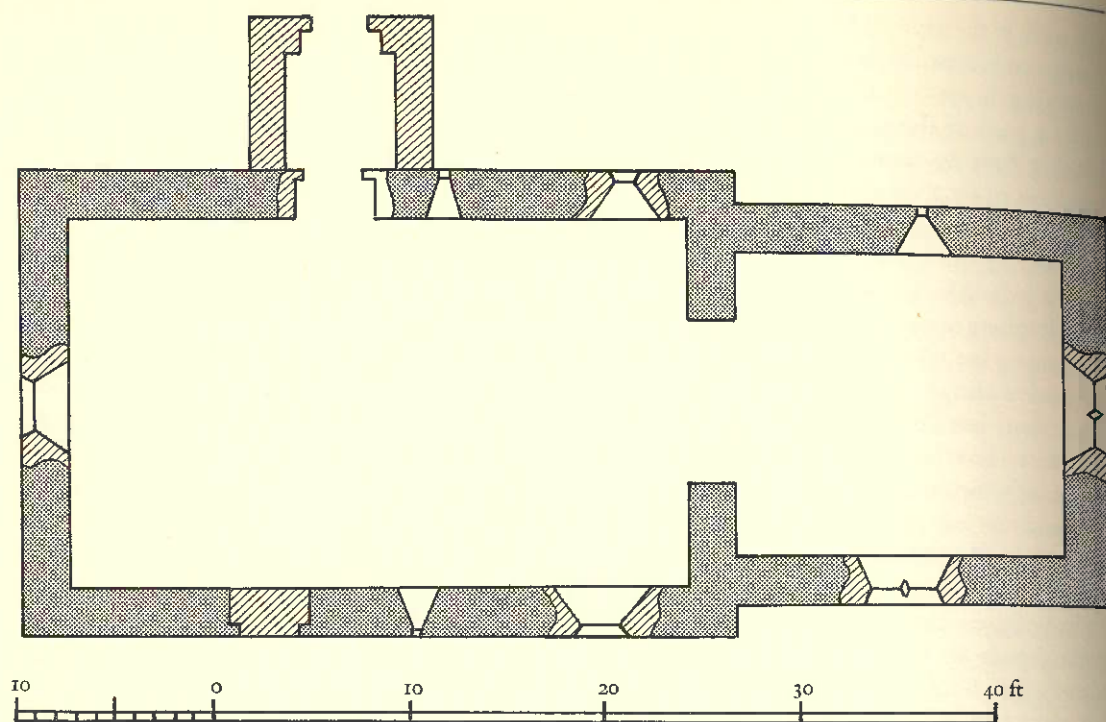


FIG. 122. HARDHAM, SUSSEX
Ground plan.

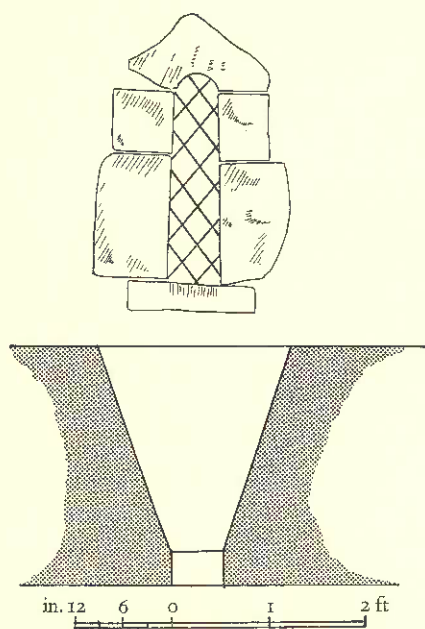


FIG. 123. HARDHAM, SUSSEX
Elevation and plan of the north window of the nave.

The interior has a very interesting set of early wall-paintings, comparable with those at Clayton,

and probably of the same date, in the second half of the eleventh century.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 31 ft 6 in. long internally, by 19 ft wide, and the chancel 17 ft by 15 ft 6 in. The walls are 2 ft 7 in. thick and about 15 ft in height. The windows of the nave are 6 in. wide and 2 ft 7 in. tall externally, splayed to become about 2 ft wide internally. The north window of the chancel is of much the same dimensions externally, but it is splayed to become about 3 ft wide internally. The blocked south doorway is 3 ft 6 in. wide by 7 ft tall externally. The chancel-arch is 8 ft 7 in. wide by 12 ft 4 in. high.

REFERENCES

- P. M. JOHNSTON, 'Hardham church, and its early paintings', *Arch. J.* 58 (1901), 62-92. Good architectural description with plan, and elevations of principal features. Full description and illustration of paintings. (The same material is also in *Sussex Arch. C.* 44 (1901), 73-115.)
- C. BELL, *The Twelfth-century Paintings at Hardham and Clayton* (Lewes, 1947).

HARDWICK

Buckinghamshire

Map sheet 146, reference SP 806190

ST MARY

Nave: period C

About 3 miles north of Aylesbury, on the road to Buckingham, the church of St Mary stands in fields, on high ground east of the main road, and on the southern outskirts of the village of Hardwick. The church has a west tower, a nave with south aisle, and an aisleless chancel. Although its walls of stone rubble are about 3 ft 4 in. thick, its nave is classified by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments as probably pre-Conquest, on the evidence of the double-splayed, round-headed window over the north door. This window has its jambs and head formed of carefully dressed and closely jointed ashlar. Baldwin Brown (p. 457) also calls attention to the circular window high up in the south wall of the nave; the Royal Commission assign this window to the fourteenth century, as its quatrefoil tracery would suggest, but Baldwin Brown draws attention to the peculiar position of the window about 20 ft or more above the floor, and suggests that the medieval tracery is an insertion in a window which was originally of a simple Anglo-Saxon form, as at Avebury or Bosham. We regard this as very doubtful. Faint traces of a semi-circular arch in the south wall, about 15 ft west of the circular window, and at the same level, are too indistinct to serve as the basis of any observation, save that they would repay further investigation. The Royal Commission evidently regarded these as the vestiges of a second circular window, but to us they looked more like the arched head of a doorway, possibly an entrance to a gallery, as at Tredington and Wing.

DIMENSIONS

Internally the nave measures about 65 ft by 23 ft, and its walls are 3 ft 4 in. thick and about 25 ft high.

REFERENCE

R.C.H.M., *Buckinghamshire, North* (London, 1913), 141.

HARMSTON

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 113, reference SK 973623

ALL SAINTS

West tower: period C3

The late-Saxon tower of Harmston church, about 6 miles south of Lincoln, is one of several examples of its kind which are to be found a little to the west of the Roman Ermine Street, on the ridge of high land which forms the eastern boundary of the Trent Valley. Harmston is perhaps the least interesting of the group, because the tower is the only part of the early church which has survived; the remainder of the church, consisting of an aisled nave and aisleless chancel, having been rebuilt in the Decorated style in 1717 and drastically restored in 1868.

The tower is of the tall, plain type common in Lincolnshire; but, having been later provided with a parapet, battlements, and finials in the Perpendicular style, it now looks much less gaunt than most of the towers of its class. The main fabric is of flattish pieces of rubble, laid in courses, and the side-alternate quoins are of dressed stones of no great size. The tall lower stage of the tower has no original openings, but the belfry stage has a tall double window in each of its four faces. The ashlar jambs of these windows rest on the square string-course, which separates the two stages of the original tower; each window has a cylindrical mid-wall shaft with bulbous base and cushion capital; and in each window the through-stone slab resting on the mid-wall shaft, and the imposts resting on the jambs, are flat rectangular stones, chamfered below, and projecting a few inches beyond the wall-face. The round heads of the two individual lights of each window are each formed of a large stone, which is shaped below to a curve containing rather more than a semicircle. The general impression given by the tower is of lateness in the Anglo-Saxon period or of very heavy restoration in recent times.

Internally, the fine tower-arch is Norman, but there is preserved beside it a substantial fragment, over 3 ft long, of an Anglo-Saxon cross-shaft,

with knot-work on all four faces and panels of figure sculpture on front and back, that on the front containing a Crucifixion with a figure on either side and that on the back an unidentified saint.

REFERENCE

Editorial, *A.A.S.R.* 9 (1867-8), lxxxiii, and 18 (1885-6), lxxii. Brief descriptions of the fabric, and accounts of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century rebuildings.

HARPSWELL

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 104, reference SK 936900

ST CHAD

West tower: period C3

A Roman road runs north along the ridge of high land from Lincoln to the Humber; and Harpswell, about 11 miles north of Lincoln, is one of the several villages with late-Saxon churches which stand on the low land a few miles west of this road. The village is now very small, and the church has been reduced in size by the removal of a former north aisle. It now consists of a west tower, a nave with south aisle and south porch, and an aisleless chancel.

Only the square, unbuttressed tower is Anglo-Saxon; and it is of very different proportions from the tall, gaunt type, of which there are so many examples in this part of Lincolnshire. It differs from the usual Lincolnshire type not only in its much more broad and squat proportions, but also in the almost complete absence of dressed stone in its quoins and other salient angles. The main fabric is of carefully coursed small rubble, and the quoins and window-jambes are of larger blocks of the same stone, laid in face-alternate fashion. The tower is of two stages, separated only by a plain, square string-course; and the upper stage represents about one-quarter of the total height.

The lower stage of the tower, standing on a plain square plinth, has no surviving features of definitely Anglo-Saxon character. Its north face has no openings at all; in the south face a narrow, flat-headed, rectangular window with rubble jambs is placed high up near the top of the stage;

and in the west face a shapely Early English window lights the ground floor, while a blocked, round-headed window above it may originally have provided the main light for the first floor.

The upper stage originally had four double belfry windows, of which that to the west has been blocked, and largely cut away for the installation of the eighteenth-century clock-face. The stone heads of this window survive, and show that it was originally similar to those in the north and south faces. All three of the surviving windows have mid-wall shafts and plain, rectangular through-stone slabs; and the round heads of the individual

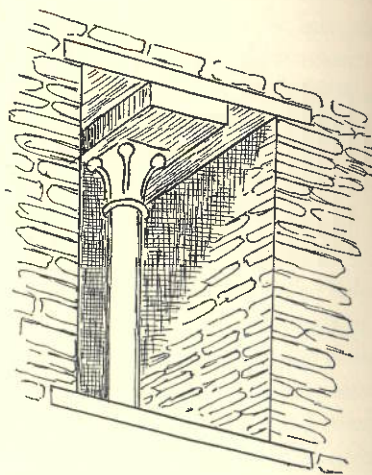


FIG. 124. HARPSWELL, LINCOLNSHIRE
Rough sketch of the east window of the belfry.

lights of the north and south windows are cut in the lower faces of plain square stones. The inner edges of these window-heads rest on the through-stone slabs, while their outer edges are supported on the rubble jambs, without any imposts. The mid-wall shafts are plain circular cylinders, with simple conical capitals, which are changed into a square plan at the top by the addition of little knobs at each of the four angles. The eastern window, although double like the others, differs from them by having a plain, flat, stone lintel, which covers the whole width of the window.

No Anglo-Saxon feature has survived internally.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 15 ft square internally, with walls about 3 ft 6 in. thick and about 45 ft high.

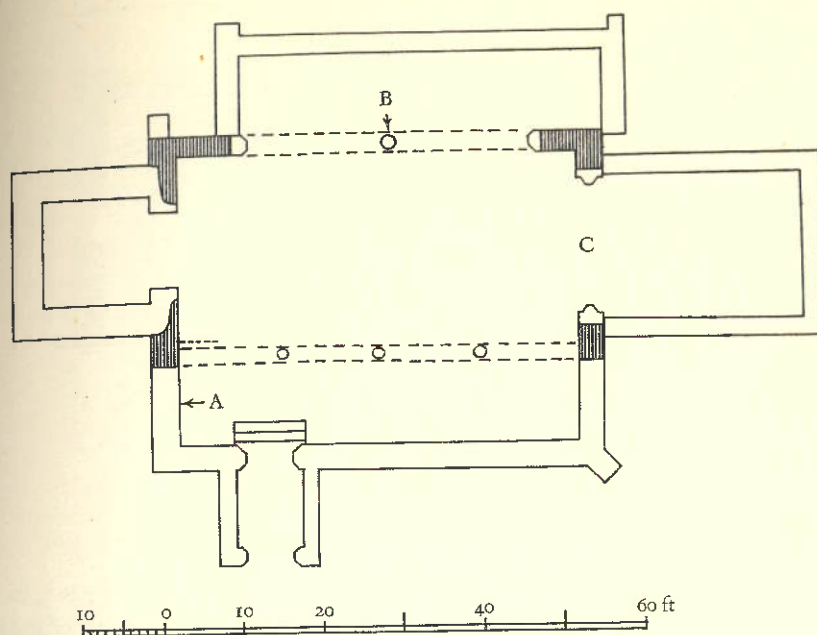


FIG. 125. HART, COUNTY DURHAM

A, Anglo-Saxon sundial built into later wall; B, sill of single-splayed Anglo-Saxon window, and part of its western jamb *in situ* in spandrel of later arcade; C, head of Anglo-Saxon chancel-arch *in situ* above wider Norman arch, with triangular-headed doorway above it (see Fig. 485).

REFERENCES

E. TROLLOPE, 'Notes on Gainsborough and other places', *A.A.S.R.* 8 (1865-6), 213-45. Local history of Harpswell, 238-9; church described, 239-40. Originally two Early English aisles, but north aisle demolished in 1824. Tower dated as Norman.

Editorial, *ibid.* 20 (1889-90), lxix. Brief architectural description. Tower dated as late-Saxon or early Norman.

HART

County Durham

Map sheet 85, reference NZ 470352

Figure 485

ST MARY MAGDALENE

Nave: possibly period A

The Transitional Norman church of St Hilda at the seaport of Hartlepool was originally a chapel of ease to the earlier church of St Mary at Hart,

about 3 miles further west, and in the centre of the district formerly known as Hartness.¹ That the mother church was at Hart rather than Hartlepool seems to argue in favour of an early date for its foundation, even in the absence of any records, since we know that a monastery was in existence at Hartlepool about 650 when its foundress Heiu retired and left its care to St Hilda.² Of the nunnery buildings in Hartlepool no vestige now remains, but the site is known to have been near to the present church of St Hilda, because in 1833 an Anglian cemetery was discovered about a hundred yards south-east of the churchyard. Of a number of small memorial 'pillow stones' then unearthed in the cemetery, most were lost, but some are preserved in the church, three in the British Museum, two in the Black Gate Museum at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and one in the Cathedral Library at Durham.³

The church of St Mary at Hart stands on the north of the main road from Hartlepool to Durham, on high land, in a somewhat neglected

¹ Roger of Wendover records that the churches of Hartness were despoiled by the pagans in 800 (D. Whitelock, *E.H.D.* (1955), 255).

² Bede, *H.E.* iv, 23.

³ C. C. Hodges, *Reliquary*, n.s., 8 (1894), 2-8.

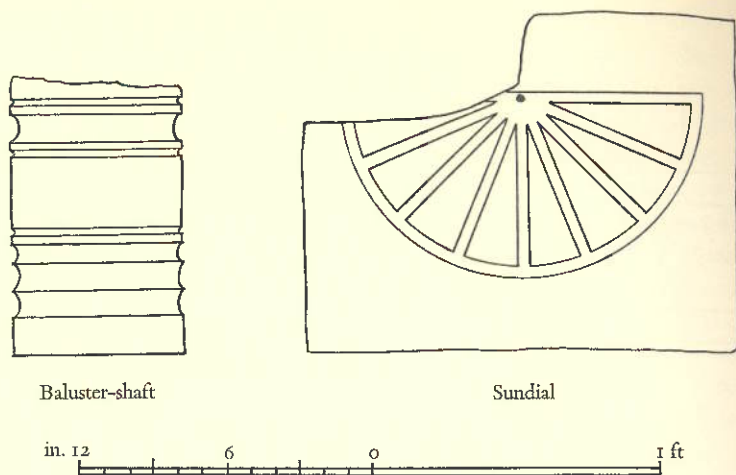


FIG. 126. HART, COUNTY DURHAM
Details of the broken baluster-shaft and the sundial.

churchyard. It now consists of an aisled nave with south porch, an aisleless chancel, and a west tower. Its fabric is of rubble, with larger stones set in side-alternate fashion for the quoins. At first sight there is nothing to indicate a date earlier than the twelfth-century Norman tower or the north arcade of the same period; but in restorations in 1885 the removal of plaster from the interior of the church brought to light certain earlier features in the nave. The chancel was completely rebuilt in 1806, and the south arcade of the nave was moved slightly to the south in the sixteenth century, as may be seen from the fragments of earlier walling at either end. But the dimensions of the original nave are fixed by its four surviving quoins, and its pre-Conquest character is shown by the way in which Norman work has cut away parts of the earlier fabric.

In the east wall of the nave the existing Norman chancel-arch clearly replaces an earlier and narrower arch, part of which still remains in position. The ten remaining voussoirs of the earlier arch are not through-stones, for their joints are differently arranged on the two sides of the wall. Above the two arches is a triangular-headed doorway, whose head is formed of two pairs of large inclined stones. These rest, without any imposts, on the plain square jambs, which are cut straight through the wall, and which are each formed of four very large, flat, through-stones.

In the north wall of the nave, in the spandrel between the two round arches of the north arcade, part of the blocked outer face of a small window may be seen in the north aisle. This vestige is not easy to find, but can be seen close above the springing of the arches, and about 6 ft above the capital of the central pier. The sill is hollowed out from a single stone; the surviving part of the western jamb is built up of three stones; and of the eastern jamb only one stone remains. The narrow, single-splayed window defined by these stones could not be dated as pre-Conquest on the evidence of these remains alone; but it must be earlier than the Norman arcade, because it ceased to serve any purpose after the building of the aisle.

There are preserved at the west of the south aisle a number of pre-Conquest carved stones, which were found in the walls of the church during the repairs of 1889-91.¹ The most interesting of these are a sundial, and two baluster-shafts which, like those at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, were probably made in a lathe. The presence of these baluster shafts is a strong argument in favour of there having been at Hart a church of about the same date as those at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, for balusters of this type are otherwise unknown in Northumbria. It does not, of course, follow that any part of the existing fabric is of so early a date. The sundial, now built into the interior west wall of the south aisle, is in the form

¹ J. R. Boyle, *The County of Durham* (London, 1892), 618.

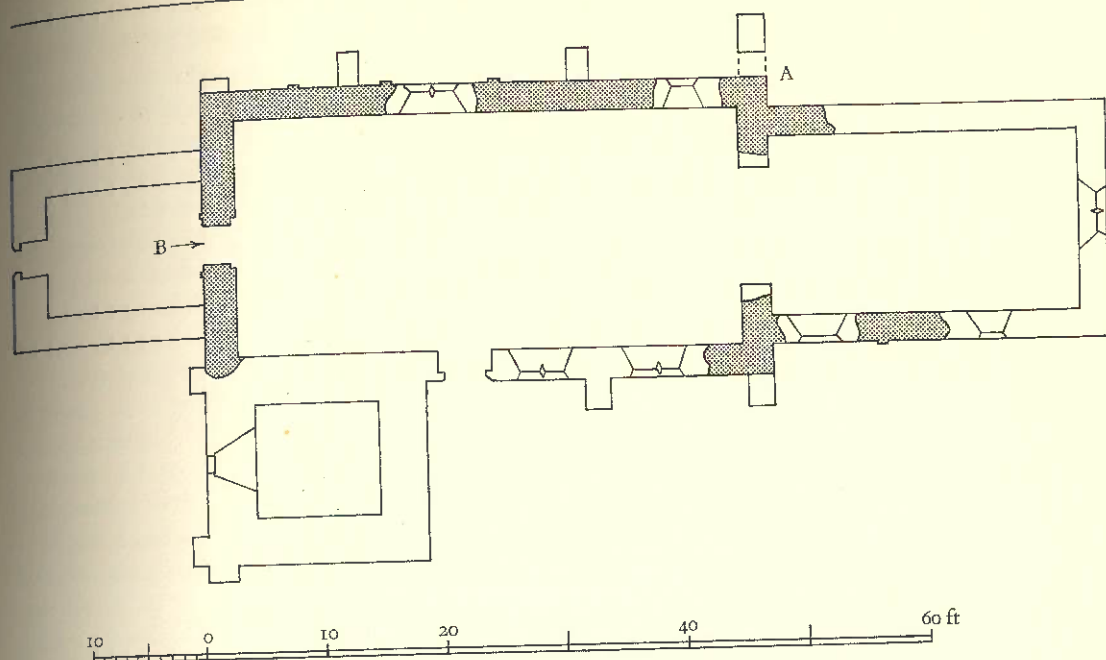


FIG. 127. HEADBOURNE WORTHY, HAMPSHIRE

A, long-and-short north-east quoin; B, position of Rood over west doorway.

of a raised semicircle, outlined by a raised half-round moulding, with radii, also in the form of raised half-round mouldings, at angles of $22\frac{1}{2}^\circ$.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 50 ft long internally and 23 ft 8 in. wide, but the original nave was only 22 ft in width. The surviving original north wall is 2 ft 4 in. thick, and the east wall at the chancel-arch 2 ft 11 in. The Norman chancel-arch is 16 ft wide; but the remains of the earlier arch above serve to define an opening about 8 ft wide and 16 ft high. The triangular-headed doorway above is about 2 ft wide by 5 ft tall, with its sill about 19 ft above the floor. The blocked north window was 9 in. wide externally, with its sill about 14 ft above the floor; about 2 ft in height of its western jamb has survived.

REFERENCES

- C. C. HODGES, 'The pre-Conquest churches of North-umbria', *Reliquary*, n.s. 8 (1894), 1-12. Hart, 1-2. Brief historical and architectural description.
 V.C.H., *Durham*, 3 (London, 1928), 259-61. Description based on that given by Hodges. Plan, 260.
 A. R. GREEN, 'Anglo-Saxon sundials', *Ant. J.* 8 (1928), 489-516. Hart sundial described and illustrated, 503-4.

HEADBOURNE WORTHY

Hampshire

Map sheet 168, reference SU 487319

ST SWITHUN

Main fabric of nave and chancel, partly rebuilt:
 period C 2

The church of St Swithun stands in an attractive wooded churchyard on the banks of a small tributary of the River Itchen, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Winchester, immediately to the west of the busy main road to Basingstoke and London.

In the thirteenth century the Anglo-Saxon chancel was lengthened eastward, and a squat tower was added at the south-west of the nave; and in the sixteenth century a porch of two storeys was built against the west wall of the nave; but in spite of these changes and of much subsequent rebuilding, considerable parts of the simple pre-Conquest nave and chancel still remain; with a remarkable Rood on the west wall, now sadly mutilated, but still impressive even in its present state. The church has suffered greatly from the bad foundation provided by the low-lying ground on which it is built, and several medieval buttresses

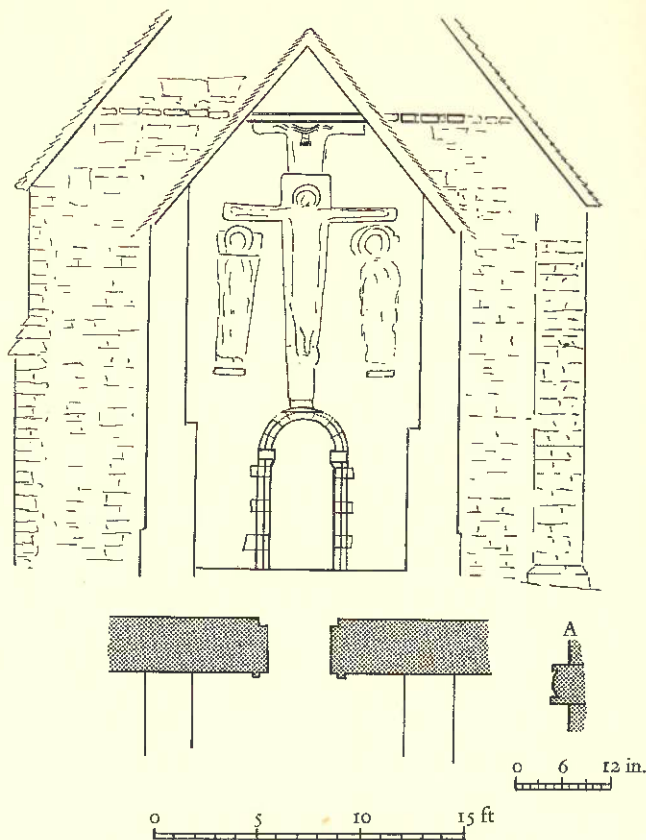


FIG. 128. HEADBOURNE WORTHY, HAMPSHIRE

Detail of the defaced Rood and of the west doorway. The inset A shows at a much larger scale the profile of the string-course above the *Manus Dei*. Note how vestiges of this string-course are also to be seen on the external parts of the west gable, particularly to the south of the roof of the later porch.

have been provided, in order to give additional support to withstand the lateral thrust of its roof and of the enlarged medieval chancel-arch.

Externally the Anglo-Saxon character of the walls is shown by the pilaster-strips, of which there are three on the north wall of the nave and one on the south wall of the chancel. Some of the pilaster-strips on the north have vestiges of stepped bases, which were clearly shown in a drawing published in 1845.¹ There is also long-and-short quoining at the north-east angle of the nave. It should be recorded, however, that almost all of the fabric marked as Anglo-Saxon by these features was rebuilt during the restoration by G. E. Street in 1865-6, but with due regard to re-use of the original materials in their original

form.² The only part of the building which appears to have escaped any need for restoration is the west wall of the nave. The important features which fix the character of this wall are best seen within the west porch; but externally there should be noted in the west gable, visible to the south of the roof of the sixteenth-century porch, a small section of a horizontal string-course, which appears originally to have run across the base of the west gable, like the similar square string-course on the east gable of the chancel at Boarhunt.

Internally the principal Anglo-Saxon feature is the west doorway, which has square jambs of through-stones, laid in 'Escomb fashion', with plain chamfered bases and imposts, and a semi-

¹ O. B. Carter, *Quarterly Papers on Architecture*, 3, ed. J. Weale (1845), 1-4.

² J. H. Slessor, *Notes on the Church of St Swithun, Headbourne Worthy* (London and Winchester, 1888), 10-13.

circular arch of a single square order, also of through-stones. On the west face, the bases and imposts are returned along the wall, and stopped against an outlining frame of square strip-work, which is carried up on either side of the jambs and round the head as a hood-mould. The builders of the sixteenth-century porch have ruthlessly cut away part of the hood-mould to make way for the floor timbers of their upper room; and at some period the east face of the doorway has been rebated to hang a medieval door, but even so the doorway is a good example of Anglo-Saxon workmanship.

Above the west door is the Rood, similar in composition to that at Breamore, but on a bigger scale and more simply treated. The whole sculpture has been cut back almost to the wall face, possibly in the time of Bishop Horne (1560-80), who is recorded by the *Victoria County History* as having ordered the destruction of all Crucifixes in the Diocese of Winchester. But even in its mutilated state the Rood can be seen as a work of great dignity; the figures are rather more than life-size, and that of Christ appears to have represented a figure in repose, as at Langford and Romsey, rather than a figure distorted by human suffering, such as is shown at Breamore. Above the Cross, the Hand of God issues from a cloud, which is carved in part on the horizontal string-course, whose remains are also visible outside the porch. This association of the carved Rood with the architectural features of the west wall gives a strong suggestion that both are of the same date, and this suggestion is rendered almost a certainty by the way in which the lowest stone of the Rood is an integral part of the arch of the west doorway.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 42 ft long internally, by 19 ft 7 in. wide, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick and about 18 ft high. The chancel is 14 ft 10 in. wide. The west doorway is 3 ft 1 in. wide and 7 ft 10 in. high, and the figure of Christ above it is about 8 ft tall. The string-course above the Rood is about 22 ft above the ground; if, therefore, it originally ran across the base of the gable, the side walls of the nave must have been about 4 ft taller than at present.

REFERENCES

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- J. H. PARKER, 'Churches in the neighbourhood of Winchester', *Proc. Arch. Inst., Winchester*, 1845 (London, 1846), 21-32.
- O. B. CARTER, 'Headbourne Worthy church', *Quarterly Papers on Architecture*, 3, ed. J. Weale (1845), 1-4. Description, with plan, section and elevation showing Rood.
- J. H. SLESSOR, *Notes on the Church of St Swithun, Headbourne Worthy* (London and Winchester, 1888). Details of restoration in 1865-6, 10-13. Description and picture of Rood; note that one of the hands (now lost) was found in the cavity in the region of the head, 13-14.
- V.C.H., *Hampshire and the I.O.W.*, 4 (London, 1911), 428-30.

HEAPHAM

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 104, reference SK 878885

Figure 486

ALL SAINTS

West tower, and nave walls: period C3

The Trent Valley is notable for the great number of churches with late-Saxon towers which have survived to the present day within a comparatively small area. At Heapham, about 3 miles east of Gainsborough, the density is particularly high, even for the Trent Valley, for three adjoining villages with such churches are separated by intervals of less than a mile. Corringham and Springthorpe, the northern two of this trio, are still villages of appreciable size, but Heapham has only the church and a handful of houses to mark the former existence of a village which must have been of some size, if one may judge by the square of roads, which now serve only to enclose the church within a large field, but which were presumably at one time the streets of the village. The church now consists of a west tower, to which buttresses have been added; a nave, with an Early English arcade to its north aisle; and a chancel of the same period.

The tower, standing on a chamfered plinth, is

of the Lincolnshire late-Saxon type: where the plaster has peeled from its walls they can be seen to be of flattish rubble, with dressed-stone side-alternate quoins; and it has the usual two stages, separated by a string-course of simple square section. The taller, lower stage shows the blocked remains of a west doorway, with a round-arched head of a single square order, enclosing a semi-circular tympanum, which rests on a flat stone lintel. The jambs of this doorway are no longer visible, if indeed they have survived beneath the plaster with which the tower is covered. The only other opening in the lower stage of the tower is a much-restored, narrow keyhole window, high above the doorway; its built-up jambs slope together towards the top, and its head is cut from a single square stone.

The shorter belfry stage has a double window in each face, with ashlar jambs and cylindrical mid-wall shafts. In each window the plain, thin, rectangular through-stone slab and the imposts project a few inches from the face of the wall, and the semicircular heads of the individual lights of each double window are cut in the lower faces of square stones. In the eastern window, the capital of the mid-wall shaft is of rectangular corbel-like shape, in plan, so as to support the through-stone along a considerable part of its length; and in the north and east windows, the sills are built up for about 1 ft, so as to hide the lower part of the mid-wall shafts. In the south and west windows, the jambs and the mid-wall shafts rest on the string-course which separates the two stages of the tower.

The south doorway of the nave, now protected by a late porch, is a simple round-headed opening of a single square order, with square jambs and chamfered imposts, which are not returned along the wall face. The south wall is 33 in. thick and there seems every likelihood that both it and the doorway are contemporary with the tower.

Internally, the tower-arch is tall and wide; its round head, of a single square order, is not of through-stones; its square jambs are built of well-dressed ashlar; and its quirked, chamfered imposts are returned about 1 ft along the nave wall. The interior of the tower is plastered, so that no trace is now visible of the blocked west doorway.

A considerable length of the north wall of the

nave has been left intact at the west of the Early English north arcade, and, since this is of the same thickness as the south wall, there seems little reason to doubt that it is contemporary with the tower.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 10 ft square internally, and the tower-arch is 5 ft 9 in. wide and about 12 ft high, in a wall 2 ft 10 in. thick. The nave is 15 ft wide, with north and south walls each 2 ft 9 in. thick and about 16 ft high.

HEDDON-ON-THE-WALL

Northumberland

Map sheet 78, reference NZ 135669

ST ANDREW

South-east part of nave: Probably period A

At Heddon, about 7 miles west of the centre of Newcastle, a considerable section of Hadrian's Wall is to be seen, about four or five courses high, a little to the east of the church, and on the eastern slope of the hill which gives the church a fine view over the lower part of the Tyne Valley. The church now consists of a spacious aisled nave with south porch, an aisleless chancel, and an eastern extension with a fine, ribbed, Norman vault.

There seems good ground for believing that the eastern parts of the main walls of the nave, over the transitional Norman and Early English arcades, are the original walls of an aisleless Anglo-Saxon nave, the eastern face of whose south-east quoin can still be seen in the angle between the chancel and the south aisle. Notes placed in the church for the use of visitors record that, in the course of restorations in 1937, parts of the foundations of the Anglo-Saxon south wall of the nave were found beneath the present floor. The nave has been lengthened westward by one bay in modern times; but its walls above the medieval arcades are only 2 ft 8 in. thick, and the south-east quoin has undoubted Anglo-Saxon characteristics in spite of the controversy which has centred round it.

The south-east quoin was first illustrated and

described by W. H. Knowles in 1886;¹ writing of it in 1893, C. C. Hodges said: 'It is a good example of long-and-short work and, with the exception of Whittingham tower, the best in the county. Some of the upright stones pass four courses of wallers but the length of the horizontal quoins is doubtful because they are partly covered by a later wall.'² In 1924 Hodges claimed for this building an early date comparable with Escomb and Corbridge;³ and Baldwin Brown (p. 458) then rightly drew attention to the difficulty arising from the association of so early a date with a long-and-short quoin, unless existing theories about the late character of long-and-short quoining were to be abandoned. Finally, E. Gilbert pointed out in 1946 that there had been considerable confusion about the quoining, that it was really a specimen of side-alternate quoining with massive stones, as at Corbridge and Escomb, and that it had been a mistake ever to refer to it as long-and-short.⁴

An inaccurate description of side-alternate quoining as long-and-short was characteristic of most early writing on the subject; and Gilbert is almost certainly correct in saying that this quoin is of side-alternate construction, not long-and-short; but a careful examination in 1956 convinced us, first that the matter could be settled without doubt only by demolishing the adjoining piece of wall of the south aisle so as to expose the south face of the quoin, and secondly that Gilbert's figure, said to be in agreement with that on p. 458 of Baldwin Brown's book, is open to misinterpretation. For purposes of record, Fig. 129 shows side by side Baldwin Brown's drawing of 1925, Gilbert's drawing of 1946, our own drawing of 1956, which has been carefully measured and checked against a photograph, and finally the original drawing published by Knowles in 1886, which will be seen to be in close agreement with our own, although giving a more conventionalized representation. In Gilbert's drawing, the stones were lettered for convenience of reference; this lettering has been repeated in Fig. 129, where corresponding letters have been introduced against Baldwin Brown's drawing and our own. It will

be at once apparent that, whereas Baldwin Brown correctly showed stone 1 at 4 ft 6 in. above the ground, Gilbert's figure was liable to give the false impression that it was on the ground. We believe, moreover, that our drawing shows more accurately the shape and size of stones F, G and H, and also that it shows correctly the number of small walling

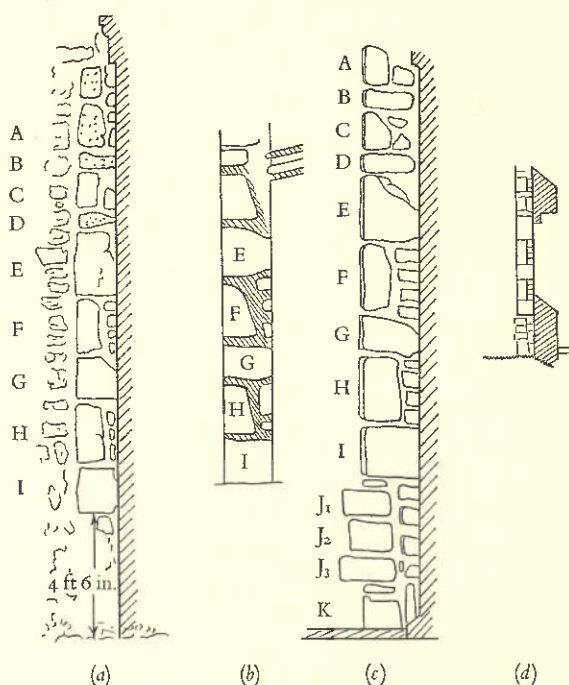


FIG. 129. HEDDON-ON-THE-WALL, NORTHUMBERLAND

Comparative drawings of the south-east quoin. (a) Baldwin Brown, 458; (b) E. Gilbert, *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., 24 (1946), 174; (c) H. M. Taylor, as measured and drawn 10 July 1956; (d) W. H. Knowles, *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., II (1886), 246.

stones against F and H. It should be noted in conclusion that the stones J₁, J₂ and J₃, as shown in our drawing, were no doubt inserted by the builders of the south aisle in replacement of a single quoin-stone, which they removed in order to bond their new wall into the original wall of the nave. The original stone at J was therefore 3 ft in height; H and F, which are still present, are each 2 ft 2 in. in height; while the intervening stones I and G are 1 ft 9 in.

¹ W. H. Knowles, *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., II (1886), 246; see the small drawing (d) in Fig. 129.

² C. C. Hodges, *Reliquary*, n.s., 7 (1893), 69.

³ C. C. Hodges, *P. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, 4th ser., I (1923-4), 276.

⁴ E. Gilbert, *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., 24 (1946), 174-6.

and 1 ft 7 in. respectively. If the south faces of F, H and J are narrow like their east faces, and if the south faces of G and I are broad like their east faces, then the group of stones from J up to F would make a very good long-and-short quoin. But if, as seems more likely, the stones are arranged with their longer faces along alternate walls, then the quoin is an equally satisfactory example of side-alternate quoining, as at Corbridge and Escomb. At that point we think the subject should be allowed to rest, accepting the body of the walls of the nave as Anglo-Saxon on the evidence of their thinness and the undoubted Anglo-Saxon character of the south-east quoin; but leaving the precise date to be settled, if ever it should be necessary to repair the east wall of the south aisle, and so to allow inspection of the south face of the quoin.

The walls of the chancel are of the same thin construction as those of the nave, about 2 ft 8 in. in thickness. Moreover the eastern sanctuary, of Norman date, is clearly a later addition, so that the original chancel must either be pre-Norman or very early Norman. The chancel has no clear pre-Norman characteristics; and its south wall does not seem to be in bond with the east wall of the nave, so that it is probably later in date than the nave. In its south wall a blocked doorway has an unusual flat head, formed of a single large, semicircular stone, and in its north wall the vestiges of another large rounded door-head are visible, above the much later doorway which leads to the vestry.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 17 ft wide internally and, in its modern extended state, is 51 ft 6 in. long. The early part of the chancel is 13 ft 6 in. wide, by 16 ft 9 in. long, and the walls of both nave and chancel are 2 ft 8 in. in thickness. About 18 ft in total height still survives of the south-east quoin of the nave.

REFERENCES

- C. J. BATES, 'Heddon-on-the-Wall: the church and parish', *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., 11 (1886), 240-94. Architectural notes by W. H. Knowles, 288-9. Plan, 250. Arguments advanced in footnotes on pp. 243-4 for identifying Heddon with the place 'Ad Murum' where Peada and Sigebert were baptized, with their followers, by Finan, bishop of Lindisfarne, at the court of King Oswy (Bede, *H.E.* III, 21 and 22).

- C. C. HODGES, 'Pre-Conquest churches of Northumbria', *Reliquary*, n.s., 7 (1893), 65-85. Heddon, 68-9.
C. C. HODGES, 'Heddon-on-the-Wall church', *P. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, 4th ser., 1 (1923-4), 273-9. Plan, 276. Good architectural history.
E. GILBERT, 'New views on Warden, Bywell, and Heddon-on-the-Wall churches', *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., 24 (1946), 157-76. Heddon, 174-6.
History of Northumberland, 13, ed. M. H. Dodds (Newcastle, 1930), 57-84. History of change of dedication (from St Philip and St James), description, plan, and drawings of various dates.

HEIGHAM

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 216096

ST BARTHOLOMEW

*West tower and south-west quoin of nave:
possibly period C*

The body of this church, in a north-western suburb of Norwich, was destroyed in an air-raid on 29 April 1942, but the tower and the adjoining west wall of the nave have survived. The tower is of simple square plan, without buttresses, and its walls rise sheer from the ground to the string-course below the later Perpendicular parapet. All the windows are Perpendicular, but they seem to be later insertions in an earlier fabric.

The only reasons for suggesting a pre-Conquest origin for this church are the plain unbuttressed plan, the uncut flint fabric, and the construction of the quoins in flints without any use of dressed stone.

The west wall of the nave has survived beside the tower; the remains on the north show that the nave was widened on that side in later times, but on the other side the original south-west quoin of the nave has remained, of the same plain flint construction as the four quoins of the tower. Moreover, a small part of the south wall of the nave has also survived, showing that the walls were only 2 ft 7 in. in thickness. The tower-arch is a tall Perpendicular opening, now bricked-up, and the interior of the tower is inaccessible.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is not quite square: 12 ft 3 in. from east to west externally, by 13 ft from north to

south. It is about 50 ft in height to the string-course which separates the plain lower walls from the Perpendicular battlements, but the upper 5 ft or so of the plain walls may be contemporary with the Perpendicular windows, since the texture of the fabric shows a change about the middle of these windows.

REFERENCES

- J. C. COX, *Norfolk*, 2 (London, 1911), 134. Church described as 'poor late Perpendicular'.
H. M. CAUTLEY, *Norfolk Churches* (Ipswich, 1949), 206. Brief reference to quoins of tower.
J. F. WILLIAMS, 'St Bartholomew, Heigham', *Norf. Arch.* 28 (1942-5), 229-33. Quoins of tower and south-west quoin of nave compared to quoins at Beeston Regis Priory. Church destroyed by incendiary bombs on the night of 29 April 1942.

HEMINGSTONE

Suffolk

Map sheet 150, reference TM 144536

ST GREGORY

Part of nave: period C

Hemingstone, about 6 miles north of Ipswich, is one of a group of rural parishes in the valley of the Gipping, all of which have churches with minor evidence of late-Saxon workmanship.

The church has an attractive setting on the ridge of high land east of the river, beside a substantial farm. Its body, of uncut flint, with stone facings, is a single, aisleless rectangle, with no structural division between the nave and chancel. To this simple structure there have been added on the north a porch and a heating-chamber, both of brick, and on the west a square tower of cut flint and stone. No early doors or windows survive, and the only evidence of pre-Conquest date is at the south-west angle of the nave, where five pairs of quoin-stones have survived in well-defined long-and-short technique. As at the neighbouring church of Claydon, the upright, or long, stones have been rebated, to give a key for stopping the plaster facing of the walls; and, as at Claydon,

they are rectangular rather than square in plan. The north-west quoin has been heavily buttressed at a later date, and only one of its original stones is visible at the top of the buttress.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 21 ft wide internally, with walls 3 ft thick. The long stones in the quoin average about 2 ft 6 in. in height and the shorts about 4 in.

REFERENCE

- J. G. WALLER, 'Notes on Anglo-Saxon masonry', *J.B.A.A.* 1 (1846), 117-20. Brief description and illustration of quoin, 118.

HEREFORD

Map sheet 142, reference SO 510397

ST KATHERINE AND ST MARY MAGDALENE

*North wall of chapel, incorporating earlier wall:
probably period C3*

A very interesting fragment of an earlier building has been incorporated into the later south wall of the Bishop's Cloister of Hereford Cathedral. This wall is the only surviving part of the two-storeyed chapel which was demolished in the first half of the eighteenth century. The main fabric of that chapel can with reasonable certainty be assigned to Bishop Robert de Lorraine (1079-95),¹ but it seems to us likely that Bishop Robert's fabric incorporated the north wall of an earlier building. The surviving north wall of the chapel, now the south wall of the cloister, contains two double-splayed, round-headed windows, faced with ashlar. One of these is in the part of the cloister that is open to the public, while the other is within the music school, further to the west. In the region of these windows the wall is about 4 ft thick, whereas the main part of the Norman wall is about 5½ ft in thickness. We interpret the surviving fabric as showing that the Norman builders thickened the earlier wall and carried it upward for their second storey. The thickening

¹ A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture after the Conquest* (Oxford, 1930), 112.

HEREFORD

of the pre-Norman wall was not effected by a straightforward application of new masonry along the whole of its length, but by adding a skin, which is borne on an arcade of three round-headed arches below, but which becomes continuous above, where it carried the floor and the wall of the upper chamber. The two outer arches of this arcade enclose the two double-splayed windows, and the central arch encloses a much later doorway.

That the arcaded thickening of the wall is a later addition to an earlier fabric is indicated by the way in which a straight joint runs round the jambs and head of each of the arches. The original wall, with its two double-splayed windows, can therefore be regarded as of pre-Conquest date.

DIMENSIONS

The wall is about 4 ft thick and about 50 ft long. The apertures of the windows are 1 ft 2 in. wide and 2 ft 4 in. tall, set 1 ft 2 in. from the north face of the wall, and splayed in that wall to openings 2 ft 4 in. by 3 ft 6 in.

REFERENCES

N. DRINKWATER, 'Hereford cathedral: The Bishop's chapel of St Katherine and St Mary Magdalene', *Arch. J.* **III** (1954), 129-37. Excellent account of the early Norman, centrally planned, two-storey chapel, with valuable reproductions of drawings by William Stukeley and others.

R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire*, **I** (London, 1931), 115-16.

HERRINGFLEET

Suffolk

Map sheet 137, reference TM 477978

ST MARGARET

Round west tower: period C3

The church of St Margaret, Herringfleet, stands near the north bank of the Waveney, about 5 miles north-west of Lowestoft, and only 2 miles in a direct line from the somewhat similar round tower at Haddiscoe. In addition to its round west tower, the church has only a small aisleless nave and chancel; its walls are of flint rubble, with dressed stone for quoins and facings, and its roof is thatched.

The tower is of greater width in proportion to its height than its neighbour at Haddiscoe, and consequently gives a greater sense of strength. It has projecting square string-courses below and above the belfry; the upper string-course also serves as a coping, under a flattish roof; there are no other projecting features; but ornament is provided on the taller lower stage by two courses of roughly dressed stones, which surround the tower at about the level of the ridge of the roof of the nave.

As at Haddiscoe, there are windows at three levels in the stage below the belfry. At the ground level there is only one, of sadly modern form, towards the west; in the next higher level there are two, facing north and south respectively, with jambs of roughly dressed stones, and narrow round heads, cut in single stones which are shaped in semicircular form both below and above; finally, at the third level, there are three, facing north, west and south respectively, with narrow round heads cut from square stones, and jambs built like those below.

The belfry stage, as at Haddiscoe, has double windows facing each of the four cardinal points, but here the surrounding strip-work, with billet moulding, is carried right over the heads of the north, west, and south double windows, to form a semicircular tympanum in the way that is so common in the belfry towers of Northumbria. The east window is an exception in having no outlining strip-work frame. All four belfry windows have steeply sloping sills formed of tiles. As at Haddiscoe, the individual lights of each double window have triangular heads.

A curious feature of this tower is that two additional round-headed windows have been provided in the belfry, facing north-west and south-west respectively. The heads of these are turned in tiles; and their jambs, which appear to be unsplayed, are built of flint rubble, with some admixture of tiles. Both windows appear to have mid-wall shutters of wood, with carved open-work ornament.

Internally the tower has a small round-headed doorway in its eastern face to the nave. This doorway is 3 ft 3 in. wide and 7 ft 9 in. high, with simple, square imposts; but all other details are hidden under plaster. The door was locked when

we visited the church, but Cautley records that the face within the tower is enriched with a line of billet-ornament round the head and jambs. A gallery and a facing of woodwork make it impossible to see whether there was originally a high door from the nave to the tower.

No details have survived to settle whether or not the nave is contemporary with the tower.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 30 ft long internally, and 15 ft wide, with walls 2 ft 8 in. thick and about 14 ft high. The tower is about 16 ft in diameter externally and about 45 ft high.

REFERENCE

H. M. CAUTLEY, *Suffolk Churches* (London, 1937), 271.

HEXHAM

Northumberland

Map sheet 77, reference NY 935641

ST ANDREW

*Crypt, and extensive remains of major church:
period A2*

OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

The present abbey church, standing at the west side of Hexham's busy market-place, is an impressive monument, which dates mainly from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The aisled chancel is of the period of transition from Norman to Early English, and the transepts and crossing are fine examples of the latter style. Until the present nave was built in 1908, the area which it covers had lain desolate for centuries; and it is not clear how far the building of a medieval nave had progressed before it was stopped by a series of Scottish raids, of which the most disastrous was in 1296.

The site is fixed beyond doubt as that of

St Wilfrid's seventh-century church by the existence under the nave of a crypt almost identical in plan and construction with the crypt under Wilfrid's other church at Ripon. Details of the foundation of the churches at Hexham and Ripon, and of the existence of a crypt at Hexham, are given in the contemporary biography of Wilfrid, written by his friend Eddius Stephanus.¹

The ancient crypt was forgotten for centuries until it was rediscovered in 1726, during the digging of foundations for a buttress to strengthen the north-west angle of the tower. It was thereafter used as a burial-place for a local family, during which period some parts of the doorways were cut away for ease of entry. Its existence was recorded by historians, including Stukeley and Hutchinson, who gave accounts of Roman inscriptions on stones built into its walls; but they did not discuss its date or historical significance. It was not until 1846 that attention was drawn to the probability that this crypt and the similar one at Ripon were both the work of Wilfrid.²

Wilfrid was made abbot of Ripon about 660 and was chosen in 664 to be Bishop of the Northumbrians, in succession to Tuda, who had succeeded Colman, but who had died within the year; but, having gone to Gaul to be consecrated, he found on his return that Chad had been installed at York in his place; Wilfrid was installed as Bishop of York by Archbishop Theodore in 669, and during his tenure of that bishopric he not only restored the cathedral of York but also built the churches at Ripon and Hexham. After a somewhat tempestuous life, which involved several changes between bishoprics and two journeys to Rome to secure the intervention of the Pope on his behalf, he died in 709, as Bishop of Hexham, and was succeeded in that bishopric by Acca, who 'ennobled the structure of his church, which is dedicated in honour of the blessed Apostle Andrew, with multifarious adornments and marvellous works'.³ The church at Hexham must have

¹ B. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927). Building of church at Ripon, ch. 17; Building of church at Hexham, ch. 22.

² T. H. Turner, *Arch. J.* 2 (1846), 239-42. Editorial, *ibid.* 3 (1847), 163-4.

³ Bede, *H.E.* v, 20, tr. D. Whitelock, *E.H.D.* (1955), 680. For the facts about Wilfrid, see Colgrave, *loc. cit.*, particularly chs. viii-xv. See also C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, 2 (Oxford, 1896), 316-20.

been built between the years 672 and 678, for Eddius, ch. 22, records against those years that:

having obtained an estate from the queen, St Aethilthryth, the dedicated to God, he founded and built a house to the Lord in honour of St Andrew the Apostle. My feeble tongue will not permit me here to enlarge upon the depth of the foundations in the earth, and its crypts of wonderfully dressed stone, and the manifold building above ground, supported by various columns and many side aisles, and adorned with walls of notable length and height, surrounded by various winding passages with spiral stairs leading up and down; for our holy bishop, being taught by the spirit of God, thought out how to construct these buildings; nor have we heard of any other house on this side of the Alps built on such a scale.¹

Eddius might well have been prejudiced in his judgement of the scale of Wilfrid's achievement; but when William of Malmesbury, writing early in the twelfth century with a knowledge of some of the great Norman cathedrals, could say that 'those who have visited Italy allege that at Hexham they see the glories of Rome', it becomes clear that the enthusiasm of Eddius must have had some real justification.²

Wilfrid built two further churches in Hexham, one dedicated to St Peter and one to St Mary.³ Hexham was therefore similar to a number of other early monastic establishments in having several separate churches. The site of St Mary's church is known, and fragments of the medieval church which replaced Wilfrid's building may still be seen behind The Shambles, by walking through a narrow passage called Old Church, which leads south-east from the abbey to the Meal Market. Here, in 1881, were discovered 'three capitals of the bulb form, with the abacus and neck moulds all in the same stone'.⁴ These may have been survivals from Wilfrid's church, or from pre-Conquest or early Norman additions to it. The description given by Aelred of Rievaulx of Wilfrid's church of St Mary indicates that it was an elaborate structure, with a circular central space and four projecting arms.⁵ The site

of St Peter's church is not known with certainty; but a town plan obtainable in Hexham in 1957 records that it probably stood on the site of a thoroughfare now known as Holy Island, to the west-north-west of the abbey, where foundations of some ancient buildings were found in the course of digging. Prior Richard referred to the church as further from the priory than St Mary's, but he gave no other information about it.

We know that Hexham remained a bishopric until about 821, for we have lists of bishops until that date. We have no such positive information thereafter, since the lists do not continue. The monastery, however, remained in being until the Danes under Halfdene sailed up the Tyne in 875 and burnt it.⁶ It seems that the monastery did not remain deserted, for from the beginning of the eleventh century there were hereditary provosts of Hexham, and hereditary priests, who continued in office until Augustinian canons were installed in their place by Archbishop Thomas of York in 1113.⁷ Baldwin Brown gives a reasoned account of the probability that Wilfrid's nave, or a considerable part of it, remained in being throughout the rebuilding of the choir and of the transepts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁸ There were clearly attempts at the building of a new nave in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as may be seen from details in the west front and in the south wall, and from an early type of Norman base at the foot of the west respond of the north arcade; but it is not clear how far the work was carried.

EVIDENCE FOR THE NATURE OF WILFRID'S CHURCH

The parts of Wilfrid's church which are still visible above ground are sufficient to enable the visitor to form a picture of the unusually large scale of the building; but they do not give any real evidence for the complicated structure de-

¹ B. Colgrave, *loc. cit.* 45-7.

² William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (Rolls Series, 52) (London, 1870), 255. He also said that neither time nor war had damaged the building; from which it would seem reasonable to deduce that he believed that Wilfrid's building had survived to his days.

³ B. Colgrave, *loc. cit.* 123 and 182-3; unusual contemporary evidence for the building of multiple churches.

⁴ C. C. Hodges and J. Gibson, *Hexham and its Abbey* (Hexham, 1919).

⁵ J. Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Society Publication, 44 (Durham, 1864), 183 and 14 n.

⁶ Aelred of Rievaulx, *The Saints of Hexham*, ch. xi; J. Raine, *loc. cit.* 190. (Aelred was one of the three sons of Eilaf, a twelfth-century priest of Hexham.)

⁷ J. Raine, *loc. cit.* li and lxiii.

⁸ G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 157-60.

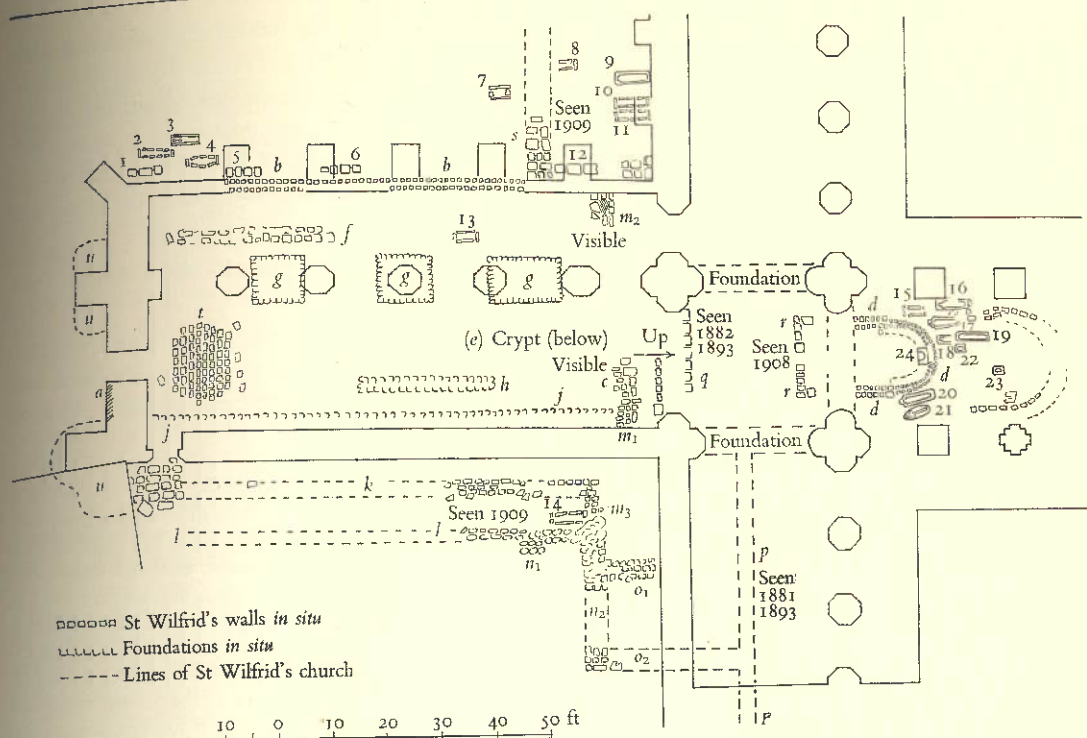


FIG. 130. HEXHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND

Plan as recorded by C. C. Hodges. The letters and numbers on Figs. 130 and 131 are explained in the text.

scribed by Eddius. The site is therefore a most tantalizing one for the student of Anglo-Saxon architecture, because no systematic investigation was made over the area of Wilfrid's nave before the opportunity was lost, probably for ever, by the building of the new nave in 1908.

A careful account of information which came to light during work on the church over a period of thirty years or more, particularly during the rebuilding of the nave, was kept by Mr C. C. Hodges, resident architect and loving historian of the abbey; but such a record of chance discoveries can at best give much less information than would reasonably be expected from a series of systematic excavations, such as could have been carried out before the new nave was built.

An exhaustive and critical comparison of the considerable literary evidence for Wilfrid's church with the rather fragmentary structural remains was given by Baldwin Brown in 1925.¹ In that

account, he referred to the help which he had received from Hodges, both in valuable communications over the years, and also in tracings which showed the most recent discoveries. It has therefore been generally and reasonably assumed that Baldwin Brown's account, as summarized in his fig. 71, gave all the architectural evidence which could now be expected to become available. This assumption is incorrect, and the tracings which Hodges sent to Baldwin Brown contain appreciably more information than was given in his text or shown in his fig. 71. Moreover, in certain material details, Baldwin Brown's figure showed his own deductions from the tracings rather than the facts recorded on them.²

That Baldwin Brown appreciated that his plan was incomplete is clear from his remark (p. 165) that his 'three sketch-plans are only aids to the reading of the text and must not be taken as offering the exact measurements not really now

¹ G. Baldwin Brown (1925), ch. vi, particularly 167-75.

² For the privilege of access to working papers used by

Baldwin Brown during the preparation of the second edition of his *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* we are indebted to Professor Bruce Dickins and Mr P. Hunter Blair.

available, and in any case only possible on a scale larger than this volume allows'. But smallness of scale is no excuse for distorting the evidence to fit preconceived ideas of what the evidence should be; as was done by Baldwin Brown, for example, when he discarded the three square foundations shown in Hodges's plan and substituted in their place a row of circular columns, with the remark (p. 172) that 'on this line Mr Hodges indicates old patches of foundation, but these seem too far apart to be brought into connection with Wilfrid's row of columns'.

In order that readers may have the facts recorded by Hodges, entirely free from later speculation, Hodges's plan has been reproduced as he drew it, and conjectural reconstruction has been kept for a separate diagram. The plan as reproduced in Fig. 130 is a facsimile of the tracing drawn by Hodges in 1923, except that it has been reduced in scale, and except also that key-letters and numbers have been inserted on the plan, in order to link individual features to their descriptions in the text; all other lettering on the plan (e.g. *visible*, *seen* 1909) is copied from Hodges's tracing. We have also given in the text below, in Hodges's own words, descriptions of the principal features, as he saw them between 1880 and 1910.

Even with this fresh evidence it is not easy to deduce the ground-plan of Wilfrid's church, still less to show without doubt that the complicated superstructure described by Eddius really existed; but the rich collections of architectural sculpture that have survived must surely be accepted as evidence of the former existence of an unusually ambitious church; and the recent accumulation of evidence of galleries and stairways in minor Anglo-Saxon churches has rendered untenable Baldwin Brown's assertion (p. 181) that 'Wilfrid's galleries produced little or no effect and, save at Deerhurst, there seems hardly any trace of them in existing Anglo-Saxon buildings'.¹

STRUCTURAL REMAINS

The structural remains of the early church at Hexham fall into two classes: those that can still

be seen, and those for which the only evidence is the records of their observation during the period 1880-1910. Both classes are described below, and both are indicated by key-letters on the plan in Fig. 130; these key-letters correspond to the letters of the separate paragraphs in the remainder of this section.

Visible remains

The structural remains which have survived from the pre-Conquest church at Hexham, and which may still be seen on the site, may be summarized as follows:

(a) *West wall.* To the south of the west doorway of the abbey, the west wall may be seen to be of three different periods. The tall chamfered plinth is the work of thirteenth-century builders, but above this, and surrounded by well-dressed stones of the twentieth-century wall, is an area of earlier masonry eight courses in height, in which the stones are of varying sizes and show Roman tool-marks and cramp-holes. The inner face of this early wall may be seen in a passage in the thickness of the present west wall, and on this evidence the early wall is fixed as having been 2 ft 8 in. in thickness. The lowest four courses of the early masonry, twelve stones in all, are laid in regular coursing, and may reasonably be accepted as part of Wilfrid's church, while the succeeding four courses, fifteen stones in all, are much more irregularly laid, and could represent a rebuilding.

(b) *North wall.* The whole length of the outer wall of the north aisle of the nave may be seen from outside to be built on a much earlier wall, of which two courses survive along much of the length, and one course along most of the remainder. The early fabric can be seen beginning at the diagonal buttress at the north-west corner of the church, continuing to the entrance to the underground boiler-house, and thence running the whole way to the west wall of the north transept. The two courses of early fabric are of stones with Roman tooling, similar to those in the west wall, and they may be taken as defining the north wall of Wilfrid's church.

(c) *Flooring.* Within the nave, at the south-east corner beside the step to the crossing, an area of the floor can be seen to be of large irregular slabs of stone, and the southern five feet of the step are of similarly archaic construction. During the reconstruction of the nave in 1908 it was found that these slabs were laid on a thick bed of mortar, on top of the upper surface of the vault of the crypt and of the covering slabs of its passages. The mortar on which the paving slabs were laid was seen to be of the same composition as that used in the crypt and in the north wall of Wilfrid's nave.²

¹ H. M. Taylor, 'Some little-known aspects of English pre-Conquest churches', *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. P. A. M. Clemoes (London, 1959), 142.

² C. C. Hodges and E. S. Savage, *A Record of all Works Connected with Hexham Abbey* (Hexham, 1907), 39.

(d) *Apse.* Beneath the flooring of the present chancel, a trap-door and steps give access to an area in which there is preserved the whole eastern curved section and part of the straight side walls of a narrow apse, whose eastern end is of semicircular shape within and without. This has generally been interpreted as the eastern termination of Wilfrid's church, notwithstanding its narrow form, only about 11 ft in internal width. Reasons are given below for believing that it was part of a separate apsidal church or chapel standing to the east of Wilfrid's church, just as Edbald's chapel of St Mary stood to the east of the church of St Peter and St Paul, which King Ethelbert erected at Canterbury at the inspiration of St Augustine.

(e) *Crypt.* This wonderful underground structure has fortunately remained almost intact. It is of exceptional interest both in itself and also for comparison with the crypt at Ripon, which resembles it so closely. It has now only one entry, from the nave, by a steep flight of stone steps, all of which are original except for a few at the top. This western flight of steps led pilgrims into a barrel-vaulted chamber, about 9 ft by 5 ft, from which, no doubt through a strong grille, they would be able to view the sacred relics that would be displayed in the main chamber, also barrel-vaulted, and about 14 ft by 8 ft. The pilgrims would then pass northward into a small rectangular chamber, whose ceiling is made of pairs of stone slabs placed to form a triangular-headed vault. From this chamber a narrow passage led eastward, beside the crypt, and then turned north, and again east, up flights of about thirteen steps. These steps still exist, almost to the level of the floor of the church, but their top is now covered by the north-west pier of the crossing. From the main chamber of the crypt yet a third passage led into another small rectangular chamber with a triangular-headed vault, whence another narrow passage led eastward, and then south, and again east, up steps, to the ground floor. No doubt this passage would have led to an area reserved for the clergy, while the other two communicated with areas open to the public. The walls of the crypt are wholly of Roman-worked stones, and the ceilings of the narrow passages are formed of flat slabs of stone laid across the tops of the walls. The barrel-vaults of the main chambers are formed by laying thin flag-stones between semicircular vaulting-ribs, which are spaced at 2 ft 3 in. from centre to centre.¹ The various doorways are round-headed, and have square jambs cut straight through the walls, with the single exception of the doorway between the ante-chamber and the main crypt; in this doorway the jambs are splayed outward towards the ante-chamber, perhaps to give a better field of view. It should be noted, however, that the jamb on the south has been cut back in modern times, when the crypt was used as a burial-chamber. The main crypt has three niches, with sunken cavities for oil lamps, and long conical cavities above, for the condensation of soot. The ante-chamber has one similar cavity, and also has a ventilation shaft from the top of its ceiling to the floor of the nave.

Remains seen and recorded by Hodges

The existence and character of the architectural remains that were seen during excavations at Hexham between 1880 and 1910 rest not only on the drawings sent by Hodges to Baldwin Brown in 1921, but also on descriptions of almost all the features in several publications by Hodges. The most detailed descriptions are contained in two volumes published in 1907 and 1919, whose full titles are given in the footnote below, together with brief titles which we use, for convenience of reference, in quoting extracts from these two volumes in the following paragraphs.² We hope that these extracts, together with Figs. 130 and 133, will provide, as completely as is now possible, all the evidence that has been recorded.

One important class of information is worth recording separately rather than by repetition in the individual notes, namely Hodges's observation that the mortar in the Anglo-Saxon fabric was different from the mortar in work of other periods in the building. He said (*Record*, 39):

A valuable proof that the foundations unearthed this year are Saxon is provided by the mortar. Comparing this, as found in the walls and foundations, with that in the crypt and the floor above it, a valuable identity is established. . . . Exactly the same mortar was found in the north wall, which has been carefully preserved.

No attempt is made in this section to interpret the remains, or to build up a single consistent picture. The notes are intended simply to bring into one place a convenient record of Hodges's observations in order that they may be used, along with the visible features listed above, as a basis for reconstructions of Wilfrid's church. An attempt at such a reconstruction is given in a subsequent section.

The features shown on Hodges's plan, and his descriptions of them in words, may be summarized as follows:

(f) *North intermediate wall.* Within the present north aisle, a line of foundations was seen running east and west, about 6 ft in clear to the south from the outer north wall.

Record, 39. At a short distance from the inside of the north wall and near its western end is a length of

¹ W. T. Jones, *Yorks. Arch. J.* 31 (1932-4), 76.

² Full title of published work: C. C. Hodges and E. S. Savage, *A record of all works connected with Hexham Abbey*

(Hexham, 1907) [brief title: *Record*]; C. C. Hodges and J. Gibson, *Hexham and its Abbey* (Hexham, 1919) [brief title: *Hexham*].

foundation 3 ft 2 in. wide and composed of Roman stones.

Hexham, 41. Between the main arcades and the outer walls were other arcades, and these seem to have had circular monolithic columns.

(g) *Piers of the main north arcade.* Three large rectangular foundations were seen in the line of the present north arcade.

Record, 39. Under the great buttress built in 1725 to support the tower is a mass of foundation, the bed of which is 11 ft 3 in. below the Saxon floor-level and is about 11 ft square. It is formed of Roman stones of great size and the Saxon mortar is a conspicuous feature of its construction.

Hexham, 41. The piers were apparently square and were 23 ft 6 in. from centre to centre. The main arcades were of four bays on either side.

(h) *Internal wall.* Within the nave, a line of foundation was seen running east and west, about 7 ft in clear to the north of the inner face of the present main south wall of the nave. There seems to be no reference to it in Hodges's published works, but it is shown on the plan exactly as indicated in our figure.

(j) *Piers of the main south arcade.* Hodges regarded these as having been on the line of the present south wall of the nave. Just as the piers of the main north arcade were on foundations much wider than the walls, so he thought that the southern foundations stretched from the outer face of the present wall to a line about 3 ft within the present inner face. His observations seemed, however, to show that the foundations on this line were continuous, by contrast to the three separate piers on the north.

Record, 39. One yard from the inner face of the south wall of fourteenth-century date is a similar foundation, of the same width, running the whole length of the nave.

Hexham, 32. The foundation [of the present south wall of the nave] is of St Wilfrid's time and bore one of the main arcades of his church.

(k) *South intermediate wall.* There seems to be no reference to this wall in Hodges's published works, but it is shown very distinctly in his drawing, where it should be noted that its position in relation to the outer wall (l) and the arcade-wall (j) is the same as that of the north intermediate wall (f) to the walls (b) and (g).

(l) *South outer wall.* This is shown clearly on the plan, at its eastern end, and conjecturally along the rest of its length.

Record, 40. Outside the south wall [of the present nave] is a foundation at such a distance from the centre of the church as to equal the distance of the north wall from the same line. It no doubt indicated the line of Wilfrid's south wall. It has been much disturbed and cannot be conveniently opened out and examined.

Hexham, 41. The foundations of the south wall were seen in 1908 and a number of the stones of the lower course were evidently *in situ*.

(m) *Transverse internal projections.* Two lines of wall projecting inwards into the church are shown in Hodges's plan. That which is shown as projecting northward into the body of the church is not mentioned explicitly in the *Record*, but is noted in manuscript on the plan as being part of a thirteenth-century screen. That which is shown as

projecting southward from the north outer wall is referred to in Hodges's plan as being still visible, and is mentioned in the *Record*. It should be noted that the latter (m_2) is in a position which corresponds with that of the piece of wall (m_3) that is shown as joining the eastern end of the south intermediate wall (k) to the south outer wall (l).

Record, 39 (with regard to m_2). In the eastern end of the aisle are foundations of large stones projecting north of the line of foundations of the wall.

(n) *Transverse walls projecting outward on the south.* These are not mentioned in Hodges's published works, but two are shown clearly on the plan; a vestige (n_1) running south from the main outer wall (l), and a second vestige (n_2) continuing the wall (m_3) southward beyond the lateral wall (o).

(o) *Southerly lateral walls, as of transepts or porticus.* These walls are not mentioned in Hodges's published works, but they are clearly shown on the plan.

(p) *South-eastern transverse wall, as of a transept.* This wall, which presents considerable difficulty of interpretation, is both shown on the plan and also mentioned by Hodges as running along the whole length of the transept and continuing southward as far as the centre of the chapter-house, a total length of about 80 ft.

Record, 47. In the western part of the slype a foundation was reached. It crossed the slype and was 3 ft in width. On removing the upper course of stones, the large slab with the effigy of the standard bearer was found lying face upward and forming the second remaining course... The foundation was traced as far as the centre of the chapter-house.

... Two years later [excavations for hot water pipes proved that] the same foundations existed along the whole length of the south transept.

(q) *Transverse wall at east of nave.* This wall is shown on the plan as having been seen in the period 1882-93. It is shown as of much bigger stones than those of the step from the nave to the crossing.

Record, 47. Other foundations formed of large stones with Roman broaching were seen in the vicinity of the western piers of the tower and east of the crypt. They were in such a disturbed state that nothing short of clearing out the whole area under the tower would have enabled a plan to be made.

(r) *Transverse wall by present choir screen.* This wall is clearly shown on the plan as having been seen in 1908, and it is described in *Hexham*, where it is given an interpretation with which we do not agree.

Hexham, 42. The altar stood on a raised platform to the east of the sanctuary. The western part of this platform was found *in situ*, the great blocks being jointed with the peculiar Saxon mortar.

(s) *Transverse wall projecting outward on the north.* This wall was not mentioned in Hodges's published works, but it is clearly shown on the plan, in a position corresponding roughly with the vestige of wall (n_1) on the south.

(t) *Flooring at the west of the nave.* This is shown extensively on the plan. The published reference shows that it was removed.

Hexham, 42. Near to the west wall an area of old flooring was found, of squared stones. The best of these have been laid down in the floor beneath the altar.

(u) *Great foundations at the west.* These were interpreted by Hodges as foundations for twin western towers.

Hexham, 34. The great west buttress on the line of the main arcade... is on a foundation of great Roman stones which were laid for one of Wilfrid's western towers, and some of them are *in situ*.

Hexham, 42. At the west end of the nave were two towers of considerable size as their foundation courses of huge Roman stones were as much as eighteen feet square.

SCULPTURE AND OTHER REMAINS

In addition to the structural remains recorded above, the picture which we may form of a church of major importance at Hexham rests on other groups of evidence. First, there is the important evidence provided by the great number of carved stones which have been found on the site and which, from their shape and from the nature of their carving, seem to have formed part of the structure; these stones give evidence of the importance of the building, and of the richness of its decoration. Secondly, there is the remarkable series of sculptured cross-shafts of such excellence that a whole class of similar sculptures has become known as work of the Hexham School. Thirdly, there is the considerable group of burials recorded on Hodges's plan as having taken place beside the walls of the church. Finally, there are the carved stone chair traditionally known as the Frith Stool, and a further treasure in the form of a small copper-gilt chalice, of unusual interest and importance, which has recently been restored to the church.

The architectural sculpture, and other structural details

A considerable wealth of architectural sculpture was found on the site, mainly during the rebuilding of the nave in 1908. Much of this is now preserved in the church, either built into the walls or placed in niches in the wall of the north aisle; a further considerable collection is preserved in the cathedral library at Durham. Notes on the sculpture in the church were given by Hodges in the two books to which reference has already been given, and a critical survey was published by Collingwood in

1925.¹ The architectural features at Hexham fall into ten main groups as follows:

1. *String-courses decorated with balusters.* These are represented by five pieces of stone, each about 6 in. in height, and each carved only on one face. They therefore seem clearly to have been string-courses of the common Anglo-Saxon form of plain square section, but differing from it by their unusual decoration. Three of these (Collingwood's fig. 33b, c, d) are in Durham, while two (a and h) are at Hexham.² Similar string-courses have been preserved in the neighbouring church at Simonburn (Collingwood's fig. 33e, f, g), and an analogous use of small balusters as ornament is to be seen on a stone preserved in the north porch at Jarrow (illustrated in Baldwin Brown's fig. 105).

2. *String-courses carved with interlacing ornament.* Four pieces of stone of similar shape to those described above, but decorated with simple interlacing or knot-work, are preserved in the church at Hexham (Collingwood's fig. 34h, i, j, k). Similarly ornamented string-courses seem to have been used at Peterborough and at Wilfrid's other foundation at Ripon.³

3. *Stones carved with geometrical ornament.* Three stones from Hexham show geometrical ornament in a form which would have been suitable for string-courses, cornices, or imposts. The first two, preserved at Hexham, are of about the same thickness as the string-courses described above, and are decorated with cable mouldings, in conjunction with lightly incised chevrons on one stone and with squares or dentils in relief on the other (Collingwood's fig. 34a, b). The third stone, preserved in the cathedral library at Durham, is much taller, about 1 ft 3 in., and is carved on two adjoining faces. It therefore probably represents an angle of a cornice or an impost. Its ornament comprises a row of volutes, a row of cable or wheat-ear, and areas of checky ornament, in relief, as on the Bewcastle cross (Collingwood's fig. 34c, d).

4. *Stones carved with animal ornament.* Animals carved in relief occurred as a string-course on the west porch at Monkwearmouth, but they have now almost completely weathered away. One stone, now built into the west end of the north aisle at Hexham, seems to have been part of such a string-course; it shows two bird-like heads, one of which is attached to a snake-like body which is coiled into a spiral (Collingwood's fig. 34l). Another stone, preserved in Niche 7 (the seventh from the west) at Hexham, is carved on two adjoining faces, and might have been an impost, or even a bench-end, or a support for a chair, as has been suggested by Clapham for the Monkwearmouth lions.⁴ One face has a spirited representation of a running hound, and the adjoining face is carved with concentric squares and circles (Collingwood's fig. 34e, f). The third animal stone at Hexham, built into the west wall of the north aisle, was found during the rebuilding,

¹ W. G. Collingwood, *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., I (1925), 65-92. Much of the same material was republished in the same author's *Northumbrian Crosses* (London, 1927), 22-3, and 27-34. These articles include discussions of the sculptured crosses as well as the architectural sculpture.

² Reference to Collingwood's figures are to those in *Northumbrian Crosses*.

³ For a note regarding a similar string-course *in situ*, see MASHAM, p. 734.

⁴ A. W. Clapham, *Arch. Ael.*, 4th. ser., 28 (1950), 1.

used as a tread of a stair in the medieval newel-stair in the west wall (*Record*, 40). It was interpreted by Hodges as part of a capital, but it might well have formed one of the supports for the Frith Stool; it is carved in relief with an animal that might be a lion (Collingwood's fig. 34g).

5. *Imposts*. Built into the jambs of the twentieth-century western doorway of the nave are two early stones, which seem to have been imposts. They are not illustrated or described by Collingwood. That on the north jamb has raised triple mouldings, which are carried round the angle to its soffit face. That on the south jamb is differently ornamented on its two faces; the east face towards the nave has wheat-ear or double cable ornament, and the soffit face, although damaged beside the angle, has small balusters on the remainder of its length.

6. *Columns*. The former existence at Hexham of attached and free-standing columns is proved by three stones which have been built into the outer face of the wall of the north aisle, on either side of the window in the fourth bay from the east. On the east of the window is a tall section of stone, 2 ft 3 in. in height, which was part of a half-round attached column 1 ft 6 in. in diameter; short pieces of straight walling may clearly be seen, forming part of the stone, on either side of the half-cylinder, thus proving that it was an attached shaft and not free-standing. On the west of the window are two superimposed sections of a free-standing circular column, about 10 in. in diameter and each about 1 ft 4 in. tall. These stones are not carved with sculpture and therefore are not illustrated or described by Collingwood.

7. *Window-heads*. Two fragments have been somewhat conjecturally interpreted as window-heads, mainly on the strength of the curved and moulded shape of the one intact edge of one of them, which is now built into the west wall of the north aisle (Collingwood's fig. 35m, n).

8. *Screen fragments*. Two groups of carvings suitable for use in screen walls are illustrated in Collingwood's fig. 28 and fig. 35p. The first is an elaborate carving with birds and human figures, including an archer, incorporated in an elaborate double vine-scroll; the second is a simple rosette of classical form. Two parts *b* and *c* of the first stone are in the cathedral library at Durham, while *a* is in niche 8 in the north aisle at Hexham. The rosette is in niche 6. Collingwood regards the elaborate vine-and-figure panel as having come from Romano-British Corstopitum; and, in spite of the presence of inhabited vine-scroll, he does not regard it as having served as a model for the Anglian crosses which incorporate this motive. Collingwood names a classical model for the rosette; and by inference he regards it as part of the work of Wilfrid's or later workmen.

9. *Pilaster-base or capital*. In niche 9 is a curved stone, ornamented on each of its three carved sides with four raised mouldings, separated by two lines of roundels and one line of cable ornament (Collingwood's fig. 35s).

10. *The Rood*. This was described by Hodges (*Record*, 42) as a terracotta plaque, found in a hole near the centre of the west end of the nave in 1907; he did not say where the fragments were preserved, but he described them, saying that the largest showed the feet side by side, another carried the dexter arm of the cross, and a third carried an angel's wing. He also gave dimensions which agree roughly with

those specified by Collingwood's fig. 36. Collingwood, however, although showing the feet side by side, and an angel's wing, does not show the arm of the cross; he describes the material of the Rood as whitish yellow stone, not local, probably oolite. We have so far been unable to trace this work, which seems from Collingwood's drawing to have been of the highest quality, reminiscent of the important fragments of the great cross from Reculver, for which Peers argued a seventh-century date. Collingwood suggests an overseas origin for the Hexham Rood, and he regards it as a possible source of inspiration for the representations of the Crucifixion on the Spital cross, at Hexham, and on the Ruthwell and other early Northumbrian crosses.

Burials and sculptured crosses

The burials discovered during the restoration of 1908 and in the subsequent works up to 1910 are shown on Hodges's plan. In our reproduction of it we have added key-numbers, 1-23, in order to simplify references to individual features. Only two burials were found within the area of the early church: one about the middle of the present north aisle of the nave (13), and one in the south-east angle of the double south wall of the early nave, that is to say in the area of the present cloister (14). These were both of the simple form in which the cyst or coffin is formed of upright slabs of stone laid closely round the body, without any stone floor. Their lids had vanished, and no bones were found within.

Close outside the north wall, and near its western end, were six similar burials, several of which were intact. The vertical slabs were closely fitted to the bodies, which were laid out on their backs with their heads to the west. Three of the coffins (1, 5 and 6) were covered with groups of flat stones, four to each coffin; two (2 and 4) had lost their lids; and one (3) had a single large stone lid, on which there had been carved the outline of a small chalice. A group of four similar, simple, stone-lined graves (8, and 10-12) was found in the angle between the north wall of the nave and the west wall of the present north transept, in an area which might have been external to the original church, but enclosed by the later addition of a northern chapel or *porticus*. In this area was also found a stone coffin (9), hollowed out from a single large stone, but without any lid or contents.

By contrast with these primitive and rather scattered remains, a well-developed and concentrated cemetery was found surrounding the narrow

eastern apse. Some of the coffins in this cemetery were of the primitive, built-up form already described, but others were hollowed out of single large stones, and two had carved lids of considerable interest. One coffin (21), locally ascribed to Acca (Bishop from 709 to 732, died 740), is still visible where it was found empty and open, with its lid beside it, close to the south wall of the apse. Its lid, now to be seen on the floor of the choir, under the most westerly arch of the south arcade, is oval in shape, and is decorated with a primitive cross in low relief, with a curious, spade-shaped foot. A second lid, also decorated with an early form of cross, is to be seen standing against the north wall of the north aisle; its cross is not worked in relief, but is outlined by a narrow incised line.

Directly to the east of the apse were two square stone bases (22 and 23) for standing crosses, and a further group of graves; while a little further to the east were found the curved foundations of the apse of the Norman choir, presumably the building whose consecration in 1154 was associated with a great translation of relics.¹

Symeon of Durham recorded that Acca was buried to the east of the church, outside the wall, and that the grave was marked by two crosses of stone, wondrously carved, of which one stood at the head, with an inscription to say who was buried there, and one stood at the foot.² This passage points to one of the coffins at the east as having been the site of Acca's burial, rather than the one at the south of the apse to which reference was made above. Whichever may have been Acca's coffin, there seems, however, to have been unusual accord among antiquaries in agreeing that the noble cross which now stands in the south transept must be the cross which was described by Symeon as standing at the head of Acca's grave. The facts certainly seem to be consistent with that interpretation, though it would be difficult to say that they proved the ascription beyond all doubt. We would prefer to say that the cross is traditionally and not unreasonably regarded as having been that which stood at the head of Acca's grave. It has been built up

from three separate sections, of which the middle piece was found under the floor of the eastern part of the chancel in 1858, the upper piece was found near St Mary's church in 1870, and the lower piece, long used as the lintel of a doorway at Dilston, was presented to the Abbey by the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital.³ One side of the stone bore an inscription, only fragments of which are now legible; and the three others are indeed 'wondrously carved' with vine-scroll, of a type which particularly characterized the Hexham School.⁴

A second cross of similar character has survived only in part, and is in the cathedral library at Durham (Collingwood, fig. 40). It was found in the neighbourhood of St Mary's church, part of the ruins of which are now incorporated in shops at the south-east of the market-place.

Yet a third cross of similar character is reconstructed in Collingwood's fig. 42 from three fragments, of which one is in private possession, one at Durham, and one in the church at Hexham.

The fourth of the remarkable Hexham crosses, formerly in private ownership at the Spital, a few miles to the west of Hexham, but now fortunately restored to the church, differs from the others by having on its front a representation of the Crucifixion (Collingwood, fig. 37).

Two other groups of pre-Conquest carved stones are also represented in the church, namely, the early kind of small memorials known as pillow-stones, of which many were found at Lindisfarne and at Hartlepool, and the much later form of grave-stones known as hog-backs, which are rare in Northumberland but common in other parts of Northumbria. One pillow-stone, now preserved in niche 7, was found in 1911 in Beaumont Street, which runs by the south-east of the abbey; it bears a cross carved in relief, within a sunken circular area, and the letters TUNDVINI are carved, in pairs, on the four arms of the cross. A second stone, which may be of the same sort, is built into the west interior wall of the nave, on the north of the west doorway; it shows a carving in relief of a primitive form of cross, like that on the

¹ G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 158.

² J. Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Society Publication, 44 (Durham and London, 1864), 205.

³ F. J. Haverfield and W. Greenwell, *Catalogue of the*

Sculptured and Inscribed Stones in the Cathedral Library, Durham (Durham, 1899), 58.

⁴ W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses*, 29-32.

large grave-cover that is traditionally assigned to Acca. One hog-back, now in niche 5, has the usual form of tiled roof, with interlacing ornament on its sides; it was found in 1907 built into the south wall of the nave. The other, in niche 7, is of altogether unusual nature, illustrated by Collingwood in his fig. 213, and interpreted by him as a clumsy representation of intersecting arcading. On this basis, Collingwood dated this hog-back to the Saxo-Norman overlap, possibly to the period when Eilaf, the father of Aelred of Rievaulx, was priest at Hexham. It was found in the north transept in 1831.

The Stone Frith Stool

The so-called Frith Stool, traditionally associated with the privilege of sanctuary in the church at Hexham, is an important part of the church furniture, and is an unusually perfect example of this early type. It now stands in the choir, above the eastern curve of the narrow apse. Hodges recorded that when the apse was excavated in May 1908, a few stones of its flooring were *in situ* and also a small portion of the base of the stone seats which surrounded the semicircle (*Hexham*, 82). He therefore assumed that the Frith Stool originally occupied the centre of the semicircle, in a position immediately below the place where it now stands in the choir.¹ Reference has already been made, under item 4 of architectural sculpture, to the possibility that the representation of a running hound might have been a bench end, and that the carved lion might have served as a support for the Frith Stool.

The Chalice

An important survival from the early days of the abbey has recently been restored to the church from private possession. This is a small copper-gilt chalice, of a size that would have been suitable for use with a portable altar, such as is preserved among the relics of St Cuthbert at Durham. Only four other Anglo-Saxon chalices are known to us: one in silver, 5 in. high, from the Trewiddle hoard, is now in the British Museum; another in pewter, 4 in. high, was found at Reading;² another in silver-gilt, about 10½ in. high, is known

as the Tassilo chalice, and is preserved at Kremsmünster, in Austria; and one in lead, was found at Hagleton in Gloucestershire, and is now lost. The Hexham example is about 2¼ in. in height, with a bowl about 2 in. in diameter. It is very simple in character, consisting of the bowl, a spherical stem, and a splayed foot, all in copper-gilt, and with no ornament except a single fillet of twisted cable round the junction of the bowl with the spherical stem.

A TENTATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ORIGINAL PLAN OF WILFRID'S CHURCH, AND OF ITS SUBSEQUENT MODIFICATIONS

In attempting to reconstruct a picture of the original buildings at Hexham from the scanty remains recorded above, it is important to bear in mind the supporting evidence that is provided by the written descriptions and by other surviving buildings of the same period. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the descriptions indicate that the building was in a class by itself.

Our suggested reconstruction of the early church is shown in Fig. 131; this has been kept separate from our reproduction of Hodges's original tracing, in order that there may be no risk of confusing the features which he saw with the features in our tentative reconstruction. We have, however, used the same key-letters, and reproduced both plans on the same scale, thereby facilitating comparison. The only feature in Hodges's plan for which we have been unable to make any suggestion is his interior line of foundation (*h*).

The eastern apse

The first point which seems to us to stand out clearly from Hodges's plan is that the eastern apse was not part of Wilfrid's main church; but that it was a separate, free-standing, apsidal chapel, about 23 ft long internally, and about 11 ft wide, with walls about 2 ft 6 in. thick.

It also seems probable that the wall (*q*) described by Hodges under the western arch of the crossing was the east wall of Wilfrid's church, and that the 'step' at the east of the nave was

¹ For our alternative suggestion, see p. 311.

² G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, 3,

Saxon Art and Industry in the Pagan Period (London, 1915), 118, and pl. xi, 3.

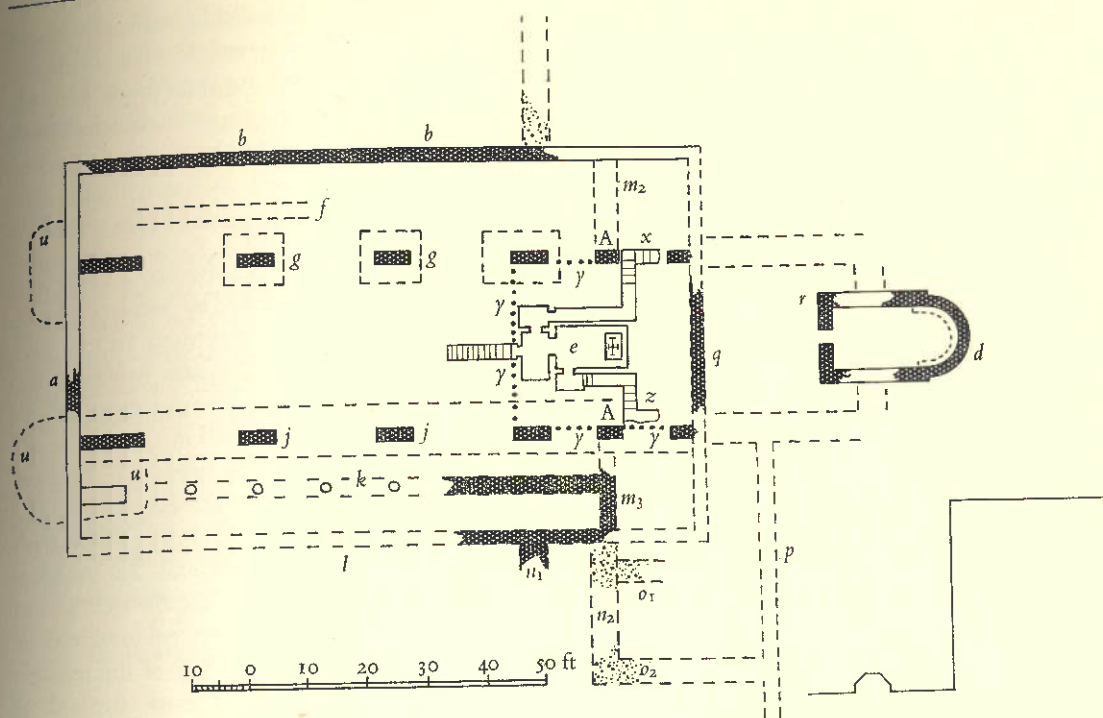


FIG. 131. HEXHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND

Tentative reconstruction based upon Hodges's plan. The letters on this plan, except for A, x, y, and z, are the same as those on Fig. 130. The additional letters are explained in the text, p. 311.

part of this wall or its footings. If so, the separate apsidal chapel stood about 20 ft clear from the east wall of Wilfrid's church. The arrangement was therefore very similar to that which was to be seen at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, in the relation between the principal church dedicated to St Peter and St Paul and the later chapel dedicated to St Mary.

It is difficult to be certain whether the 'foundations' marked by Hodges under the three remaining arches of the medieval crossing were intended by him to mean Anglo-Saxon foundations, or whether they are to be associated with the medieval church. In the former event, which seems to be indicated by the way in which the lines are drawn, these foundations would most probably represent a later pre-Conquest joining of the apsidal chapel to the main church, in the way in which this is known to have happened at Canterbury.

One important consequence of this new interpretation is that the position of the east end of Wilfrid's main church thereby comes into direct relation to that of his crypt. In this new inter-

pretation, his principal altar would have stood immediately above his crypt, in the position where it is marked in the plan. In this connexion, it is of interest to note that the crypt at Ripon is in the crossing of the medieval cathedral church, and it seems at least a possible explanation of this otherwise curious coincidence that in both cases the east end of the principal church was over the crypt and that there was a subsidiary chapel on the same axis, but further to the east. The architectural development of both churches would therefore be closely parallel to that of St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury, where the Norman chancel occupies the former position of the chapel of St Mary, the Norman nave lies on top of the principal church of St Peter and St Paul, and the Norman crossing stands where Wulfic's octagon was first built to join the two.

This explanation of Hodges's plan of his observations at Hexham may sound far-fetched, but the evidence for such an arrangement has long been accepted at Canterbury, and suggested at Jarrow. The new evidence for asserting that

Hexham belonged to this category is the discovery of the existence of the west wall of the eastern chapel, as seen and recorded by Hodges at (r) on his plan. Hodges did not interpret this fabric as the west wall of an eastern chapel, but as a platform for an altar (*Hexham*, p. 42); but we must remember that St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, had not been excavated when Hodges saw these stones, and that he therefore did not have the benefit of that clear example of a series of churches or chapels all placed on a single axial alignment. In proposing this interpretation for the fabric

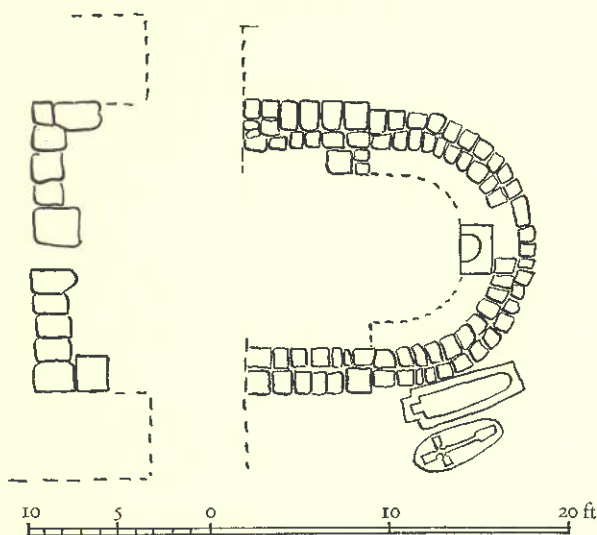


FIG. 132. HEXHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND
Larger-scale plan of the smaller eastern apsidal chapel, showing the individual stones as recorded by Hodges.

recorded by Hodges, we would like to draw attention particularly to two very significant facts: first, that Hodges showed the wall as turning eastward at both ends; and, secondly, that the extreme length of the wall and its position are exactly such as to ensure that its corners are precisely aligned with the straight side-walls of the surviving apse. We suggest that these are coincidences too striking to admit of any explanation other than the one which we have given.

Before leaving the eastern apse, it should be put on record that the floor, of which some stones were found *in situ*, is about 1 ft 4 in. below the

level of the floor of Wilfrid's main church, as defined by the area of paved flooring still *in situ* above the crypt. Reference should also be made again to the base for the stone bench, which Hodges found round the inner curve of the apse.

The arcades of the main church

Baldwin Brown's fig. 71 showed a nave with arcades of eight bays, separated by circular columns, whereas Clapham's fig. 15 showed arcades each of six bays, separated by square columns. But Clapham's text indicated that he regarded his plan as largely conjectural; and in any case he did not have access to Hodges's drawings. Baldwin Brown's insistence on a row of circular columns in the face of the evidence provided by Hodges's plan is more difficult to understand. The evidence provided by the early writers for the existence of columns is overwhelming, but columns can be square as well as round, and one of the passages quoted by Baldwin Brown from Richard of Hexham is most naturally to be interpreted as a reference to square columns of well-polished stone.¹ The early churches were often referred to by the name 'basilica', and this has been used as an argument for arcades supported by circular columns; but square columns exist at Brixworth, and existed at Jarrow where the contemporary use of the word *basilica* is proved by the survival of the dedication stone. Moreover, it should be noted that, whereas Eddius refers to the building of Wilfrid's 'basilica' at Ripon, he uses the word 'domus' in all his references to Hexham,² while Richard of Hexham uses the word 'ecclesia'.³

If next we compare Hodges's observations with what we know of other similar churches of about the same date, we get remarkable support for the square columns which he recorded. At Brixworth, the arcades, which are still intact, are of four bays separated by rectangular piers, spaced at about 16 ft between centres. At Jarrow, the early nave was demolished in 1782, but the internal elevation and plan prepared in 1769, and preserved in the British Museum, show a nave

¹ G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 155. 'Parietes autem quadratis, et variis, et bene politis columnis suffultos crexit.' (He built walls upheld by squared and varied and well polished columns.)

² B. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927), 36 and 46.

³ G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 155.

separated from side-chapels by arcades, each of four bays of round arches on rectangular piers spaced at about 18 ft between centres.¹ Hodges's plan shows the north arcade at Hexham quite unambiguously as of four bays separated by supports which rested on huge foundations spaced at about 23 ft 6 in. between centres. His vertical section places the matter even further beyond doubt, for the huge square foundations (B) are there shown to support piers (A) which are about 6 ft in extent along the line of the walls. These may be compared with the 8 ft piers at Brixworth, and those of about 6 ft at Jarrow.

foundations of this character have been appropriate to support such light columns. The possibility cannot, of course, be ruled out that the great foundations, and the rectangular bases shown by Hodges as resting on them, supported massive circular columns, such as the section which survives in the west end of the north aisle at Ripon; but the analogies provided by the churches at Brixworth and Jarrow give considerable support for believing that the arcade rested on rectangular piers, and that the surviving sections of early circular columns served some different purposes such as are suggested above.

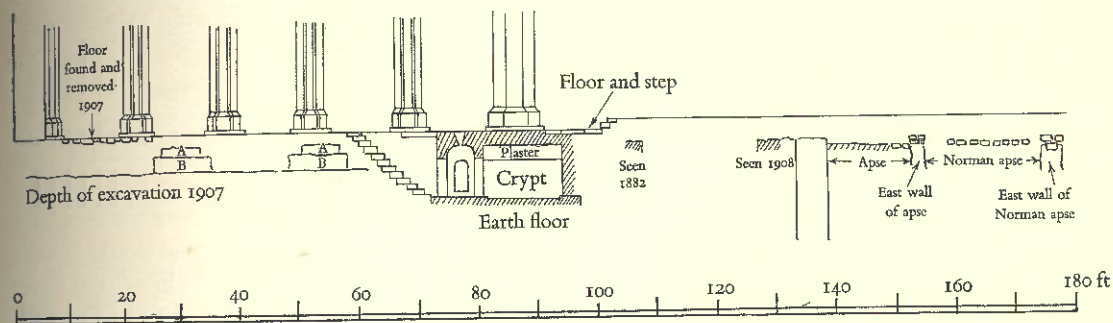


FIG. 133. HEXHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND

Vertical section through the floor of the nave to show the crypt and the various foundations recorded by Hodges. A, cores of piers; B, concrete foundations.

Reference has, however, already been made to the survival of circular columns from the early church at Hexham (p. 304). The half-round attached columns, of which one section is preserved, could well have formed enrichment for the soffit-faces of rectangular piers, such as are shown in Hodges's plan and section; while the lighter, circular, free-standing columns, of which two sections have survived, could perhaps have supported a screen or a triple chancel-arch, like that at Reculver. They might also have been used, as is suggested below, to form an intermediate colonnade to give extra support for a wide gallery. It is, however, quite clear that these light, circular columns would not have been nearly strong enough to form supports for the main wall of the church if spaced at the wide separation indicated by Hodges's foundations; nor would massive

The multiple side walls

The next remarkable feature of Hodges's plan to which attention must be directed is the multiple nature of the side walls of the aisles or lateral chapels. This is shown most clearly at the eastern end of the south of the church, where the two side walls (*k*) and (*l*) are joined by the transverse wall (*m*₃); but it has been pointed out already that Hodges recorded an intermediate wall (*f*), on the north, which stood in exactly the same relation to the main arcade (*g*) and the north outer wall (*b*) as does the southern intermediate wall (*k*) to the main wall (*j*) and the south outer wall (*l*).

We seem, therefore, to be presented with a picture of a nave consisting of a broad central chamber, about 25 ft wide, flanked on either side by double aisles or a double row of side-chapels.

¹ E. Gilbert, *P. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, 5th ser., I (1951-6), pl. xx, facing p. 311, or B. Colgrave and T. Romans, *St Paul's Church, Jarrow* (Gloucester, undated), 4. (In a reprint of 1962 this drawing is on p. 3.)

The possibility must not be ruled out that Hodges was correct in regarding the intermediate walls (*f*) and (*k*) as merely sleeper-walls, designed to carry colonnades (*Hexham*, p. 41). Another possibility which should be considered is that the intermediate walls (*f*) and (*k*) might have been the main outer walls of the aisles, thus defining the aisles, or side-chapels, as about 7 ft in width, by comparison with about 9 ft at Brixworth and about 8 ft at Jarrow; in this event, the outer walls (*b*) and (*l*) might have been sleeper-walls carrying a colonnade to provide a covered passage round the exterior of the church. Finally, although the purpose seems hard to understand, we must consider the possibility that both sets of walls were carried up to their full height, thus producing a nave flanked on either side by aisles, or side-chapels, which in turn were separated from the outer world by passages, about 7 ft in width, which ran from east to west between the two lines of wall. Difficult though this may be to understand, it does seem to bear close relation to the description given by Eddius of a church 'surrounded by various winding passages',¹ and to Richard of Hexham's description of how Wilfrid 'surrounded the body of the church on all sides with adjuncts and side-chapels, which with wonderful artifice he divided into lower and upper storeys, with partition walls and spiral stairways, in and above which there were ascents of stone and level passages and many winding ways'.²

A somewhat similar picture of complicated structures at the side of the church is given by Bede (*H.E.* v, 20) in his reference to the way in which Acca, having succeeded Wilfrid as bishop, procured relics from all places, and 'put up altars in veneration of them, in separate side-chapels for this purpose within the walls of the same church'.³

In our suggested reconstruction, Fig. 131, we have shown the intermediate wall (*k*) as a sleeper-wall carrying a colonnade. We doubt whether it will ever be possible to determine with certainty what was the original arrangement, and we have

shown this as a tentative suggestion. A series of light columns placed along this line might well have served to give extra support for a wide gallery, extending from above the main arcade (*j*) to the outer wall (*l*). It would have been possible also to place a narrow gallery at an intermediate height, running from the colonnade (*k*) to the outer wall (*l*); but this again is mere conjecture. We have not complicated the figure by showing any corresponding colonnade on the north intermediate wall (*f*).

The western towers

All the later medieval descriptions of the church concurred with Eddius in referring to spiral stairways with stone stairs leading up and down. No vestige of any of these has remained, but Hodges interpreted the great stone foundations (*u*) at the west of the church as foundations for twin west towers. The existence of stairways to upper chambers in early churches of about this date may be accepted as established beyond doubt by the upper doorways in the west walls of the naves at Brixworth and Deerhurst. This need not by itself lead to any change in the accepted theory that belfry towers did not become established in England until the ninth or tenth century, for there is nothing in the literary evidence to suggest that the stairways extended higher than was necessary to lead to the chambers or passages in the church.

The arch of the sanctuary

Richard of Hexham recorded that Wilfrid adorned the walls and the capitals of the columns that sustained them, and the arch of the sanctuary, with stories and pictures and many sculptured figures in relief on stone.⁴ This evidence is borne out in a general way by the wealth of sculptured stone which is still preserved in the church, but the question of the sanctuary-arch now deserves consideration. Clapham and Baldwin Brown both tentatively placed it on the line of the present western arch of the crossing, that is to say in the position which we suggest for the east wall of

¹ B. Colgrave, *loc. cit.* 47.

² G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 155. 'Corpus ecclesiae aperticiis et porticibus undique circumcinxit quae miro et inexplicabili artificio per parietes et coeleas inferius et superius distinxit. In ipsis vero coeleis et super ipsis

ascensoria ex lapide et deambulatoria et varios viarum anfractus...fecit.'

³ D. Whitelock, *E.H.D.* (London, 1955), 680.

⁴ G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 153 and 155.

Wilfrid's church. Hodges's plan gives no evidence for a transverse wall within Wilfrid's church; and therefore we suggest that in Wilfrid's time the sanctuary was divided from the body of the church by means of stone screens, and that the sanctuary-arch, to which Prior Richard referred, was part of the later development of the church, after the eastern chapel had been incorporated into it. Ample evidence for the existence of stone screens in the earliest church is provided by the carved panels mentioned as item 8 in the section on sculpture, and there would have been a natural place for a sanctuary-arch in the later church across the opening to the eastern apse after this had been incorporated into the earlier church. We have shown a tentative arrangement of screen-walls (y), (y), (y), in our plan, Fig. 131, where we have shown a sanctuary about 30 ft square.

The sanctuary, and the original position of the Frith Stool

We have already noted that Hodges assumed that the Frith Stool originally stood in the centre of the surviving apse (d). If our interpretation of the original nature of Wilfrid's main church is correct, it would naturally follow that the Frith Stool would have stood in the sanctuary, with its back against the wall (q), and with seats for the clergy on either side of it, possibly arranged in a semicircle. Such an arrangement, within a square-ended church, seems to have been quite common in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries in Rome and in the eastern Mediterranean countries (*Arch. J.* 116 (1959), 122-5); and a possible analogue in England is recorded under Much Wenlock.

The eastern passages of the crypt

The eastern passages to and from the crypt, as shown at (x) and (z) in our plan of the reconstruction, are the parts which survive at present; and about four more steps would be needed in each passage in order to reach the level of the main floor. We have assumed that the passage (x) must have led to an area outside the sanctuary, and the passage (z) to an area within it, since any logical interpretation of these passages seems to suggest that pilgrims were intended to pass freely from the western stair, through the ante-chamber, and out by the stair (x); while the clergy would have

access from the reserved area of the sanctuary by the stair (z) to the reserved area of the crypt.

The alignment of the north arcade (g) seems awkward in relation to the passage (x). We had expected to be able to align (g) to the south of the exit from the stair (x); but in order to do this we should have had to place the piers (g), (g) on the southern edges of the great foundations seen by Hodges, and this seemed altogether too unreasonable. There cannot, however, have been a section of the wall (g) precisely on top of the steps (x), and therefore we have been led to propose *two* eastern arches in each of the north and south walls of the sanctuary, where otherwise we would have suggested only one. The intermediate piers (A), (A), which we have suggested, to support these smaller arches, are fixed in position within narrow limits, in order to clear the passage which leads north to (x), while at the same time leaving the greatest possible eastward run for the stairs (x). It should be noted, moreover, that the piers (A) come into immediate relation to the otherwise unexplained walls (m_2) and (m_3).

In order to prevent access from the top of the stair (x) to the sanctuary, it would have been necessary for the screen-wall (y) to be continued across the eastern arch of the arcade. It has not been shown in that position in the diagram, for fear of unduly complicating the picture. Moreover, the opposite arch, on the south, has been shown blocked by a section of screen-wall (y); but, if the eastern area of the south aisle had been shut off from the body of the church by a cross-wall (m_3), there would have been no need for the screen-wall (y) at this point.

The eastern transverse walls

No attempt to interpret the surviving remains would be reasonably complete unless it took account of the transverse walls (n_1), (n_2) and (p), and the apparently associated walls (m_3), (o_1) and (o_2).

There seems little doubt that (m_3) and (o_1) originally defined a south-eastern *porticus*, possibly in conjunction with a wall under the line of the west wall of the south transept. If this had been part of the original structure, the main south wall (l) would have stopped short at the point where our plan shows it crossing (m_3). Similarly it seems

HEXHAM

plausible to interpret (n_1), (n_2) and (o_2) as representing later extensions of this *porticus*, while the wall (s) on the north would naturally be associated with a north-eastern *porticus*, corresponding with the enlarged one on the south.

There then remains the long wall (p), running north and south, but lying wholly to the east of the position which we have suggested for the east end of Wilfrid's church. This wall therefore seems difficult to bring into association with the earliest church; but it could be interpreted as belonging to conventual or other auxiliary buildings, either at the time of the earliest church, or later, when the two churches had been joined together.

DIMENSIONS

On the basis of the reconstruction described above, the main body of St Wilfrid's original church was about 100 ft in internal length; the nave was about 25 ft in width; and the total internal width, including side-chapels and lateral passages, was about 65 ft. The side-chapels and lateral passages were each about 7 ft in width, separated by walls or colonnades, whose foundations were about 3 ft in thickness. The surviving west wall and the lower courses of the north wall are each about 2 ft 8 in. thick. The eastern apsidal chapel was internally about 23 ft in length by about 11 ft in width, with walls varying between 3 ft in thickness in the straight sides, to 2 ft 6 in. in the curve of the apse. The total overall length from the exterior west face of Wilfrid's west wall to the exterior east face of the curve of the apse is 155 ft.

The internal dimensions of the two chambers of the crypt are respectively 13½ ft by 8 ft, and 9 ft by 4½ ft and each is about 9 ft in total height, with its floor about 11 ft below the level of the original floor of Wilfrid's church at the east end of the nave.

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- W. J. COLLINGWOOD, *Northumbrian Crosses* (London, 1927), 22-3, 27-34 and 173.
- G. BALDWIN BROWN (1925), 149-84.

HEXHAM

Northumberland

CHURCHES OF

ST MARY AND ST PETER

For brief notices of these two churches founded by St Wilfrid, but now vanished, see p. 298.

HEYSHAM

Lancashire

Map sheets 89 and 94, reference SD 409616

Figures 487-9

ST PATRICK (traditional)

Ruins of single-cell chapel: period B1

The Heysham peninsula has retained little of the quiet seclusion which must have rendered it so attractive a site for the chapel reputed by tradition to have been founded by, or in honour of, St Patrick. However, when one has at last traversed the crowded streets of Morecambe and Heysham, the actual site of the ruined chapel even now has some of its old mystical attraction, standing high above the churchyard on a rocky promontory, with a fine view to the north and west over the sands and waters of Morecambe Bay.

Although the chapel is sadly ruined, enough of the fabric remains to establish the original size and simple rectangular shape of the building, to settle the character of its rubble masonry, with side-

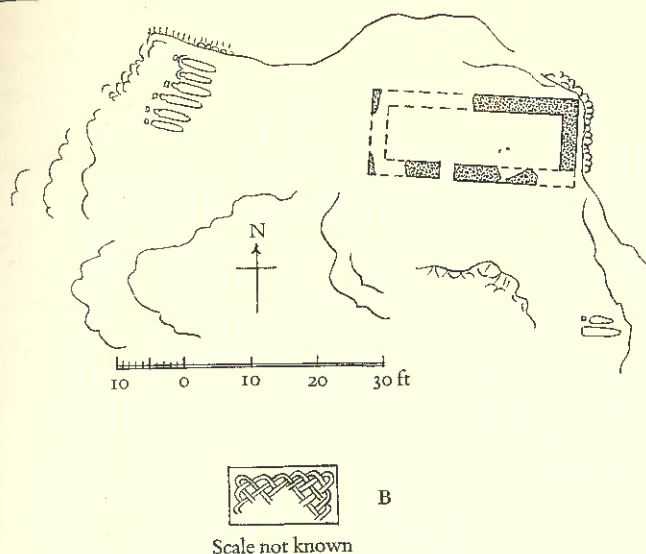


FIG. 134. HEYSHAM, LANCASHIRE, ST PATRICK'S CHAPEL

General site plan showing the Chapel on its rocky promontory with the rock graves to the west. The small inset at B shows the pattern of interlacing recorded by G. F. Browne as being visible on the stone in the region of the rock graves in 1887.

alternate quoining, and to show a complete doorway and part of a window. The east wall stands almost complete, including its gable, and showing that there has never been an east window. Only a short length of the north wall remains; but this joins with the east wall and exhibits well-laid side-alternate quoining of stones much bigger than those of the walling. At the top of this angle, the lowest stone of the water-tabling of the east gable has remained in position, a curious projecting stone like a sloping corbel. It has clearly been shaped for decorative effect; and it is somewhat reminiscent of the curved ends of the gable of the house which is represented on the pre-Conquest cross-shaft in the parish churchyard. In the interior of the north wall, and at its east end, is a small square recess.

A considerable section of the south wall stands to a height of about 8 ft; and, by great good fortune, this section contains the whole of the south doorway and one jamb of a window to the east of the doorway. The round head of the doorway is formed of three separate lintels, one behind the other, and each spanning the whole opening. The

curve of the round head runs directly into the line of the jambs of the doorway, without any projecting imposts, and the jambs are rebated on the face toward the interior of the chapel, for the hanging of a door. Such rebates are often regarded as so unusual in Anglo-Saxon work that they should be suspected of having been cut at a later date; but they are relatively common in early Anglo-Saxon work, and their presence in all three of the Heysham doorways makes it unlikely that they were later alterations.¹ A very curious feature of this doorway is that the wall is 4 in. thicker at the eastern jamb than at the western one, and that the extra thickness has been used to provide for a double rebate on the east, by contrast with a single one on the west. The jambs of the doorway are of massive through-stones, which in the eastern jamb are laid in excellent 'Escomb fashion', alternately upright and flat, so as to bond effectively into the walling. The western jamb, by contrast, has two tall uprights between two flat stones, and is therefore only poorly bonded into the wall. The most striking feature of the doorway is, however, the enrichment of the outer face

¹ Rebated doorways can be accepted with certainty as part of the original fabric at Escomb, and with almost equal certainty at Monkwearmouth. The other two

examples at Heysham are at the parish church of St Peter. Baldwin Brown gives no evidence for saying (p. 30) that the rebate at Heysham 'may not be original'.

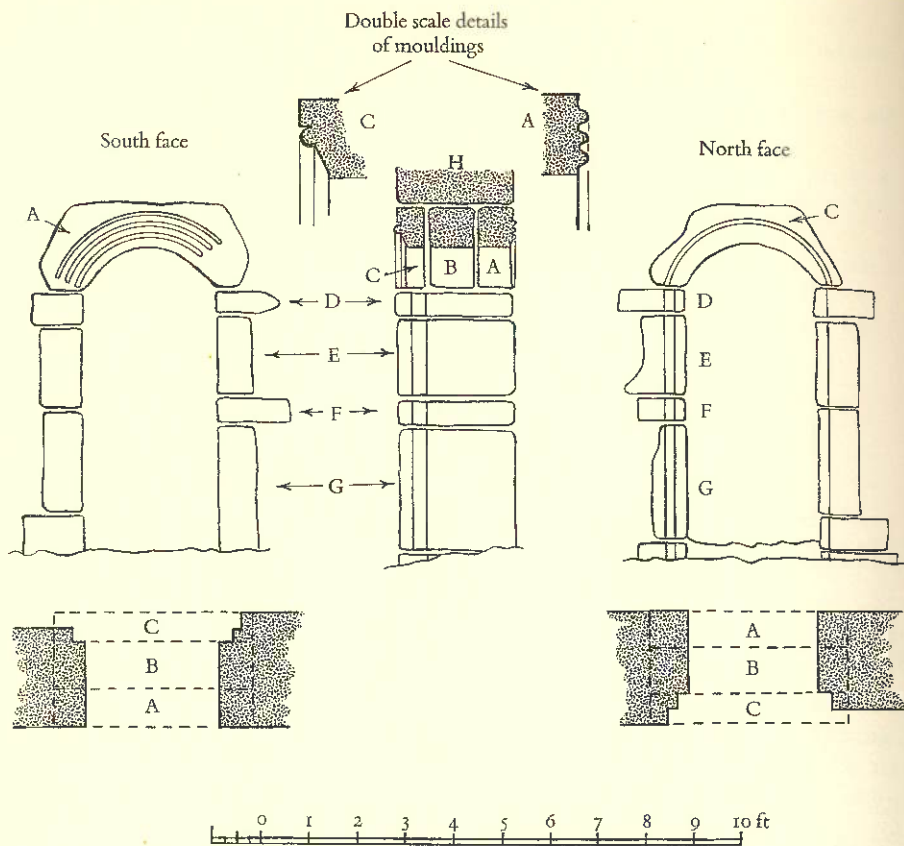


FIG. 135. HEYSHAM, LANCASHIRE, ST PATRICK'S CHAPEL

Details of the doorway of the ruined chapel. The stones are lettered in the diagrams for ease of identification between the separate elevations, plans, and sections.

of its head by three concentric raised ribs, separated by hollow mouldings of roughly semicircular section. The inner face is also enriched with concentric ribs, but in a simpler fashion. This decorative treatment has an analogue in the north doorway at Somerford Keynes, Gloucestershire, where the curved head of the doorway is markedly stilted, by contrast with the slightly depressed curve at Heysham.

Only the west jamb and fragments of the sill and head have remained to fix the form of the sole surviving window, about mid-way between the doorway and the east wall. But these vestiges serve to show that it was a single-splayed window, a little over 3 ft tall, and with a flat outer head, probably round-headed internally.

The interior face of the south wall rises from a

plain square plinth; otherwise, the walls rise straight from the ground.

The general antiquity of the site as a Christian churchyard is well attested by pre-Conquest carved stones, including not only the cross-shaft which has already been mentioned, and which is dated by Collingwood to the middle of the ninth century, but also a hog-back grave cover which he assigns to the eleventh.¹

There is, however, some conflict of opinion about the date of the interesting rock-graves to the west of the chapel; Collingwood assigns these to the tenth century, without giving any reason; while Baldwin Brown places them in the thirteenth, with no reason other than that the marks on their surface are not a pre-Conquest interlace pattern, but only the pick marks that were made

¹ W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses* (London, 1927), 72 and 169.

when the stone surface was dressed flat.¹ The sunken hollow seatings for cross-shafts at the head of each grave seem to us to favour a pre-Conquest date, in view of the known custom of erecting carved stone crosses at that period, and particularly by analogy with three grave-slabs at Hexham, each of which has a similar but smaller sunken seating for a cross-shaft.

DIMENSIONS

The chapel is about 26 ft long internally, and it narrows from about 9 ft wide at the east to just under 8 ft at the west. Its walls are between 2 ft 5 in. and 2 ft 9 in. thick, and the south doorway is 2 ft 7 in. wide and 6 ft 8 in. high.

REFERENCES

See under Heysham, St Peter.

HEYSHAM

Lancashire

Map sheets 89 and 94, reference SD 410616

ST PETER

Nave: period B

Close beside the ruined chapel of St Patrick, but lower down, and nearer the shore of Morecambe Bay, the parish church of Heysham, dedicated to St Peter, has certain features so closely resembling those of the chapel as to make a similar date seem reasonable for the core of the church. Collingwood dated the chapel in the tenth century, and the church in the eleventh; but the early features in both lead us to prefer Baldwin Brown's suggested date in the latter part of the eighth century for both.² The present church is rectangular in plan, both nave and chancel being flanked by aisles.

Only the nave shows any early features, the chancel having been entirely rebuilt in the fourteenth century. The south aisle was added in the

fifteenth century and rebuilt in the seventeenth. It was not until 1860 that the north aisle was added; and it was only then that the early character of the church was fully appreciated; for, in the demolition of the north wall of the nave, a blocked doorway was discovered, hidden beneath a buttress. This doorway, which shows remarkable similarity to that of the adjoining chapel of St Patrick, was preserved, and has been re-erected in the south-west corner of the churchyard. The west wall of the original Anglo-Saxon nave is largely intact, though now containing a two-light window of Decorated form; the ends of the south wall survive, and may be seen to be of different construction from that of the walling over the south arcade; and the east wall, over the chancel arch, also seems to be original. The fabric of the early church is of large blocks of roughly dressed stone, with very large face-alternate quoining at the south-east of the nave, now visible within the south aisle of the chancel.

The only readily identifiable pre-Conquest feature remaining in the church is the blocked west doorway, a simple round-headed opening without projecting imposts. Its jambs appear to be of through-stones, and, like those of St Patrick's chapel and those of the rebuilt north doorway now standing in the churchyard, they are rebated on the interior for the hanging of a door. The details of the rebate are concealed by the blocking of the doorway, but its existence follows because the opening is 2 ft 6 in. wide externally and 3 ft 2 in. internally. Externally, the round head of this doorway is formed by a single stone, which is of roughly semicircular shape both above and below; internally the head seems originally to have been monolithic, but the stone is now cracked vertically near its head; and in the middle section of the wall, between these two lintels, the opening is covered by three stones of which the lower two are curved corbels and the upper one spans the rest of the opening.

The old north doorway, re-erected in the south-west corner of the churchyard, closely resembles

the pre-Conquest character of the pattern illustrated by G. F. Browne. This is now quite worn away.

² W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses* (London, 1927), 15 n.; and G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 190.

¹ G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, I (1903), 311, and 2 (1925), 188. See also G. F. Browne, 'Pre-Norman sculptured stones in Lancashire', *T. Lancs. Ches. Ant. S.* 5 (1887), 4, and pl. v, for a description and picture of the interlace pattern. There is no doubt about

the south doorway of St Patrick's chapel. Its jambs are of through-stones, rebated internally for the door, and laid with some resemblance to 'Escomb fashion'; and the head is of three lintels set side by side, each about a third of the thickness of the wall and each spanning the doorway. There is a tradition that other early material was removed from the church in 1860, but we have not yet been able to discover any.¹

The chancel-arch is a wide and low opening, of Norman rather than Anglo-Saxon proportions. Its voussoirs are of through-stones, but chamfered on the angles; and there is a local tradition that it was rebuilt in the seventeenth century. The imposts, curiously decorated with three lines of cable ornament, may be early stones re-used.

In the west wall, to the north of the later two-light widow, is a blocked square-headed doorway of uncertain date. Its sill is only 7 ft 6 in. above the floor, and therefore it does not seem likely that it could have been an external entrance to a seventeenth-century gallery. It may therefore have been an original feature, leading to an upper chamber in a western annexe, for which there is a local tradition. The existence of a western doorway in a church which had a doorway on the north, and presumably also on the south, may be regarded as supporting the tradition of a western annexe. There is no apparent evidence to prove its former existence; but evidence in the form of stumps of walling could be concealed by the later buttresses which have been added to resist the thrust of the arcades. The ground to the west of the church should be examined for surviving foundations.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 30 ft long internally and 15 ft 3 in. wide, with walls varying from 2 ft 4 in. to 2 ft 6 in. in thickness, and about 18 ft in height. The old north doorway is 2 ft 7 in. wide and 6 ft 2 in. high, and the blocked west doorway is 2 ft 6 in. by 6 ft 4 in.

¹ Tomlinson, *Guide to Heysham* (Lancaster, undated), 3. After recording the demolition of the north wall in 1860 and the re-erection of the doorway in the churchyard, Miss Tomlinson adds that 'the circular window frames are now lying in the churchyard'. At the south-west of the churchyard against the boundary wall is a

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 V.C.H., *County of Lancaster*, 8 (London, 1914), 109-16. St Patrick's chapel, with plan, 109; St Peter's church, with plan, 114-16.

HINTON AMPNER

Hampshire

Map sheet 168, reference SU 597274

ALL SAINTS

Nave walls: period C

Before its virtual rebuilding in the nineteenth century there may have been much of interest in the nave of this church, which is beautifully situated on wooded downland in the well-kept grounds of Hinton House, about 7 miles east of Winchester. What now remains of the early work has been so modified and mutilated as to be of little value; the aisleless chancel is in the Early English style, but apparently mainly modern; the aisleless nave is fundamentally Anglo-Saxon, although hardly any of its features have been left unchanged.

On each of the north and south walls of the nave there is a pilaster-strip, about 7 in. wide and 1 in. in projection, consisting of about a dozen stones, which alternate in length so as to give something of a long-and-short effect. The strips rise from a chamfered base-course, which looks like a modern insertion, or a re-dressing of earlier work; but immediately below this, on the south

considerable and overgrown heap of discarded building-stones, but a brief search among these failed to produce anything of interest other than a round monolithic pseudo-arch which might have been the head of a large window or a small doorway. Enquiry of local residents, including the Vicar, has also proved fruitless.

face, is a projecting plinth of big, roughly dressed, square stones that look original.

A round-headed doorway leading from the nave to a modern north-west vestry is said by the *Victoria County History* to have been formerly the south doorway of the nave. Its jambs and round-arched head are cut straight through the wall, without any rebate for the hanging of a door, and the chamfer which has been cut on the arris towards the nave may well be the work of the nineteenth-century improvers. The jambs are laid in alternating upright and flat stones, and, although only one of these passes through the full thickness of the wall, it looks as if others may have been through-stones but were broken at the rebuilding. Towards the nave, the arched head has the ghost of its former strip-work hood-moulding, which is now chamfered above and below, and ends inconsequentially above the line of springing.

Baldwin Brown (p. 460) records the survival of a long-and-short quoin at the north-east of the nave; but the stones are wholly re-dressed, and the indication of early technique is, in our opinion, so indefinite as to be useless.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 47 ft long by 21 ft 10 in. wide internally, with walls of flint rubble 2 ft 6 in. in thickness. The north doorway is 3 ft 2 in. wide and 8 ft tall.

REFERENCES

V.C.H., *Hampshire and the I.o.W.* 3 (London, 1908), 322-3. Note of very severe restoration about sixty years earlier.

J. H. PARKER, 'Architectural notes of the churches in the neighbourhood of Winchester', *Proc. Arch. Inst., Winchester, 1845* (London, 1846), 27. Chancel noted as modern, in Early English style. Nave noted as 'of the class supposed to be Saxon'.

HOLTON-LE-CLAY

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 105, reference TA 286027

Figure 490

ST PETER

Lower stage of west tower, and lower parts of nave and chancel walls: period C3

On the coastal plains of north-east Lincolnshire, the small church of St Peter at Holton-le-Clay has a prominent position on higher land about 4 miles south of Grimsby, beside the main road to Louth. The church, consisting of an aisleless nave and chancel, with a west tower, is of greater interest than might be supposed from Baldwin Brown's description of it as 'an unimportant Lincolnshire west tower with later top storey and good tall tower arch', or from the *Little Guide's* note that 'the church was nearly rebuilt in brick in 1850, but the tower is one of the many Lincolnshire instances of late Saxon'.¹ The upper parts of the walls of the nave and chancel are indeed much patched with brick, and their windows are all medieval or nineteenth-century restorations; but, for reasons described below, we are convinced that considerable parts of the walls of the nave and chancel are contemporary with the pre-Conquest tower, and that this is true of almost the whole of the lower courses, so that this church is one of the rare examples in which the simple early plan of rectangular nave, roughly square chancel, and square west tower has been left unchanged through some nine centuries of use.

The fabric of the lower stage of the tower and of the lower courses of the nave and chancel is of coursed, roughly squared, brown stone rubble, with well-defined, side-alternate quoins of larger stones, up to 2 ft in height, at all angles of the nave and chancel and of the tower. The light brown hue of the stone shows much reddening as though by fire, not only on the tower but elsewhere throughout the church. The quoins are intact for considerable heights at the angles of the tower and at the south-west angle of the nave; at the other angles of the nave and at the east of the chancel only small parts of the original quoining have survived; but there is enough to justify the claim that the lower parts of the walls are original. The most certain evidence of a single building date is, however, provided by a clearly defined double plinth, which runs round all sides of the

¹ J. C. Cox, *Lincolnshire* (Methuen's Little Guides), 2nd ed. (London, 1924), 168.

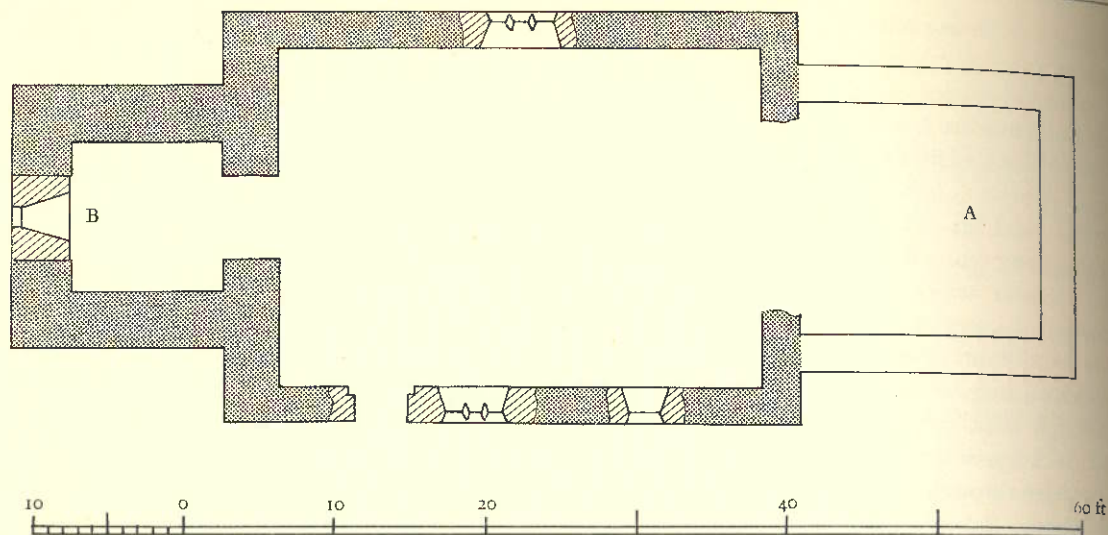


FIG. 136. HOLTON-LE-CLAY, LINCOLNSHIRE

A, the walls of the chancel are shown in outline only because they were largely rebuilt last century: they seem to be on the original foundations; B, pointed west window in later blocking of the original doorway of the tower. The plinth has not been shown on the plan.

tower, and which has also survived on the north side of the nave and on the south and east of the chancel. This plinth has the same characteristic form throughout, the lower order being square in section, and the upper chamfered.

The lower stage of the tower and the square string-course above it are original Anglo-Saxon work, while the upper stage is a fourteenth-century Decorated belfry with battlements. The original west wall of the nave projects boldly above the present roof of the nave, like buttresses on the north and south of the east wall of the tower, and in bond with it, of the same fabric, and with the same type of quoining.

The east and north faces of the early tower have no external openings, and the south face has only a single, small, rectangular window of no distinctive character. The west face shows clear evidence of a former western doorway, now blocked to carry a modern window; while above this an early, round-headed, internally splayed window has survived to light the upper floor of the tower; its aperture is about 1 ft wide and 2 ft high; each jamb is formed of two rectangular stones; and the round head is cut from a single stone, shaped to a semicircle below and above.

Within the church the only clearly Anglo-Saxon

feature is the tall, narrow tower-arch, with square jambs, thin rectangular imposts, and round arch of two square orders both set flush with the face of the wall. The arch has been stripped of plaster, and its voussoirs may be seen to be carefully laid, in radial fashion, of small stones that do not extend through the thickness of the wall. The jambs are thickly plastered, so that all details of their construction is hidden, but on the south side a chamfered base 2 ft high projects about 2 in. into the soffit of the opening. Inside the tower, this base rests on a shallow square plinth.

Before the rebuilding of 1850, the church apparently had a tall narrow chancel-arch, similar to the surviving tower-arch, but this has now been replaced by a wide arch in the Early English style. Bloxam recorded that the tower-arch and the chancel-arch were both only 5 ft 3 in. wide, and that the chancel-arch had round or semi-cylindrical mouldings rudely worked on its face.¹

Neither nave nor chancel has preserved any original windows or doorways to confirm the deductions recorded above about their date.

A fine font stands in the nave, near the south door, on a simple plinth formed of two tall, circular stone slabs. The font is a simple straight-

¹ M. H. Bloxam, *Principles of Gothic Architecture*, 9th ed. (London, 1849), 64 and 67.

sided tub, now sadly worn and chipped, but with interesting incised ornament round the upper third of its curved surface. At the top is a broad cable-moulding, then follows a band of chevrons laid on their sides, and below these is an interlaced arcade of round arches, now rather indistinct.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 10 ft square internally, with walls about 3 ft 6 in. thick and about 36 ft high, to the top of the original work. The nave and chancel both have walls 2 ft 6 in. in thickness, and their internal dimensions are respectively 32 ft by 22 ft 6 in., and 16 ft 3 in. by 15 ft 6 in.

The tower-arch is 5 ft 5 in. wide and 15 ft tall.

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Editorial, 'Saxon churches', *Ecclesiologist*, 3 (1844), 138-9.

Holton-le-Clay briefly described and claimed as Saxon.

M. H. BLOXAM, *Principles of Gothic Architecture*, 9th ed. (London, 1849), 63-80. Plain arches of a single sweep or soffit, 63; both tower-arch and chancel-arch only 5 ft 3 in. in width, 64; chancel-arch has round moulding worked on face as at Wittering, 67; Bloxam had visited Holton, 80. (The same facts are recorded in later editions up to the eleventh (London, 1882), although it seems probable that the chancel-arch was demolished in 1850.)

J. C. COX, *Lincolnshire* (Methuen's Little Guides), 2nd ed. (London, 1924), 168. Note that 'the church was nearly rebuilt in brick in 1850'.

HORNBY

Yorkshire, North Riding

Map sheet 91, reference SE 222937

Figure 491

ST MARY

West tower: Saxo-Norman

Hornby Park and Castle are within 2 miles of the Great North Road, about 3 miles south of Catterick, with the church and village close beside the west of the park. The church has a square west tower of four stages, an aisled nave with south porch, and an aisleless chancel.

The fabric of the tower is of rough rubble, with roughly squared stone for the quoins and window-

facings. The uppermost stage is a Perpendicular belfry with battlements, but the original belfry has survived below, with four double belfry windows of late-Saxon form. This original belfry stage and the stage next below are of plain, unbuttressed form, with massive face-alternate quoins. By contrast, the lowest stage has characteristically Norman clasping buttresses at the corners; but there is good ground for believing that these are later additions, since they are not properly bonded into the fabric, but show straight vertical joints up the whole of their junctions with the main walls.

The three lower stages of the tower are separated by two string-courses which seem originally to have been of plain square section, but which have later been cut, at any rate in places, so as to be chamfered on the upper angle. The lower string-course is of particular interest, for the greater parts of its south and west faces have survived in the original plain square form, whereas the parts above the Norman clasping buttresses are of thinner and chamfered section. The tower may also be seen to rest on a plain square plinth, but with a separate chamfered upper course beneath the added buttresses.

The double windows of the belfry rest on the upper string-course, with square block-like bases and cushion-shaped capitals for their plain cylindrical mid-wall shafts. Their jambs are of well-dressed masonry, almost ashlar, with plain square imposts; and the central through-stone slabs are also of plain square section. The heads of the individual windows of each pair are each formed from square lintels, cut below to the semi-circular shape of the window-heads.

In the north and south faces of the lowest stage, modern round-headed windows serve to light the ground-floor chamber.

The first floor is lit by a round-headed, single-played, original window in the south face of the second stage. This window has tall, monolithic jambs; its round head is shaped both above and below; and its outer face is rebated, as if for the housing of a wooden shutter. The north face has no original openings below the belfry, and the west face has only a doorway, which seems to have suffered much alteration. It is now square-headed, with a massive lintel supported on jambs

of rather paltry stones, which are badly bonded into the adjoining wall. Above the lintel an arched head surrounds a semicircular tympanum, of plain rubble walling, recessed about 2 in. behind the main face of the wall.

The lowest few feet of walling on the south and west of the tower are of quite different texture from that above; and the same is also true of the Norman buttresses. It is difficult to understand what is the explanation of this change of texture, unless some structure was at one stage built against the lower parts of the walls and was later removed.

The western walls of the aisles of the nave have clearly been built straight up against the clasping buttresses of an aisleless Norman nave; but between these buttresses and the side walls of the tower there appear to be sections of the west wall of an earlier nave. The relation of these separate sections of walling is, however, complicated and we have not been able satisfactorily to interpret their history.

Internally, the tower-arch is of the sort which could be either late-Saxon or early Norman, with plain square jambs, quirked and chamfered imposts, and round head, of a single square order. It is constructed without any use of through-stones, and its proportions and general character are, on the whole, Norman rather than Anglo-Saxon.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 46 ft long internally by about 21 ft wide, with side walls 2 ft 9 in. thick. The tower is about 11½ ft square internally, with walls about 3 ft thick, and the height of the lower three stages is about 50 ft.

The western doorway is 3 ft wide and 6 ft 6 in. tall to the lintel, while the height from the sill to the crown of the arch is 9 ft 10 in.

The tower-arch is 6 ft 1 in. wide and 13 ft 7 in. tall, in a wall 3 ft 5 in. thick.

REFERENCES

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- V.C.H., *Yorkshire, North Riding*, I (London, 1914), 317-19. Brief description, with plan. Tower dated about 1080.
J. E. MORRIS, *The North Riding of Yorkshire* (Methuen's Little Guides), 2nd ed. (London, 1920), 189. Tower described as 'certainly Saxon, or extremely early Norman'.

HOUGH-ON-THE-HILL

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 113, reference SK 923463

Figure 492

ALL SAINTS

West tower, with three-quarter-round western stair-turret. Nave walls above Early English arcades: period C1

Within the broad valley of the River Witham, and close by the source of its tributary the Brant, about 7 miles north of Grantham, Hough-on-the-Hill has one of the most interesting of the many Lincolnshire churches that lie close to the Trent and the Witham. The church consists of a west tower with a western stair-turret; an aisled nave, with a south porch; and an aisleless chancel, with a north chapel. The Anglo-Saxon tower now carries a tall Perpendicular belfry.

About a mile west of Hough, on Lovedon Hill (Reference 908458), important finds have been made of hanging bowls and unusual pottery, in a cemetery with both cremations and inhumations.¹ The site has an uninterrupted view in all directions, except where a plantation now obstructs the view to the north.

The square, unbuttressed tower of Hough church and its three-quarter-round western stair-turret have long been recognized as of Anglo-Saxon workmanship; but, to the best of our knowledge, it has until now escaped notice that the main body of the nave is earlier than the tower which has been built up against, and on top of, the original west wall. The detailed arguments for the dating of the nave are advanced below; here it is sufficient to say that the Early English arcades, each of two bays, were cut through the

¹ C. W. Foster, 'Anglian burial mound on Lovedon Hill', *A.A.S.R.* 38 (1927), 313-20.

original walls and that at a later date the Perpendicular clear-storey was added. Part of a long-and-short north-eastern quoin may be seen outside the church, over the roof of the north vestry; and both western quoins can be seen in the angles between the tower and the western walls of the aisles.

Both the tower and the stair-turret are built of roughly squared, well-coursed flat stones, which average about 1 ft horizontally by 6 in. vertically. The quoins of the tower are of dressed stone in

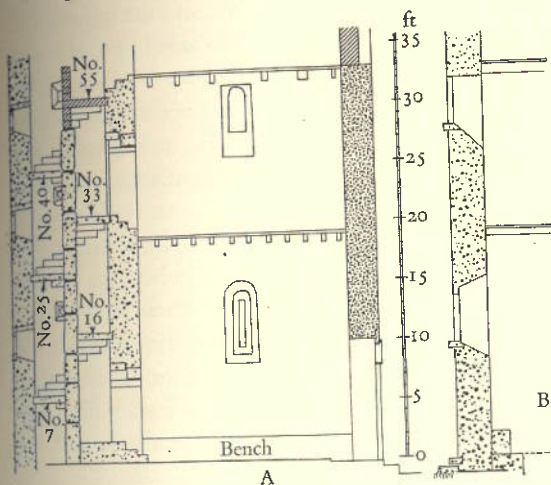


FIG. 137. HOUGH-ON-THE-HILL, LINCOLNSHIRE

Sections through the tower. A, longitudinal section on axis A-A (see Fig. 138); B, transverse section through the north windows (see line B-B in Fig. 138).

large blocks, mainly laid in face-alternate fashion, but with some stones almost square in plan, like the quoins of the chancel at Repton. Short sections of the side walls of the nave may be seen inside the church, now serving as responds to the tall Early English arcades; and, in the few places where the plaster is thin enough, the fabric of these walls may be seen to be of the same flat stones as those of the tower.

At the western angles of the tower, the face-alternate quoins extend from the ground to the top of the Anglo-Saxon fabric; but at the eastern angles they extend from the top only so far downward as the junction of the walls of the aisles with those of the tower. On the south, below this level, a clearly defined angle of dressed stone may be seen to run up the wall of the tower beside the west wall of the south aisle, extending the whole

distance from the ground to a large stone which serves as a stop for this feature and as a base for the eastern quoin of the tower. Closer inspection shows that the south wall of the tower is built with a straight vertical joint against this angle of dressed stone, which is, in fact, the south-west quoin of an earlier nave. The tower was, therefore, built against the earlier nave, with its east wall on top of the west wall of the nave. The walls of the tower are a little thicker than those of the nave, so that internally the tower is narrower. On the north, the corresponding evidence is almost hidden by the placing of the west wall of the aisle a little farther to the west; but nevertheless

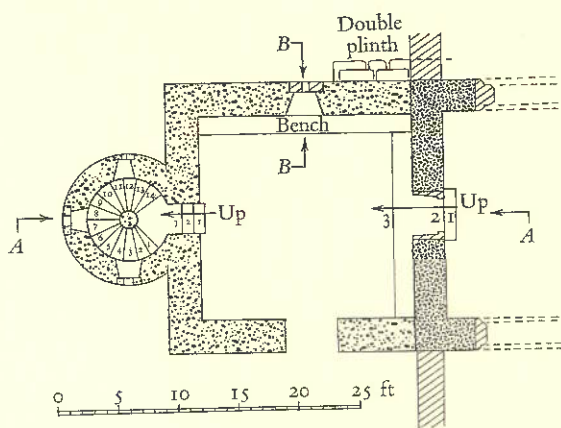


FIG. 138. HOUGH-ON-THE-HILL, LINCOLNSHIRE
Plan of the tower and the west end of the nave.

a few feet of the north-west quoin of the nave may be seen near the ground.

The tower originally stood on a plinth of two plain square orders of large, roughly dressed stones, which are still visible on the north, but which on the south seem to have been covered by a concrete skirting. At the west, the ground has risen and has concealed whatever evidence may remain of the plinth.

The Anglo-Saxon part of the tower is divided by boldly projecting string-courses into three stages of which, contrary to usual custom, the lowest is much the least tall, being only about half as high as either of the others. As will be seen in the right-hand section in Fig. 137, the string-courses do not correspond to levels of floors, but serve as sills for the windows.

The openings in the tower are of considerable

interest. In the south face, the lowest stage has unfortunately been mutilated by the later insertion of a wide doorway, surmounted by a window, which cuts across the lower string-course; but, above the upper string-course, and resting on it, is an original, round-headed window, whose head is formed of a single stone, cut to a semicircle below and above. The jambs are each formed of three stones, of which the lowest is laid flat, and the second upright, while the third is almost square in elevation. This window and its companion on the north face serve to light the first-floor chamber.

The north face has only two openings, a window similar to that just described, and another window resting on the lower string-course. The outer face of the lower window has been altered at some later date by the insertion of ashlar masonry, to produce a tall, narrow, rectangular aperture; but, internally, the original masonry is still visible, with a large single stone to form the round head. From outside, only the later masonry used to be visible but in the course of repairs in 1959 some of the plaster covering was removed and parts of the original round head of the window were revealed.

The west face of the tower has two original windows, near the top of the Anglo-Saxon fabric, to light the second-floor chamber. Their exterior faces are framed in roughly dressed stone; with monolithic sills and lintels; and two stones for each jamb, the lower like a square corbel, and the upper like a tall pilaster resting on it. The jambs slope slightly, so that each window narrows towards the top, and a touch of ornament is provided by a shallow rebate on the lower face of each lintel. Internally, the head of each window is formed of two flat lintels; the sill is formed of a single, large, flat slab of stone; while each jamb is formed of four superimposed lining slabs, each of which extends through the full thickness of the wall as far as the exterior facing.

The windows of the circular stair-turret, though much smaller, are of no less interest. Their outer faces are formed of single, vertical, stone slabs, through which the apertures are cut in varying forms and with varying degrees of ornament. In the west of the turret are three windows, each

with its aperture shaped to show a round head, vertical jambs, and a flat sill. The lowest of these is the largest and is quite plain; the one next above is surrounded by a double roll-moulding; and the uppermost has a shallow rebate. The south face has four windows whose apertures, recorded from below upward, are pentagonal, circular, circular, and diamond-shaped, the latter two being outlined by a simple roll-moulding and a cable-moulding, respectively. The lowest of three windows facing north is circular, with a roll-moulding; the next is circular, without ornament; and the uppermost is square, outlined with a double rebate. It is not now clear whether these windows were originally glazed; in all but one the glass is now carried on the inner face of the stone slabs, and only on the lowest western window is there a wooden frame for the glass. In the outer face of the wall, several of these windows have above them a large, flat stone, as though to form a lintel, while one or two others have a similar large, flat stone sill. Internally it appears that these stones are the outer faces of large through-stones which form the heads, or the sills, of the splayed openings, all of which are lined with a single stone for the head, another for the sill and two superimposed slabs for each jamb.

The spiral stairway inside the turret is of the same unusual type as that at Broughton, also in Lincolnshire, since the central newel, unlike that of a post-Conquest spiral stairway, is formed separately from the treads, as a thick cylinder of stone, in tall sections, many of which are up to 3 ft in height. The stone steps are built into the outer wall of the turret, and their inner ends are notched into the curved surface of the newel. Unlike Broughton, the treads have no supporting barrel-vault of rubble, but each simply rests upon the stair below, so that their lower faces are visible as the ceiling of the stairway. This remarkable stair has survived for a height of about 25 ft, the whole way from the ground floor to the first upper chamber and part of the way to the second chamber, forty-five stairs in all. Thereafter the construction is quite different, with a thinner central newel formed as part of the stairs themselves, evidently representing a later reconstruction, possibly associated with the addition of the Perpendicular belfry.

A stone bench runs along the north wall of the ground-floor chamber of the tower, and a tall, round-headed doorway leads down two steps into the nave. This doorway has been much altered in later times; but it is most probably a survival from the original western entrance to the church, before the addition of the tower. In the west wall of the tower, a flight of three steps leads up through a tall, square-headed doorway to the main floor of the stair-turret, 1 ft 9 in. above the floor of the tower. The jambs of this doorway are cut straight through the wall, and are formed of roughly dressed stones laid in courses like the walling, but of appreciably larger size. The imposts are through-stones which project on the soffit only, like corbels of square section, and the head is formed of two separate lintels, of which that on the west is set 8 in. higher, in order to allow for the rising of the stairs in the thickness of the wall.

The ascent to the first-floor chamber is by thirty-three stairs, winding twice round the central newel, to a landing, from which the chamber is entered, down three steps, through a square-headed doorway. This doorway has 'Escomb-fashion' jambs, formed largely of through-stones, with plain imposts of simple square section; and its head is also formed of two separate lintels, of which that on the west is placed higher to correspond with the steps in the thickness of the wall. The only other openings in this chamber are the north and south windows, which have already been noted externally; internally their splayed jambs are lined with large stones and their heads are formed of flat stone lintels.

On leaving the first-floor chamber, it should be noted that the inner, or eastern, face of the doorway has been unusually treated by rounding the eastern angles of the jamb-stones. It is now difficult to determine whether this is an original feature or a later adaptation. The outer, or western, face of the doorway is rebated for the hanging of the door, and there seems to us to be no doubt that this is an original feature.

From the landing, the stairway continues upward with a further twelve original steps, after

which the ascent to the second-floor chamber is on the reconstructed, post-Conquest stairway. The chamber itself is, however, very clearly part of the original fabric, and is entered through a triangular-headed doorway with 'Escomb-fashion' jambs. The triangular head is formed of two pairs of sloping stones, which rest on the jambs without any intervening imposts, and the majority of the jamb-stones pass through the full thickness of the wall. The two western windows, which light the chamber, have already been noted externally as of characteristically Anglo-Saxon construction, and this impression is confirmed internally by the way in which their moderately splayed jambs, their sills, and their heads are lined with slabs of stone. In the east wall, a tall triangular-headed doorway, now blocked, originally opened through the west gable of the nave. Its straight square jambs are built of roughly squared stones, laid in courses like those of the wall; and its head is formed of pairs of larger stones.

The nave at first sight shows no obvious signs of Anglo-Saxon workmanship; but reference has already been made to the survival of its western quoins, as evidence that the west wall of the nave existed before the tower was built against and over it. Only one of the eastern quoins is now visible, that at the north-east, which may be seen from outside the church, above the parapet of the chancel, clearly showing four quoin-stones, in two long-and-short pairs.

Within the nave, it should first be noticed how an offset above the heads of the Early English arches marks the top of the original walls, which were no less than 30 ft high, before the addition of the Perpendicular clear-storey. At either end of each wall a length of solid walling may be seen, 2 ft 7 in. thick, serving as a respond for the arcades, and suggesting that their arches were cut through the original walls. At the east of the nave, these responds may be seen to rest on plinths of roughly squared stones, resembling the plinth which is visible externally below the north wall of the tower. This plinth is best seen, within the nave, at the south-east respond, where it is least concealed by wooden flooring;¹ any similar evi-

¹ The evidence used to be clearer at the north-east before a wooden floor was provided for the chapel and altar at the east end of the north aisle.

dence at the west is wholly concealed by flooring. Finally, high up in the west wall of the nave, faint traces may be seen of the original steeply pitched gable, running up from the off-sets in the side walls to an apex above the blocked, triangular-headed doorway.

DIMENSIONS

Excluding the Perpendicular belfry, the tower is about 45 ft high, and internally it measures 17 ft 10 in. from east to west, by 17 ft from north to south. Its walls are 2 ft 10 in. thick, except for the wall between the tower and the nave, which is only 2 ft 5 in. in thickness.

The stair-turret is 11 ft in diameter externally, and 7 ft internally, with walls 2 ft thick. The central newel is 1 ft 4 in. in diameter, while the stone steps, each 1 ft 4 in. wide beside the outer wall, narrow to about 5 in. beside the newel, and each have a rise of about 7 in.

The doorway leading from the ground floor into the stair turret is 2 ft 5 in. wide and 6 ft 11 in. tall, as measured from the floor; the doorway of the first-floor chamber is 2 ft 3 in. wide and 7 ft 8 in. tall, as measured from the floor; and the doorway of the upper chamber is 2 ft 4 in. wide by 6 ft 6 in. tall, to the top of its triangular head.

The square-headed west windows of the upper chamber are about 1 ft 4 in. wide by 3 ft 9 in. tall, in the outer face of the wall, splayed internally to 2 ft 3 in. by 4 ft 9 in. The round-headed north and south windows of the first floor are about 1 ft 8 in. wide by 4 ft tall in the outer face of the wall, splayed internally to 2 ft 7 in. by 6 ft 3 in. The largest of the windows of the stair-turret, the lowest window on the west, has an aperture about 10 in. wide by 1 ft 8 in. tall, and the circular windows have apertures about 9 in. in diameter.

The nave is 47 ft 5 in. long internally by 17 ft 8 in. wide, with side walls 2 ft 7 in. thick and about 30 ft tall, excluding the later clear-storey.

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- E. TROLLOPE, 'Notes on churches visited by the Society', *A.A.S.R.* 9 (1867-8), 1-37. Hough briefly described; tower and turret claimed as Saxon, 31-2.
A. H. THOMPSON, 'Pre-Conquest church towers in North Lincolnshire', *A.A.S.R.* 29 (1907-8), 43-70. Hough

described as a puzzling example in which the ample dimensions of the tower indicated that the ground storey was a major part of the church, 45.

- A. H. THOMPSON, 'Saxon churches in England', *Memorials of Old Lincolnshire*, ed. E. M. Symson (London, 1911). Tower perhaps a nave like that at Barton, 57; interesting windows in stair-turret, 73.

HOUGHTON, LONG

Northumberland

Map sheet 71, reference NU 242150

Figure 493

ST PETER

Chancel-arch: Saxo-Norman

The church of Long Houghton, about 4 miles north-east of Alnwick, is well worth a visit in itself, and is also within easy walking distance of an attractive and relatively deserted stretch of the Northumbrian coast. The church consists of a Norman west tower, a nave with Decorated south aisle and later south porch, and an aisleless chancel, which was largely rebuilt in the Early English style in 1874, when an organ chamber was added on the north.

The unbuttressed west tower, of two stages, seems to be of two different Norman dates. The lower stage has tall, narrow, Norman, round-headed, single-splayed windows in its three exterior faces, and the upper stage, of markedly different stone, has Norman double belfry windows in the same three faces, all now heavily restored. In the interior, the tower-arch is an impressive feature, almost the whole width of the tower, and of unusually tall proportions for Norman work. There is, however, no doubt about its Norman character, for its jambs are of two plain square orders, and its round head, also of two orders, is enriched with mouldings of quite advanced character. Moreover, the jambs of the arch and the jambs of the interior splays of the windows are all of ashlar, set in the same courses as the main fabric of the walls.

By contrast, the chancel-arch is of much simpler and more archaic construction, of larger, more roughly dressed stone, and narrower in proportion to its height. Its jambs and round-

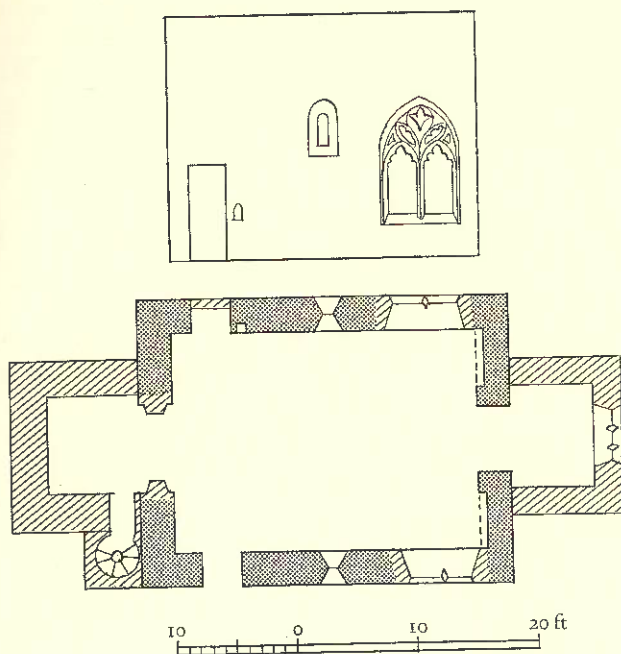


FIG. 139. HOUGHTON-ON-THE-HILL, NORFOLK
Plan of the church and elevation of the north wall.

arched head are of plain square section, and, although there are no through-stones, the character of the arch is so completely at variance with that of the Norman tower-arch as to give strong support for assigning to it a pre-Conquest date. The curve of the arch continues for rather more than a semicircle, thus giving a horseshoe effect, which is particularly noticeable on the south side. The imposts, slightly chamfered below but otherwise of plain square section, are returned as a string-course across the full width of the east wall of the nave; and on the east face towards the chancel they are returned for 3 ft on the south, but rather less on the north.

Externally, the lower part of the north wall of the nave, particularly towards the east, is of quite different fabric from the remainder, and it may be contemporary with the chancel-arch.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 33 ft long internally and about 18 ft wide, with walls 2 ft 7 in. thick and about 18 ft high. The chancel-arch is 6 ft 11 in. wide and 14 ft tall if measured from the floor of the chancel, or 14 ft 9 in. from the floor of the nave.

The Norman tower-arch is 9 ft 7 in. wide and about 16 ft high. The Norman tower is markedly oblong in plan, 15 ft 9 in. internally from east to west by 13 ft 5 in. from north to south, with walls about 4 ft thick.

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J. E. MORRIS, *Northumberland* (Methuen's Little Guides), 3rd ed. (London, 1933), 215-16 and 373.

HOUGHTON-ON-THE-HILL

Norfolk

Map sheet 125, reference TF 869053

ST MARY

Nave: period C3

About 3 miles south-east of Swaffham, this isolated little church stands on high land, to the east of the River Wissey and of the group of roads which connect North and South Pickenham. The

church is difficult of access, but in dry weather it is most quickly approached from Houghton Farm by a field path which runs beside a curious earthwork. At the time of our visits in 1954 and 1960 the church was derelict, and largely overgrown with ivy and brambles; its windows were broken and its roof almost entirely without tiles; but the main fabric of the pre-Conquest walls of its nave was still in good condition. These walls are mainly of flint, with some tiles and dressed stone in the quoins, which seem to have suffered much rebuilding. The church consists of the Anglo-Saxon nave, a square west tower of Decorated style, and a minute nineteenth-century chancel.

The only clearly pre-Conquest features in the church are the two double-splayed, round-headed windows, one of which is placed, high up, about the middle of each of the side walls of the nave. These windows are in good condition, plastered inside and out, and their original oak mid-wall window frames are still in place.

Entry to the nave is now by a west door in the tower, and thence through a tall, pointed tower-arch; but blocked doorways near the west of each of the side walls of the nave may represent the original entrances. Externally these doorways have pointed heads, but their flat interior heads, resting on simple oak lintels, may be original. The chancel-arch is a plain, round-headed opening of a single square order, but it is completely covered with plaster, so that it is impossible to say whether it is original or a part of the nineteenth-century reconstruction.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 25 ft 5 in. long internally, by 18 ft 8 in., with walls 2 ft 8 in. thick and about 20 ft high. The windows have apertures about 7 in. wide and 3 ft tall, splayed to become 2 ft 6 in. by 4 ft 4 in. in the interior wall-face, where their sills are 8 ft 10 in. above the floor. Their apertures are placed roughly in the middle of the thickness of the wall.

REFERENCE

- J. C. COX, *The Churches of Norfolk*, 2 (London, 1911), 65. Brief description, with reference to the pre-Conquest windows, and to the destruction of the original chancel in the eighteenth century, to save repairs. The church was restored in 1895.

HOVINGHAM

Yorkshire, North Riding

Map sheet 92, reference SE 666757

Figure 494

ALL SAINTS

West tower, and part of walls of nave: period C₃

The Vale of Pickering has many attractive villages, not least among which is Hovingham, on the south of the Vale, about 7 miles west of Malton. The church of All Saints, standing close beside the gates of the Hall, is full of interest, for, although its aisled nave and aisleless chancel are mainly the work of modern builders or restorers, yet its west tower stands as it was built in late-Saxon times. The tower contains much re-used stone which seems to have come from an earlier church; and the reredos behind the altar in the south aisle of the nave is a remarkable Anglian carved stone, which until recent years was exposed to the weather in the upper part of the tower, where it had been used as a common building stone.

The tower is built of squared stones, which in its lower parts are of unusually large size, but which higher up are smaller and less carefully squared and coursed. The relatively uneven surface and the variation in colour of individual stones from white to grey and brown produces a very pleasing general effect. The quoins of the tower, and also the north-west quoin of the nave, are of very large stones laid regularly in side-alternate fashion, and, while the re-use of stones from an earlier building is apparent throughout the fabric, it is particularly so in the south-west quoin, where two stones are clearly re-used window-heads. In the north-west quoin, also, one of the stones may clearly be seen to have formed the round head of a window. On the north side of the tower about 12 ft in height of the quoin of the Anglo-Saxon nave projects about 2 ft from the tower.

Two string-courses of square section divide the tower into three roughly equal stages, above the uppermost of which the tower ends with a Norman corbel-table and a square pyramidal tiled roof. On the west face, just below the first

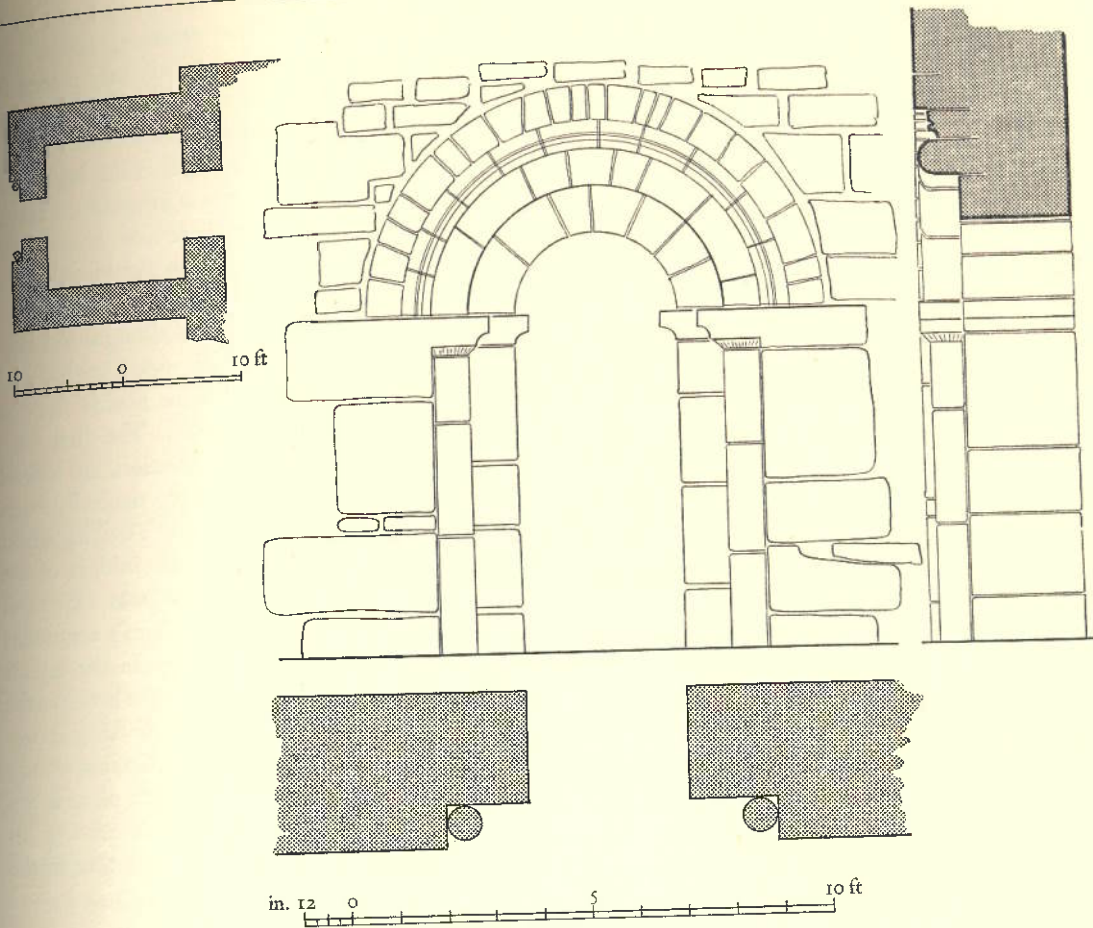


FIG. 140. HOVINGHAM, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)
Plan of the tower and detail of the west doorway.

string-course, a complete course is formed of thin slabs of stone laid slant-wise, as in herring-bone fashion; and in the course next but one below there has been built into the centre of the face a large square stone, bearing an Anglian cross carved in high relief, probably a work of the ninth century, similar to that at Middleton and similarly placed.

Apart from a small rectangular slit window in the south face, just below the string-course, the only external opening in the lowest stage of the tower is the west doorway, a feature of advanced design in many ways, yet tentative in execution and with more affinity to Anglo-Saxon workmanship than even to the earliest Norman. The round arch is not of through-stones, but it is in essence of simple square section; for, although its outer face is in fact built in four orders, only the innermost square

order is appreciably recessed, and then only by 8 in. The next order is level with the main face of the wall, and carries a roll-moulding on its face; the third order is slightly inset, and is carved with a quirk and a hollow moulding; and finally the outer order is of plain square section, set flush with the wall-face. The jambs approximate to the usual Anglo-Saxon pattern, cut straight through the wall; but each has a shallow oblong recess externally, housing a free-standing angle-shaft, which is logically placed to carry the roll-moulding of the arch. These shafts have no bases, and their capitals are of a rudimentary character, of flattish annular shape. Apart from the recesses for these shafts, the square soffit of each jamb is formed of massive through-stones. The imposts project on the soffit face only, and are plain square stones with a hollow chamfer on the lower angle.

The second stage of the tower is set back a few inches behind the first and has one principal opening, a tall, round-headed, double-splayed window, set high up in the south face. In the north and west faces, small rectangular slit windows are curiously placed right at the top of the stage, so that the next string-course forms their heads.

The third stage has tall, narrow, double belfry windows in each of its four faces. The unusually narrow round heads of the individual lights are each cut in a separate square stone; and they rest upon rectangular through-stone slabs and imposts, all of which project boldly from the wall-face and are cut with a hollow chamfer on their lower angles. The square jambs of the windows are built of stones which, although larger than their neighbours in the walls, are neither through-stones nor remarkably large; and the mid-wall shafts, although externally cylindrical in form, are internally of rectangular section, with flat sides, which continue through the thickness of the wall almost to its inner face.

Internally, the nave is lofty for its width, and the round tower-arch is cut straight through the west wall, without any recessing. The jambs and arch are all built of large stones, but, with the exception of the hollow-chamfered imposts, there are no through-stones. High above the tower-arch is a square-headed doorway, which leads to an upper floor. Its head is not visible from the nave, but within the tower it may be verified that it is covered by a flat lintel, and that the jambs are built of upright and flat stones in 'Escomb fashion'. The centre of this doorway is set about $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft to the north of the centre of the nave. A little below the sill of this doorway is a course of thin stones set diagonally.

When Baldwin Brown visited the church in preparation for the second edition of his *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, published in 1925, the carved stone, which since 1924 has been placed inside the church as a reredos to the altar in the south aisle,

was still exposed to the weather, where the eleventh-century builders had callously placed it, high up in the outer south wall of the tower, along with a number of other carved stones. It is a remarkable panel, about 2 ft 1 in. high and 5 ft 5 in. wide, with a narrow continuous frieze of vine-scroll containing birds and beasts, and forming a plinth for the main composition of eight arched panels. Each of these panels contains a nimbed figure, which Collingwood described as 'much more graceful, more Anglian and early in design' than those on the Hedda stone at Peterborough.¹ He added that 'the first two panels, representing the Annunciation, are indeed so charming, that doubt has very naturally been thrown on their pre-Norman date'. Collingwood dated the Hovingham stone in the middle of the ninth century, but this opinion was expressed prior to the publication of Clapham's argument for dating the Breedon sculptures in the eighth century, and the similarity of treatment between the narrow frieze at Hovingham and the long friezes at Breedon would indicate that Collingwood's date for the Hovingham stone might place it too late.² Kendrick, however, places it among his examples of later Northumbrian sculpture in the ninth century.³

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 12 ft 3 in. square internally, with walls about 3 ft 4 in. thick and nearly 70 ft high. The tower-arch is 5 ft 6 in. wide and 10 ft 6 in. tall, and the outer doorway is 3 ft 4 in. wide and 8 ft tall. The original nave seems to have been 18 ft 5 in. wide internally, with walls about 20 ft high. The upper doorway in the east wall of the tower is only 1 ft 10 in. wide and 6 ft 2 in. tall, and its sill is about 23 ft above the floor.

REFERENCE

V.C.H., *Yorkshire, North Riding*, I (London, 1914), 509-10. Brief architectural description, and pictures; no plan.

¹ W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses* (London, 1927), 43.

² A. W. Clapham, 'The carved stones at Breedon-on-the-Hill', *Arch.* 77 (1928), 219-40.

³ T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (London, 1938), 171-7, particularly the last paragraph on 177, for the Breedon carvings; and 194-7, particularly 197, for Hovingham.

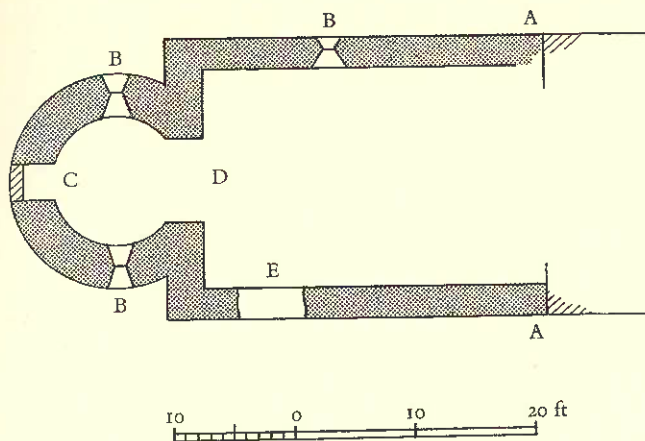


FIG. 141. HOWE, NORFOLK

A, original eastern quoins of nave, with later chancel walls built straight against them; B, original double-splayed windows; C, blocked original western doorway; D, tower-arch; E, south wall destroyed for insertion of later doorway.

HOWE

Norfolk

Map sheet 137, reference TM 275999

ST MARY

Round west tower, and nave: period C3

Howe church, about 6 miles south-east of Norwich and less than a mile to the west of the main road to Bungay, is a simple structure, consisting of a round west tower, a south porch, and an aisleless nave and chancel in the form of a simple rectangle, with no structural separation other than a chancel-arch. The fabric is of flints with some use of stone rubble and bricks; and on careful inspection a change of fabric may be seen in the north and south walls, beside a straight vertical joint, which shows where the later chancel was built up against the walls of the Anglo-Saxon nave.

The round west tower is dated as Anglo-Saxon on the evidence of the round-headed, double-splayed windows, which face north, west and south, and of the circular, double-splayed windows below and slightly west of the round-headed windows in the north and south faces. In the west of the tower, clear traces may be seen of a blocked west doorway. The tower has no belfry and is capped by a conical, tiled roof.

The original walls of the nave still stand, and may be equated in date to the tower on the evidence of the double-splayed round-headed

window in the north wall, with its head roughly turned in bricks or tiles, which are laid characteristically at a constant inclination rather than radially. The western quoins should also be noted, formed of flints, without dressed stone, but with some use of bricks and larger pieces of carstone as bonding. In the south wall of the nave slight traces may be seen of the heads of two blocked windows, probably once similar to that in the north wall. The north-eastern quoin of the nave has also survived, with the later wall of the chancel built against it.

Internally, the tall tower-arch is a simple but impressive feature. Its jambs and round head are of plain square section, and the springings of the head are set back about 3 in. behind the lines of the jambs, so that the diameter of the head is greater than the distance between the jambs. Constructional details of the arch and jambs are hidden beneath plaster, but the imposts have fortunately been left uncovered. Their lower faces are twice rebated so as to give a stepped profile, and their vertical faces are ornamented by three shallow parallel grooves. Above the tower-arch is a blocked square-headed doorway, which formerly opened to an upper chamber.

The original west doorway is also visible within the tower, cut straight through the wall, with jambs and round head of a single square order. Like the tower-arch, its head is wider than the distance between the jambs, and its imposts, although

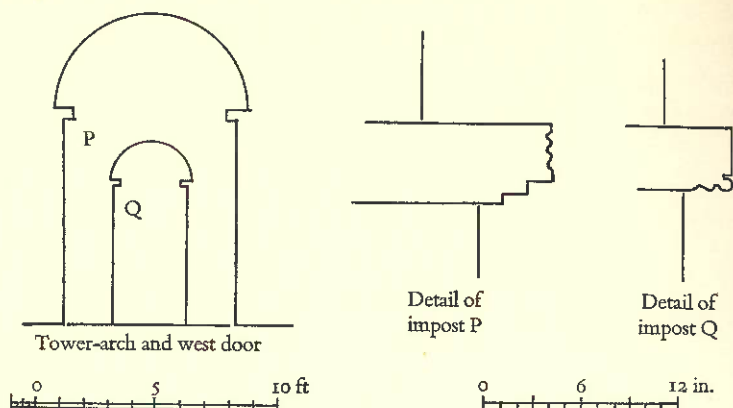


FIG. 142. HOWE, NORFOLK
Comparative arches and mouldings.

fundamentally square in section, have been decorated with simple mouldings, in this case a roll on the lower arris and two grooves on the lower face.

The chancel-arch is pointed, and its jambs have Gothic mouldings.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 27 ft long internally and 18 ft 1 in. wide, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick and about 20 ft high. The tower-arch is 12 ft 4 in. tall and its jambs are 7 ft apart; the square-headed doorway above it is 1 ft 9 in. wide and 4 ft 9 in. tall, with its sill about 15 ft 6 in. above the floor. The blocked west doorway, as measured inside the tower, is 7 ft 6 in. tall, and 3 ft wide between jambs, the arch itself being 2 in. wider.

The double-splayed window in the north wall has an aperture 1 ft wide and 3 ft tall, splayed to become 2 ft 9 in. wide and 5 ft tall at the inner wall-face, where its sill is 8 ft 6 in. above the floor. The glass is placed 1 ft 6 in. from the inner face of the wall and 1 ft from the outer.

The tower is about 11 ft in internal diameter, with walls about 3 ft 6 in. thick and about 42 ft tall. The circular double-splayed windows have apertures about 9 in. in diameter, splayed to about 2 ft 6 in. in the face of the wall, with their centres about 9 ft above the ground. The round-headed, double-splayed windows are about 2 ft 6 in. wide and 6 ft tall in the face of the wall, with their sills about 21 ft above the ground.

ICKLETON

Cambridgeshire

Map sheet 148, reference TL 494438

Figure 495

ST MARY MAGDALENE

Side walls of nave: Saxo-Norman

A Roman road crosses the River Cam at Great Chesterford, about 10 miles south of Cambridge, and the earlier Icknield Way crossed the river a little nearer Cambridge. The village of Ickleton stands on the west bank of the river, between the lines of these two roads, with its church beside a fine group of farm buildings, on the north side of an attractive village green. The Roman town at Chesterford was only a mile from the present village of Ickleton, and an important Roman villa was found within a quarter of a mile of the village between 1845 and 1849.¹ The church shows signs of many alterations through the ages; but it now consists of an aisled nave, with south porch; a central tower with chapels or transepts to the north and south; and an aisleless chancel. On the north there is clear evidence that the chancel formerly had a north aisle or chapel and that the north transept also extended further north.

The arches of the crossing and of the recessed doorway in the west front are in an early Norman style which shows survivals of Anglo-Saxon

¹ R. C. Neville, *J.B.A.A.* 4 (1849), 356-78.

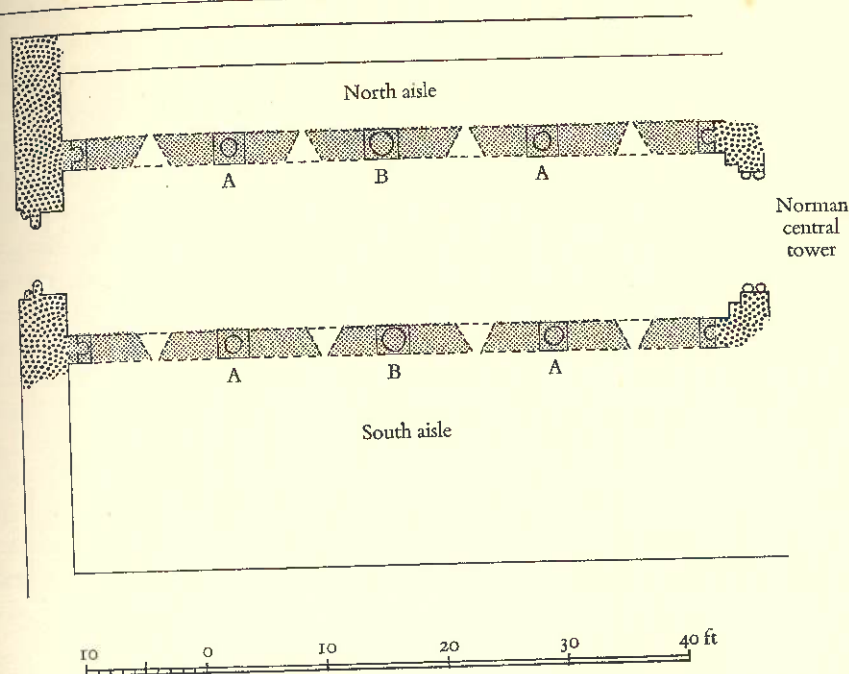


FIG. 143. ICKLETON, CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Plan of the nave. A, thin monolithic shafts; B, thicker composite shafts.

technique, particularly in the very lightly incised mouldings of the flat abaci of the cushion capitals.

The nave opens to the aisles through arcades, each of which has four round arches of a single square order, supported on circular columns, with similar half-round responds at east and west. Four of the columns are tall monolithic shafts, which possibly came from some neighbouring Roman building; while the remaining two, those in the centre on each side, are thicker and are plastered so that their structure is concealed. All the columns have flattish annular bases, resting on square plinths; and all their capitals are of very shallow cushion form, with thin square abaci ornamented with lightly incised horizontal grooves. The half-round columns of the responds have plinths, bases and capitals like those of the arcade; and they rest against short sections of walling, which on the north side of the nave are 2 ft 6 in. thick and on the south 2 ft 8 in.

The original north and south walls of the nave, above the arcades but below the later clear-storey, are pierced by four round-headed, internally splayed openings on each side of the nave. These openings were no doubt the original clear-storey windows, but they now give the

appearance of a triforium. Their apertures are about 9 in. wide and 2 ft 6 in. high, splayed to about 3 ft by 5 ft on the inner face of the wall.

The west wall of the nave with its early Norman doorway is 4 ft thick, in striking contrast to the thin side walls of the nave, which are less than 2 ft 8 in. This consideration suggests the acceptance of a very early Norman or very late Saxon date for the side walls and their supporting arcades, while the west doorway and central crossing are of later date, but still early in the Norman era. The details of the capitals of the arcade are in general agreement with a date close to the Conquest, and the single-splayed windows would perhaps suggest very early Norman rather than very late Saxon. On the other hand, the re-use of Roman material, such as has been suggested for the monolithic columns of the arcade, would be more in keeping with Anglo-Saxon practice than with Norman.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 55 ft 3 in. long internally, by 13 ft 10 in. wide, with walls under 2 ft 8 in. thick, and originally about 26 ft high. The north aisle is 5 ft 9 in. in width, and the columns of the arcade are spaced at about 13 ft 6 in. between centres.

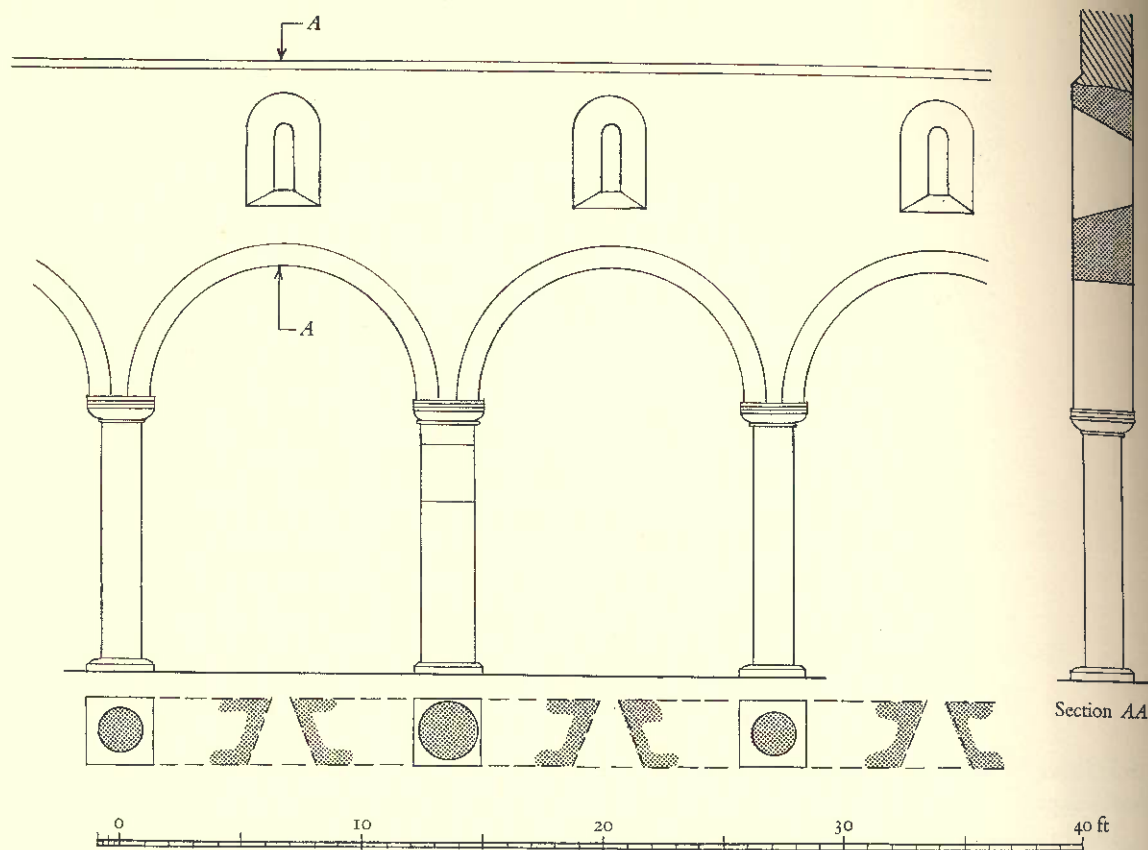


FIG. 144. ICKLETON, CAMBRIDGESHIRE
Elevation, section, and plan of the north wall of the nave.

INGLESHAM

Wiltshire

Map sheet 157, reference SU 205984

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

Nave: possibly period C 3

Picturesquely situated beside the Thames, about a mile south of Lechlade, and remote from any village, the tiny church of Inglesham seems almost to be the private chapel of the two substantial farms whose grounds enclose its raised churchyard. The church now consists of an aisled nave with a south porch and western bell-cote, and an aisleless chancel partly flanked on the south by a chapel.

The evidence which suggests a pre-Conquest

date for the core of the nave was set out by Knowles in 1931 and may be summarized as follows:¹

(a) The north arcade may confidently be dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the south arcade to the end of the twelfth. But changes of detail in the treatment of the capitals of the south arcade indicate that its construction occupied a period of twenty years or more. It therefore seems clear that the arcades were cut through the walls of an earlier, aisleless nave.

(b) The walls of the nave, above the arcades, are only 2 ft 2 in. thick, and are of a total height of over 20 ft. Such thin, tall walls would have been unusual in a church built by the Normans, but would have been in keeping with a pre-Norman date.

(c) A stone carving of the Virgin and Child, now preserved in the south-east chapel, may be dated with some confidence to the first half of the eleventh century; therefore it is reasonable to assume that there was a church here at that period.

¹ W. H. Knowles, *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S.* 53 (1931), 191-205.

To this evidence we would add as confirmation that the south-west quoin of the nave, which alone of all the quoins has remained partially visible, is built without any use of dressed stone, using only thin flat pieces of rubble, similar to the fabric of the walls themselves. Moreover, the south doorway through which one enters the church, down two steps from the south porch, is of an early and primitive character, unlike any ordinary Norman workmanship. Its imposts are of plain thin slabs of stone, without any ornament, and a simple roll-moulding is carried up the arris of each jamb and round the head of the opening. The only reasonable explanation of this primitive doorway in the outer wall of the aisle is that it was the original south doorway of the aisleless nave and that it was re-erected in its present position when the aisle was added on the south of the nave.

Only the briefest account need be given here of the sculptured stone. It shows the Virgin seated, clad in a hooded robe, with the infant Christ on her knee. An interesting feature is the hand of God, which appears at the top right corner of the stone, above the nimbed head of Christ. The importance of the appearance of the hand of God as evidence of the pre-Conquest date of a piece of sculpture was first pointed out by Casson and later emphasized by Clapham, but neither made specific reference to the Inglesham slab in this context.¹

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 25 ft 6 in. long internally, by 13 ft 6 in. wide, with walls only 2 ft 2 in. thick and about 21 ft high. The carved stone is about 2 ft wide and about 2 ft 6 in. tall.

REFERENCES

- W. H. KNOWLES, 'The church of St John Baptist, Inglesham', *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S.* 53 (1931), 191-205. Detailed architectural description, with many elevations, sections, and photographs. Plan, 193. Sculpture, 197.
- D. T. RICE, *English Art, 871-1100* (Oxford, 1952), 85, 106 and pl. 154.
- T. D. KENDRICK, *Late-Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), 43.

INGRAM

Northumberland

Map sheet 71, reference NU 019163

ST MICHAEL

Nave: possibly pre-Conquest

This remote church, about 9 miles north-north-west of Rothbury, beside the upper waters of the Till, has a square Norman west tower which is clearly a later addition to a pre-existing nave. The tall, thin walls of the nave have later been pierced by pointed arcades, but considerable sections of the original walling remain at the west as evidence of the earlier, aisleless, plan. No doorways or windows have survived to fix the character of the original fabric with certainty, but we are inclined to accept it as pre-Conquest on the evidence of its having preceded the Norman tower and of its thin side walls.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 29 ft 6 in. long internally and 11 ft 6 in. wide, with side walls 2 ft thick and 19 ft high.

REFERENCES

- F. R. WILSON, *Churches of the Archdeaconry of Lindisfarne* (Newcastle, 1870), 92-3.
- History of Northumberland*, 14, ed. M. H. Dodds (Newcastle, 1935), 463-70. Plan, 464. West wall of nave dated c. 1050. Tower said to be Saxo-Norman, but rebuilt 1895-1908 on old foundations with original materials.

INWORTH

Essex

Map sheet 149, reference TL 879178

Figure 496

ALL SAINTS

Nave and chancel: period C3

The quiet charm of the flat eastern districts of Essex is well illustrated by the fruit-growing area

¹ S. Casson, *Burl. Mag.* 61 (1932), 265-74, and 62 (1933), 26-36. A. W. Clapham, *Ant.* 25 (1951), 191-5.

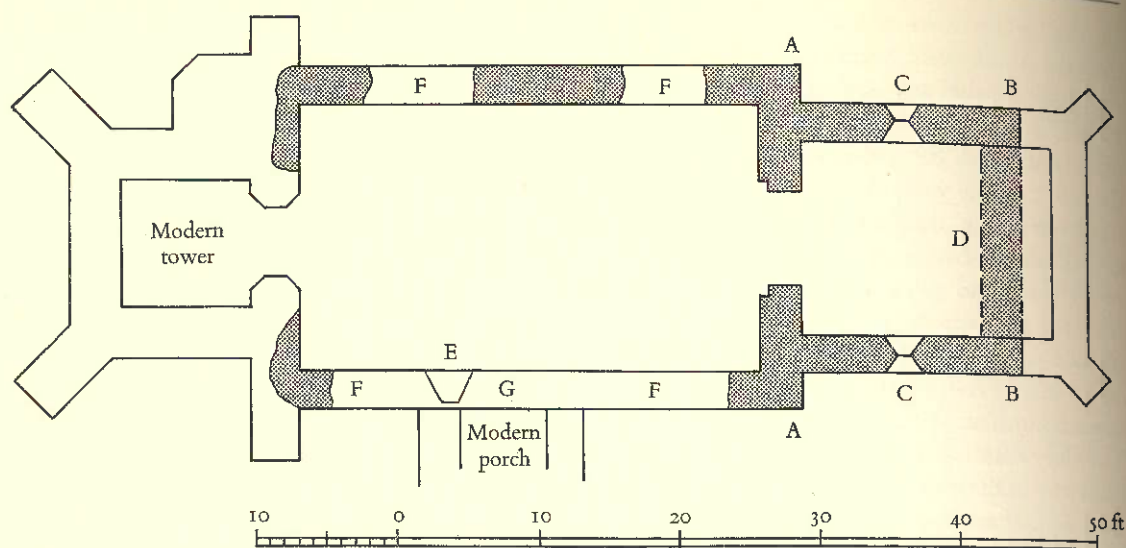


FIG. 145. INWORTH, ESSEX

A, original east quoins of nave; B, original east quoins of chancel; C, original double-splayed windows; D, line of original east wall of chancel, now destroyed; E, blocked window, apparently single-splayed; F, parts of walls broken away for insertion of later windows; G, position of present south doorway.

which has made Inworth's neighbour Tiptree a well-known household name. Although most of the surrounding country is fairly level, the land at Inworth slopes quite steeply westward towards the valley of the Blackwater, beside which a Roman road ran from Chelmsford to Colchester.

The church still contains the greater part of the original eleventh-century fabric, but its chancel was lengthened eastward in the fourteenth century, and a massive red-brick west tower was added in 1867-8. The walls of the original church are of flint, with some admixture of stone, Roman bricks, and a brownish agglomerate known as puddingstone, which is particularly in evidence at the quoins and window-heads. The original eastern quoins of the chancel, of the same side-alternate construction in puddingstone as those of the eastern angles of the nave, may be seen about 6 ft from the present east end. The late-Saxon character of the chancel is indicated by the survival of two round-headed, double-splayed windows, of which that in the south wall narrowly escaped destruction when a pointed south doorway was inserted in the wall just below it. The soffits of both windows are mainly of flint, but the angles are faced with well-dressed blocks of pudding-stone. The heads are neatly laid with

radial joints, and with a single course of Roman brick to mark the springing.

Within the nave, the splayed jambs and round head of a third window, now blocked, may be seen just to the west of the south door, but this window is larger than those of the chancel, and its inward-splayed jambs continue through the greater part of the wall in a way which suggests that it was probably single-splayed, and perhaps a later Norman insertion.

The round-headed chancel-arch may be accepted with some reserve as original on the evidence of its two plain square orders and its simple, chamfered imposts, which are returned along each of the wall-faces for about a foot. Unfortunately, all other details of the construction of the arch are hidden beneath plaster, which, however, carries interesting medieval wall-paintings.

On either side of the chancel-arch the west wall of the chancel is pierced by a much later, pointed, opening which seems to have served to give a direct view of the high altar from altars placed on either side of the arch.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 33 ft long internally by 19 ft 9 in. wide, and the chancel, which is now 19 ft 6 in.

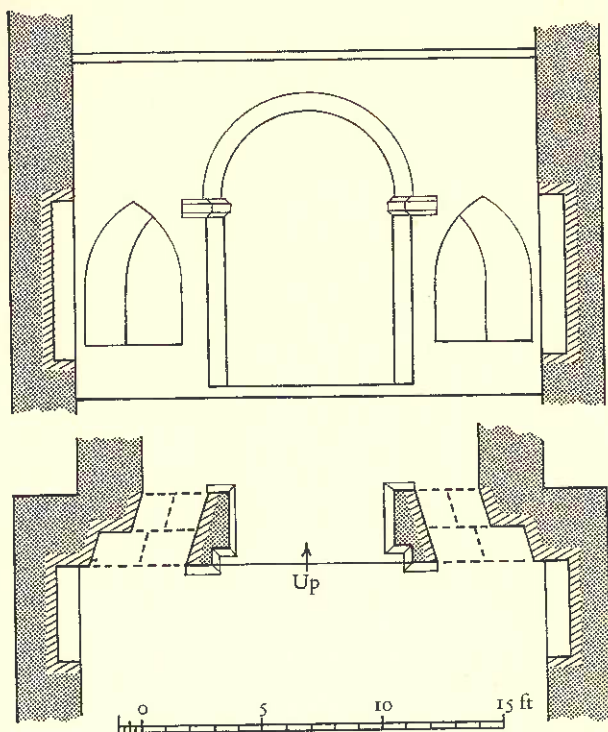


FIG. 146. INWORTH, ESSEX

Detail of the chancel-arch and of the walling in the vicinity of it.

long by 15 ft wide, must originally have been only about 13 ft long. The walls are about 2 ft 8 in. thick and the chancel-arch is 6 ft 10 in. wide and 11 ft 2 in. tall if measured from the floor of the nave. The double-splayed windows of the chancel have apertures 1 ft wide and 2 ft 3 in. tall, splayed to become 3 ft 1 in. by 3 ft 9 in. in the wall-faces; the oak frames in the middle of the wall seem to be modern.

REFERENCES

- F. CHANCELLOR, 'Inworth church', *T. Essex Arch. S.*, n.s. 9 (1904-5), 357-60. Fabric dated early Norman rather than Saxon.
- R.C.H.M. *Essex, North East*, 3 (London, 1922), 138-9. Description, pictures and plan. Fabric dated to eleventh century.

IVER

Buckinghamshire

Map sheet 160, reference TQ 040811

ST PETER

Side walls of nave, above later arches; and part of north wall of chancel: period C 3

The village of Iver, although within 2 miles south-west of Uxbridge, has still preserved much of its rural charm, and the church of St Peter, standing at the east of the village, has a view over open fields. At first sight the church would not be placed earlier than the thirteenth century, for its west tower and aisleless chancel are of that date, while the aisles and clear-storey of the nave are of the fifteenth; but the Anglo-Saxon character of the walls of the nave is suggested by the curious construction of their eastern quoins, and is confirmed by the survival of the greater part of a double-splayed window.

Externally, on the south, only a little of the pre-Conquest walling is visible in the immediate vicinity of the south-east quoin of the nave, for the chancel and the east wall of the south aisle are built close to the angle; but on the north side of the nave about 10 ft of the original walling is visible

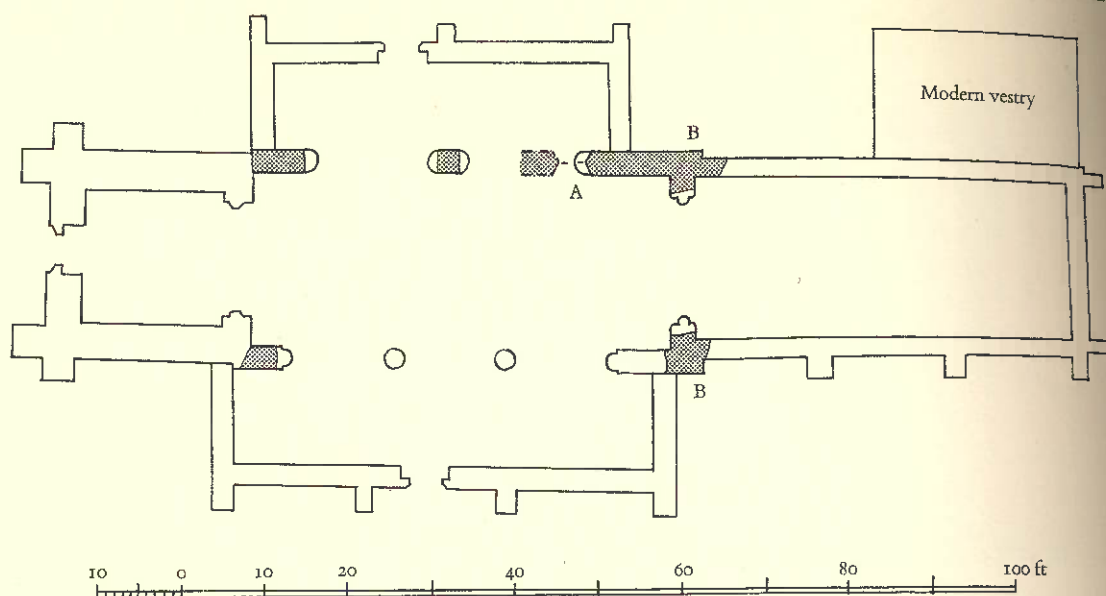


FIG. 147. IVER, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

General plan showing the surviving early work in relation to the present church. A, blocked double-splayed window. The eastern jamb is visible in the nave and in the aisle. The western jamb has been destroyed but its former position as shown on the plan can be inferred from the curve of the head; B, eastern quoins of the nave, at ground level. There is an off-set at a height of about 12 ft, above which level the quoins are about 1 ft further westward.

to the west of the north-east quoin. The wall is built largely of flints with some puddingstone; and the quoin is of flints, strengthened at intervals with bonding courses each formed of a group of Roman tiles. The original north wall of the nave is all in one plane, without string-course or off-set; but the east wall has an off-set at a height of about 12 ft above the ground, the upper wall being set back about 1 ft to the west. On both north and south quoins, this inclined off-set has been arranged by building a block of dressed stone into the quoin at that point, with its upper face chamfered off at the appropriate angle, and then continuing for some distance horizontally westward to bond into the wall. It is difficult to understand the purpose of this off-set across the east wall of the nave, but it is found in other churches of this period, e.g. Framingham Earl and Barrow.

Internally, the spacious nave has a thirteenth-century south arcade of three pointed arches, supported on slender columns; but the two round Norman arches leading to the north aisle have been cut through the original wall, leaving long sections of it as responds at the east and west, as well as a section of the wall to serve as a pier between

the two arches. A round-headed, double-splayed window is visible in this north wall, with its western side cut into by the eastern arch of the Norman arcade. It is visible on both faces of the wall, but its north face, illustrated by Baldwin Brown (p. 461) is now in a very cramped position where the bad light makes observation difficult. The south face to the nave is, however, similar and shows about two-thirds of the arched head, with about three feet of the east jamb. The head is turned in carefully laid voussoirs of reddish sandstone, somewhat elaborately moulded; the outer hood-mould is set close to the wall-face, but ornamented by two concentric quirks, and then the archivolt is chamfered inward and ended as a raised roll-moulding at the arris of the internal splay. The jambs are quite plain, except for a roll on the arris. The other mouldings of the head stop on the jamb without any impost or capital, a peculiarity which Baldwin Brown compares with an early Norman doorway at St Nicholas, Caen, as evidence of the lateness of this work at Iver. There is no trace of the original chancel-arch and no evidence as to its width or height.

The Anglo-Saxon work in the north wall of the

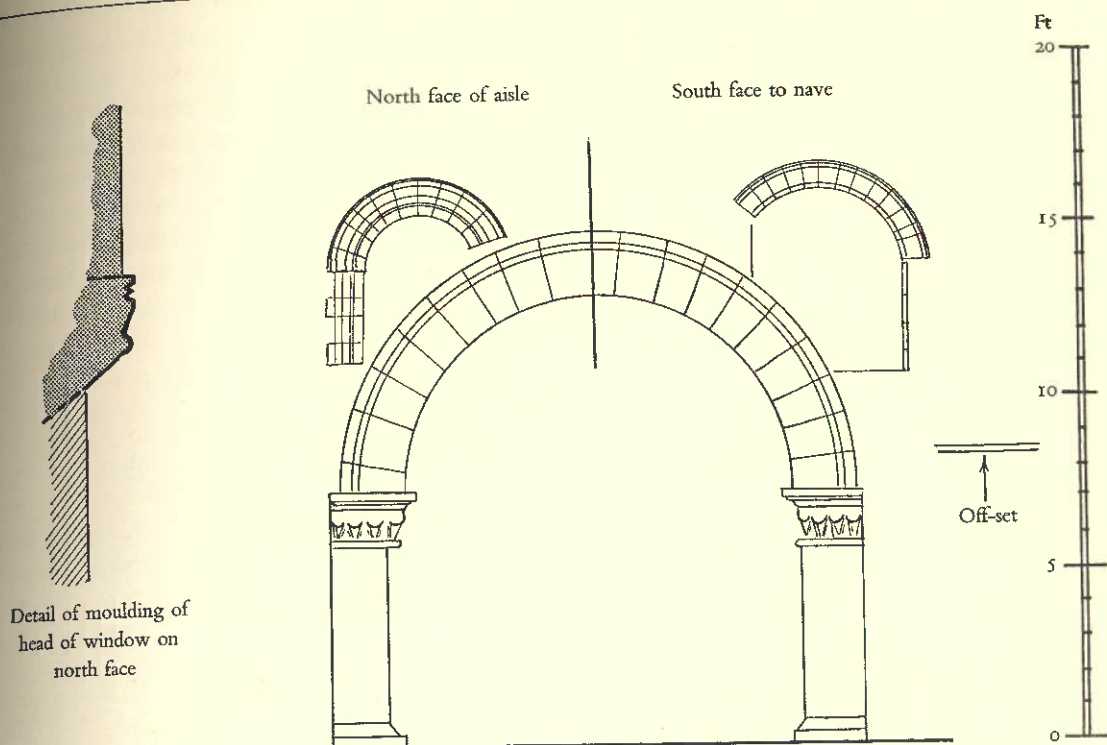


FIG. 148. IVER, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

Details of the surviving double-splayed window beside the eastern Norman arch in the north wall of the nave.

nave came to light during restoration of the church in 1848 by Mr G. G. Scott when a crack appeared in the wide pillar between the two Norman arches. On investigation, this crack was found to originate from an earlier doorway, which had been blocked up in the pier when the arcade was cut through the wall. Scott recorded that one jamb of this doorway was found in the walling, but he gave no details of it nor did he record whether he left it in the wall, covered by the later plaster, or whether it was removed in the process of strengthening the wall.¹ Nothing is now to be seen of it, nor was anything to be seen when Freeman visited the church in 1850.

Externally, beside the north-east quoin of the nave, it may be seen that a small but quite definite area of the north wall of the chancel is original and that the present wall was built against and over it. This surviving fragment serves to determine that the chancel was 13 in. narrower than the nave on the north.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 50 ft long internally, and 21 ft wide; its walls are 2 ft 9 in. thick and about 18 ft high, excluding the fifteenth-century clear-storey. On the evidence of the surviving fragment of its north wall, the chancel must originally have been about 19 ft wide internally.

The surviving parts of the north window of the nave indicate an opening about 4 ft 6 in. wide in the inner wall-face. The head is about 16 ft above the floor, and the present sill is at a height of about 11 ft, but the window may originally have been considerably deeper. If its sill was originally on the off-set (at a height of about 9 ft above the floor), the window would have been about 7 ft tall.

REFERENCES

G. G. SCOTT, 'On Anglo-Saxon remains at Iver and Wing', *Ecclesiologist*, II (1850), 58-9. Description of discoveries.

¹ G. G. Scott, *Ecclesiologist*, II (1850), 58-9.

E. A. FREEMAN, 'On Anglo-Saxon remains at Iver church', *Arch. J.* 7 (1850), 147-56. Description of discoveries and carefully argued case for the existence of an Anglo-Saxon style and a pre-Conquest date. Elevation of north arcade.

R.C.H.M., *Buckinghamshire (South)* (London, 1912), 219-20. Description, photograph of north-east quoin and plan.

V.C.H., *Buckinghamshire*, 3 (London, 1925), 291-2.

JARROW

County Durham

Map sheet 78, reference NZ 339652

Figures 497-500

ST PAUL

Chancel, formerly an eastern chapel of the monastery of St Paul: period A2

Lower part of tower, built to unite the main church of the monastery with the eastern chapel: probably period A3

Upper part of tower: period C3

Considerable monastic remains contemporary with upper part of tower: period C3

The main church of the monastery (on the site of the present nave) survived until 1782. The building erected in its place was demolished in 1866 and replaced by the present nave.

INTRODUCTION

Within the walls of the monastery of St Paul, at Jarrow, on the south bank of the Tyne, the Venerable Bede lived all but the first few years of his life. There he saw the early development of the twin monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth; and there he wrote his many books, including the *Lives of the Holy Abbots* in which he described so fully the early history of the twin monasteries. After allowance has been made for decay by the passage of time, for destruction by heathen raiders, and for replacements in the ordinary course of development, it is remarkable that so much of the early fabric has remained; but it is tantalizing that

so much more survived until the eighteenth century, and was then demolished without the keeping of proper records. It is doubly tantalizing that the absence of these records means that it will probably never be possible to settle with certainty what nevertheless seems very probable, namely, that the church which was then demolished was the original church of the monastery, the Basilica of St Paul, whose dedication-stone is still preserved in the modern nave.

OUTLINE HISTORY

Bede recounts how Benedict Biscop, a Northumbrian noble, travelled abroad and studied in Rome and in the island of Lerins, before returning to England with Archbishop Theodore, to become abbot of the monastery of St Peter and St Paul at Canterbury; and how, after a further visit to Rome, he returned to his native Northumbria, where he founded the monastery of St Peter at Monkwearmouth in the year 674, on land given him for the purpose by King Egfrid. For this purpose Benedict not only sent for makers of glass from Gaul, in order to glaze the windows; but, after a later visit to Rome, brought with him from St Peter's church John the archchanter, to teach the English monks the Roman method of chanting. He also brought books, relics and pictures for the adornment of his new church. Bede goes on to recount how King Egfrid, delighted by Benedict's virtues and zealous piety, gave him further land at Jarrow, to build the monastery of St Paul, with the condition that the two monasteries should always be united. As Benedict found that his journeys abroad made it impossible for him satisfactorily to rule both monasteries, Ceolfrid was made Abbot of Jarrow, and Easterwine of Monkwearmouth; but both were subject to Benedict.¹

The inscribed stone which is still preserved in the church records that the dedication of the Basilica of St Paul took place on a date which would now be described as 23 April 684 or 685, in the fifteenth year of King Egfrid and in Ceolfrid's fourth year as Abbot.²

¹ Bede, *Lives of the Holy Abbots*, ed. C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, I (Oxford, 1896), 364-87; or tr. J. Stevenson (Everyman's Library, no. 479) (London, 1954), 349-65.

² The date is most usually cited as 685, but Plummer shows that there is some doubt whether it should not be 684 (C. Plummer, *loc. cit.* 2 (Oxford, 1896), 211 and 361; also 361 for details of the inscription).

From Symeon of Durham and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* we learn that in 794 the Danes ravaged the port of Egfrid and pillaged the monastery at Jarrow; but, although no doubt damaged, the monastery must have survived this raid, for Symeon records that in the eleventh century a memorial to Bede stood in the north porticus of St Paul's church, where he had been buried. Symeon also recounts what appears to have been the scandalous theft of the bones of Bede by a monk of Durham, in the time of Bishop Eadmund (c. 1020-41), when these sacred relics were transferred to the Cathedral, where they are now buried in the Galilee Porch.¹

After the Conquest, William laid waste the north country during the winter of 1069-70 as a retribution for the massacre of his garrison at Durham, and the church of St Paul was burned during this devastation. But about 1074 an Anglo-Saxon monk named Aldwine came north from Winchcombe in Gloucestershire and, after various wanderings, was encouraged by Bishop Walcher of Durham to restore the monastery at Jarrow, which Symeon says was found in a roofless and ruined state. Unfortunately Walcher was murdered at Gateshead in 1080, and his successor, William de Carileph, moved the monks of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth to Durham in 1083, and made the two abbeys into cells of Durham, inhabited only by a few monks. When Leland visited Jarrow shortly before the Dissolution in 1540, he recorded that there were but three poor monks, who showed him a little oratory on the north side of the church, and an altar which they described as that of the Venerable Bede.

The architectural history is continued by three drawings and a plan, which are preserved in the British Museum and all three of which have recently been published in a guide-book which is for sale in the church.² The first drawing, made by the brothers Buck in 1728, shows the church and monastic buildings from the south-west. An

anonymous internal elevation and plan is dated 1769, and the third drawing, made by J. Grim about 1780, shows the church from the north. These drawings and plan are of the utmost importance in connecting the present buildings with the past, for the whole of the church to the west of the tower was demolished in 1782, with no record other than these pictures and a verbal description in W. Hutchinson's *History of Durham* (Newcastle, 1787), as follows:

The entrance into the church was by a low porch with a circular arch on the north jamb of which was the figure of a crozier staff, stripped from some of the ancient tombs. The descent into the nave was by three deep steps, on the sides of which were two pointed arches, that to the north built up, the other opening into a porch used as a vestry-room. The groins were sprung from brackets and the span was about twenty feet. The nave was 28 paces in length and only 6 in breadth; so that from the height of the side-walls, which were nearly 30 feet, and the small irregular windows scattered on each side, the edifice had a very singular appearance. Some of the windows were under circular arches, others pointed, and all the walling so patched and irregular that it was not to be distinguished to what age any part of it belonged. The congregation had deserted the nave for some years, perhaps from dread of being buried in its ruins, and only the chancel was used for divine service.

The new nave built in 1782 was itself wholly replaced by Sir Gilbert Scott in 1866, when a number of ancient carved stones were found, used as common building stones during the reconstruction of 1782. These have now been displayed in safety in the north porch of the modern nave.³

EXTERIOR OF THE EXISTING CHURCH

Sir Gilbert Scott's vast nineteenth-century nave is best ignored, and attention concentrated on the surviving Anglo-Saxon remains, namely, the present chancel and the tower separating it from the nave.

The present chancel is a long rectangular building, with walls built in courses of roughly squared blocks of stone, many of which show

¹ Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelm. Ecclesiae*, and *Hist. Regum*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series, 75, I and II), I (London, 1882), II (London, 1885): Jarrow raided by Danes, I, 51 and II, 56; Bede's memorial, I, 42; theft of Bede's bones, I, 88; Jarrow burnt by William, II, 189; arrival of Aldwine, II, 201; murder of Walcher, II, 210; removal of Aldwine to Durham, I, 122.

² B. Colgrave and T. Romans, *A Guide to St Paul's Church, Jarrow* (Gloucester, undated), 4 and 8. These important drawings have also been published by several earlier writers, see list in References.

³ These stones are described on p. 348. With those at Hexham and Monkwearmouth they give very important evidence of Northumbrian skill in architectural sculpture.

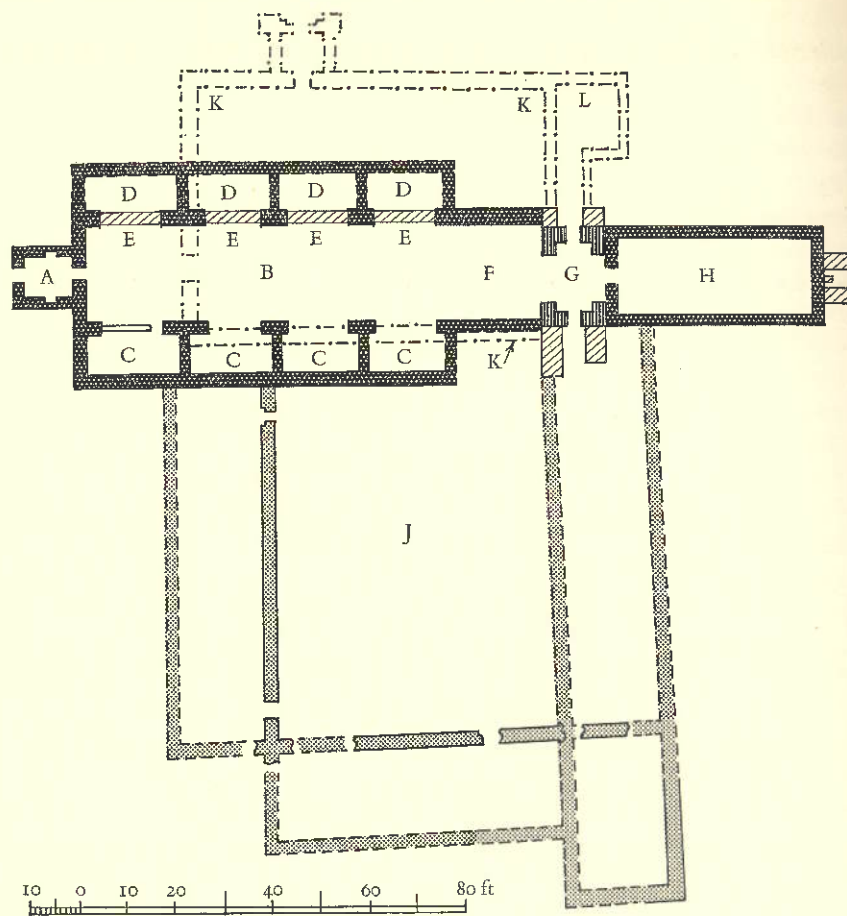


FIG. 149. JARROW, COUNTY DURHAM

General site plan. A, west porch; B, nave; C, south chapels (A, B and C: original main church, demolished in 1782 but recorded in British Museum drawing of 1769); D, north chapels demolished before 1769 but inferred from the showing of arches at E in the British Museum drawing; E, four arches of north arcade shown in drawing; compare with surviving arcades at Brixworth and Wing; F, probable area of the chancel of the main church before the eastern chapel H was connected to it by the porch G; G, connecting porch, later used as base for Aldwine's late eleventh-century tower; H, eastern chapel, originally separate, but joined quite early to the main church by the porch G; J, lawn of late eleventh-century cloister, still partially enclosed by remains of buildings of Aldwine's period; K, outline of Scott's nineteenth-century nave; L, vestry.

signs of Roman tooling. The eastern quoins are good examples of side-alternate quoining, in which stones much larger than those of the walling are used, as at Monkwearmouth and Escomb. The foot of the north-east quoin rests on a simple square plinth, which is not in evidence elsewhere but which may have been destroyed or covered. Quoining of a similar nature may be seen at the west end of the north wall, and traces of similar work at the west of the south wall; while excavation has shown the existence of the foundations of

a complete west wall as shown at I in Fig. 150,¹ thus proving that the present chancel was at first a separate building, which, as is shown below, was probably a subsidiary chapel, eastward of the main church of St Paul. The masonry of the east wall has been much disturbed and there are traces of a wide opening which might have led to an apse or other eastern extension. It is unfortunately impossible to confirm the nature of this by excavation because the ground to the east is said to have been completely disturbed by a medieval vault.²

¹ H. E. Savage, *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., 22 (1900), 36.

² H. E. Savage, *loc. cit.* 36.

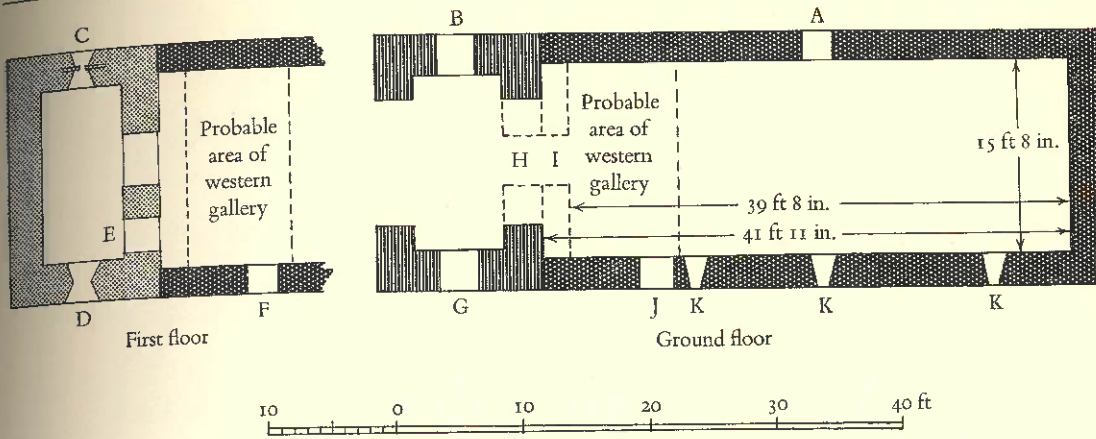


FIG. 150. JARROW, COUNTY DURHAM

Plan of the surviving chancel and lower part of the tower. A, original north doorway, now blocked (see Fig. 152); B, north doorway of tower, now much rebuilt and leading to modern vestry; C, double-splayed north window, probably of Aldwine's period (see Fig. 154); D, double-splayed south window, now used as a doorway; E, blocked doorway of early character (see Fig. 152); F, vestiges of high side doorway (see Fig. 151); G, south doorway of tower, now blocked, but of early character (see Fig. 153); H, the dotted lines indicate the former existence of a narrow arch, contemporary with the main fabric, but later almost wholly cut away to give place to the present wide Norman arches; I, the dotted lines indicate the former west wall and west doorway of the separate eastern chapel; J, vestiges of south doorway (see Fig. 153); K, three original round-headed single-splayed windows (for details of one see Fig. 151).

In the south wall of the chancel are three very interesting small original windows, whose jambs are each formed of one upright and one flat stone, and whose round heads are cut from single stones, shaped to a curve both below and above. The apertures of two of these windows are partially closed by stone slabs, which are placed flush with the outer face of the wall. One of these slabs is pierced with a circular opening and the other with a round-headed opening similar in shape to the window itself. There has been much division of opinion about the date of these slabs, and the reason for their insertion; but opinion now seems to be in favour of their being contemporary with the windows, and of their having been used for the reason suggested by Longstaffe when he saved them from destruction during Gilbert Scott's work on the church in 1866,¹ namely, that the builders had no pieces of glass of the size of the windows, and that the stone slabs were therefore used as frames.

Near the west end of the south wall, high up, and close to the east arch of the three-light Decorated window, there may be seen the eastern jamb and part of the arched head of a blocked

opening, all of which may also be clearly seen from inside the church. In his description of the church in 1893 Hodges suggested that this, and a similar blocked opening which he thought he could see in the north wall, were so like the windows at Monkwearmouth that they were almost certainly the remains of Benedict's original windows; while the three lower small windows were insertions, dating from the restoration after the Danish raid of 794. To us, this theory seems to be open to grave objections. In the first place, the three lower windows show every sign of being contemporary with the main structure, and they are also very like those at Escomb, for which an early date is generally accepted. Secondly, the remains that are visible higher up in the south wall at Jarrow are not really similar to the west windows at Monkwearmouth. Internally there is indeed a resemblance, but externally the head is a wide arched opening like the interior, whereas at Monkwearmouth the outer face of each window is a narrow opening covered by a single stone.

Careful measurement of these remains has convinced us that the stones of the jamb and of the arched head are so placed on the exterior and

¹ C. C. Hodges, *Reliquary*, n.s., 7 (1893), 153.

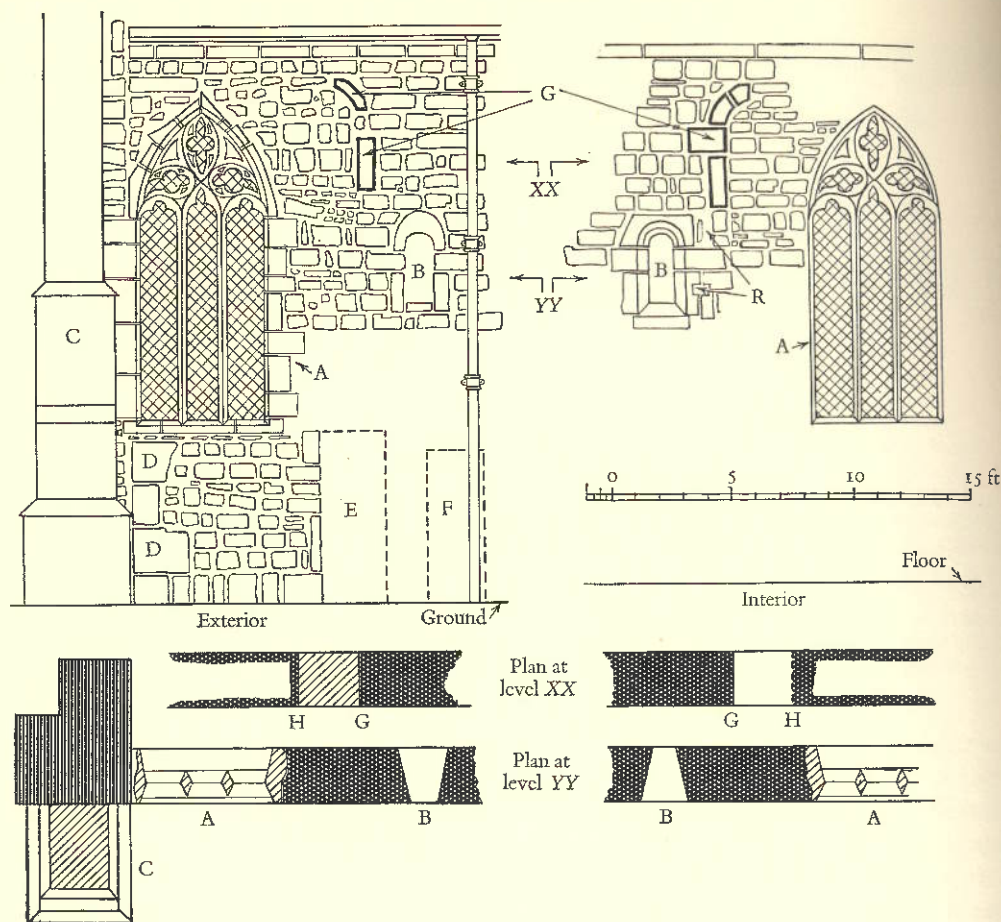


FIG. 151. JARROW, COUNTY DURHAM

Elevation and plans of the south wall, showing the blocked upper doorway. A, decorated window; B, Anglo-Saxon single-splayed window; C, post-Reformation buttress; D, Anglo-Saxon western quoin; E, blocked Anglo-Saxon doorway (J in Fig. 150); F, blocked later medieval doorway; G, remains of Anglo-Saxon high side doorway (F in Fig. 150). The surviving eastern quoin and stones of the arch are emphasized in the drawing by thicker outlines; H, conjectural position, in plan, of the western jamb of the doorway; R, recesses, probably for joists to carry the western gallery.

interior faces of the wall as to prove that the opening was cut straight through the wall, like a doorway; and was not splayed as one would have expected an Anglo-Saxon window to be. Two doorways placed high up near the western ends of the side walls of a church have long been known at Tredington, Warwickshire;¹ and two similarly placed doorways have recently been discovered at Wing, Buckinghamshire.² We believe that the opening at Jarrow is a further instance of an upper doorway to a western gallery, and a much earlier

example of this interesting feature than either of the two that were previously known.³

At ground level, below the upper doorway and the western of the three small windows, are traces of the blocked remains of two doorways; the western of these, just to the east of the large Decorated window, is almost certainly pre-Conquest, and the more complete survival further east is a later doorway which was still in use in 1846.⁴

In the north wall none of the original windows has survived, but a blocked round-headed door-

¹ G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 483.

² A. V. Woodman, *R. Bucks.* 16 (1953-6), 50 and 114.

³ For a fuller discussion see *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. P. A. M. Clemoes (London, 1959), 138-41.

⁴ R. W. Billings, *Illustrations . . . of the County of Durham* (Durham, 1846).

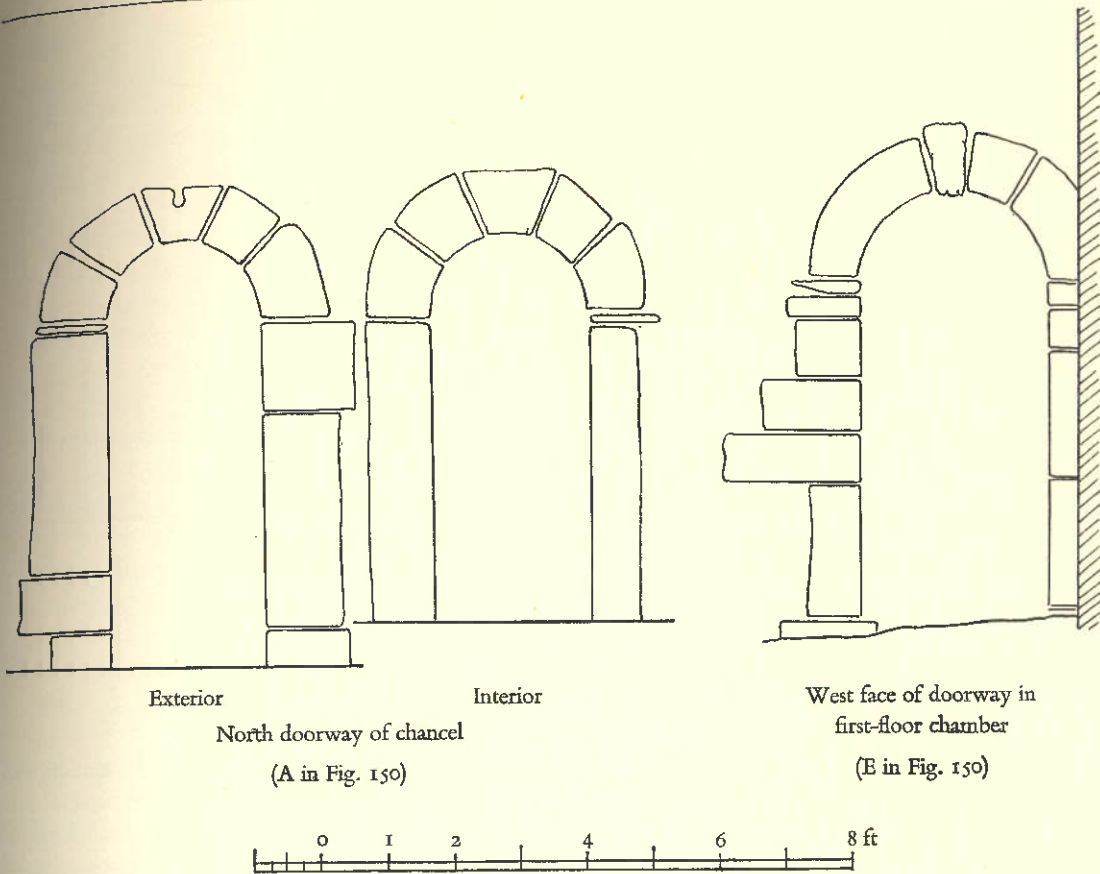


FIG. 152. JARROW, COUNTY DURHAM

Comparative doorways: interior and exterior elevations of the north doorway of the chancel, and west face of the doorway in the first-floor chamber of the tower. The doorway E is shown in Fig. 498.

way is almost certainly original. It is tall and narrow, with jambs formed mainly of large upright stones; and its head is formed of five closely jointed voussoirs of which that at the top has the remains of a Roman lewis-hole or cramp-hole in its upper edge. The tall narrow window above this doorway is completely different in character from the original windows in the south wall and is to be interpreted as a Norman insertion.

The east face of the building is, unfortunately, obscured by three later buttresses. Partially hidden by the outer pair of buttresses there should be noticed two upright stones in the original wall, as if to mark the jambs of an opening to an eastern extension. Indications of a straight vertical joint can also be seen in the interior face of this wall, but the evidence is far from sufficient by itself to prove that there was ever an eastern extension. In particular it should be noted that if the vertical

stones which are visible externally had been the jambs of a chancel-arch, the side walls of the eastern extension would have joined the existing east wall between these jambs and the existing quoin-stones; in fact, the east wall is quite undisturbed in both these areas, and if there ever was an eastern extension it must therefore have been simply built against the existing east wall without any bonding into it.

Probable architectural history

On several grounds it seems impossible that this present chancel, even with a vanished apse, could have been the monastic church of St Paul whose foundation is described by Bede and recorded on the dedication stone in the modern nave. In the first place, Symeon of Durham recorded that the memorial to Bede stood in a northern *porticus* of the church of St Paul, and no trace of any such *porticus*

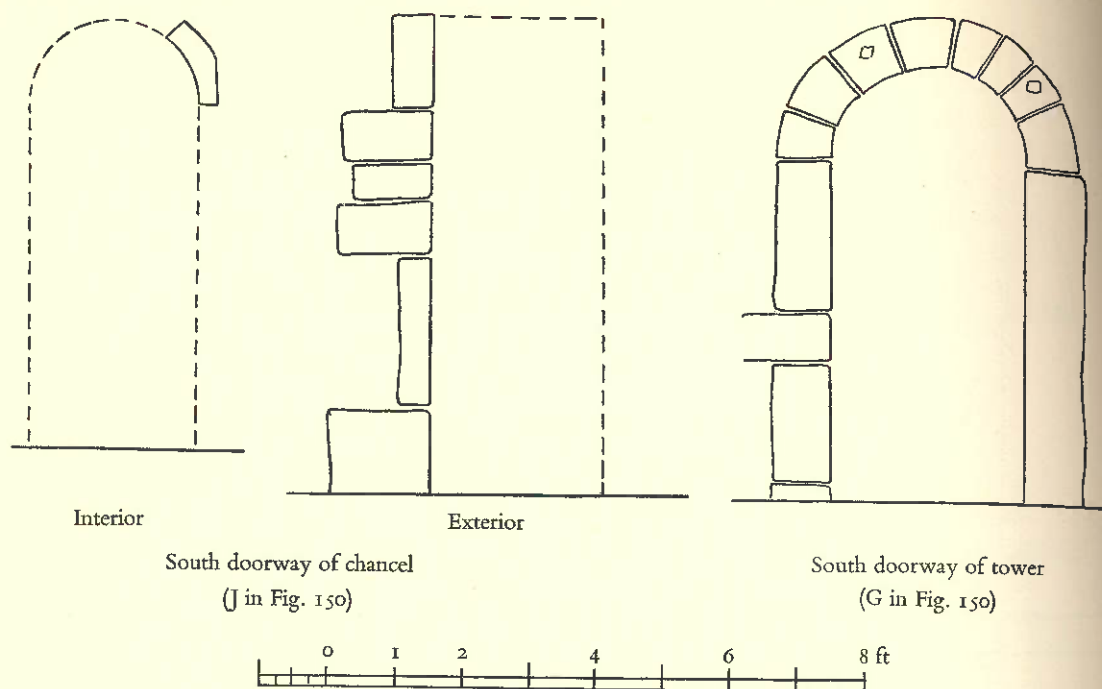


FIG. 153. JARROW, COUNTY DURHAM

Comparative doorways: interior and exterior elevations of the vestiges of the south doorway of the chancel, and elevation of the south doorway of the tower.

exists beside the present chancel. Secondly, the present chancel would surely have been too small for the principal church of so great a monastery.¹ By comparison with the small surviving chancel, the old nave destroyed in 1782 seems much more likely to have been Benedict's basilica dedicated to St Paul. Hutchinson's description and the anonymous plan and elevation of 1769 give a picture of a building about 90 ft long and 19 ft wide, with a western porch of two storeys. It was originally flanked by aisles or side-chapels and, although those on the north had vanished by 1769, both sides of the nave had arcades of round arches supported by piers. This gives a picture which is not only reasonable for the needs of such a monastery but is also closely paralleled by the surviving church at Brixworth which is almost certainly a work of the seventh century, and by the picture which we have reconstructed for the church which Wilfrid built at Hexham between 672 and 678.

The present chancel had its own west wall, of which the north and south quoins and the west doorway have already been mentioned. It must, therefore, have been a separate chapel, standing to the east of the main church, just as St Mary's chapel stood to the east of the main church in St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury. In this connexion it should be remembered that Benedict Biscop was for two years abbot of St Augustine's before he founded his own abbeys at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow; it should also be remembered that Bede gives evidence for there having been at least three churches at Monkwearmouth, namely, the principal church of St Peter, another dedicated to St Mary, and the oratory of St Lawrence.

We know from the writings of the monk Gocelin how the two churches at Canterbury were joined together by Wulfic between 1047 and 1059. We have no similar written evidence for the corresponding work at Jarrow, but the lower part of the central tower represents just such a joining

¹ Jarrow and Monkwearmouth jointly are recorded as having about 600 brethren at the time when

Ceolfrid left on his last journey. (See the anonymous *Life of Ceolfrith*, D. Whitelock, *E.H.D.* (1955), 706.)

of the two earlier churches. It has commonly been assumed that this joining was the work of Aldwine, but Gilbert has recently advanced cogent arguments for believing that at least the ground and first floors of the structure that now joins the two churches were the work of a much earlier period, and that Aldwine raised his tower on this existing structure, no doubt repairing it where necessary, and strengthening it internally by thickening its walls.¹ Gilbert's arguments may be summarized as follows: in the first place, there is in the outer face of the south side of the tower a doorway of the same primitive type as that in the north of the present chancel; secondly, in the first-floor chamber of the tower, the interior face of a doorway that originally opened eastward towards the present chancel is of the same primitive form, and is overlapped on the south by a later thickening of the south wall. It is of interest to note that this blocked doorway is at the right height to have opened to the gallery whose former presence in the west of the present chancel we have already postulated in connexion with the remains of a doorway high up in the south wall of the chancel. We therefore believe that the existence of the two early doorways in the lower storeys of the tower may be accepted as establishing that the two separate churches were joined together at quite an early stage of their existence, no doubt before the Danish raids began in 794. As described below, the double-splayed windows in the first floor are late-Saxon and are to be regarded as insertions associated with Aldwine's repair and extension, while all the work above the first floor is late-Saxon or Saxo-Norman. The second floor is therefore certainly to be attributed to Aldwine, while the upper belfry stage might even be later.

The exterior of the central tower

The great buttresses are later additions to the tower and should be ignored in considering its relation to the early church. It is at once apparent that the tower is not bonded into the walls of the chancel, but is merely built up against its western quoins. The curious oblong shape of the tower should also be noted, as well as the expedient

whereby the north and south walls are sloped inward below the belfry while the east and west walls continue vertically upward in order to make the belfry more nearly square in plan than the lower stages.

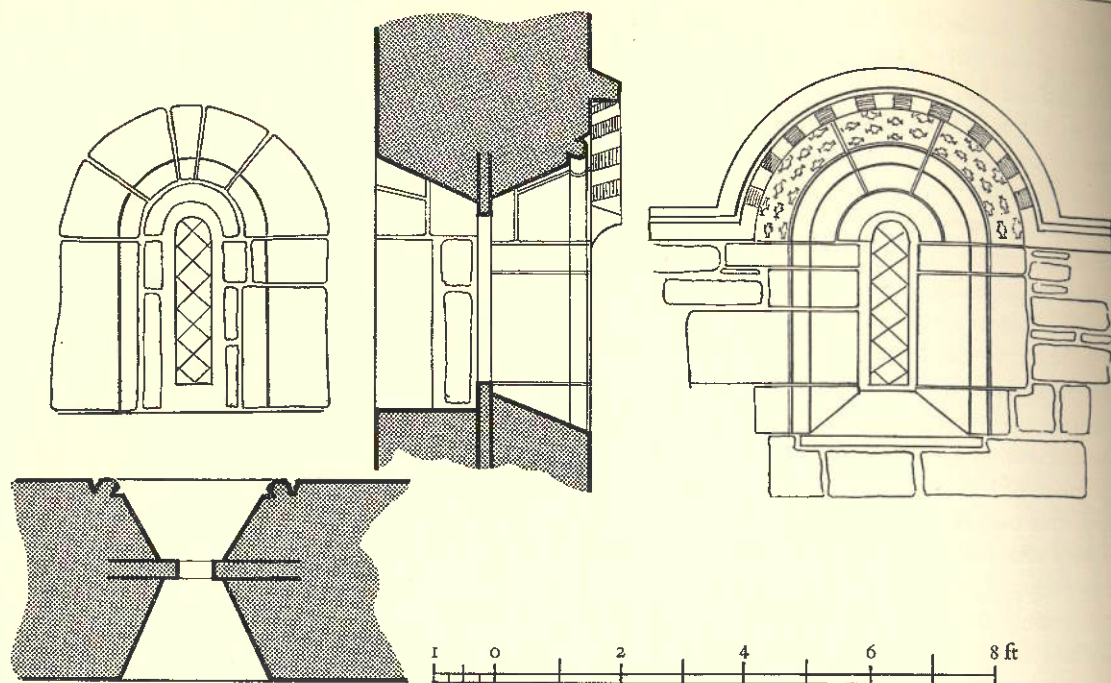
The belfry has double windows like those of a Norman triforium, in which the main arch has beneath it, and recessed behind it, a semicircular tympanum, which is carried on two smaller arches whose inner ends spring from a single shaft placed in the centre of the wall. This Norman form of construction, with small stones and with a semicircular tympanum, is in sharp contrast with the late-Saxon form of the double windows in the stage next below, where large through-stones are in evidence, and where the inner ends of the twin arches are supported by a through-stone slab.

Each of the east and west faces of the belfry has two Norman double windows, while each of the narrower north and south faces has only one. It should also be noted how the belfry stage differs from the work below, by the way in which each double window, except that on the north, is recessed behind the wall-face, in a rectangular area which outlines the whole window.

Below the belfry, the tower presents late-Saxon rather than Norman features. A blocked opening in the west face of the third storey has a triangular head, such as will be noted later in the surviving monastic buildings. There is no opening to the east, at this level, but the line of an older and more steeply pitched roof may be seen on the east face of the tower. The north and south windows at this level are of the late-Saxon double belfry type. Their arched heads are mainly of through-stones, and the through-stone slabs which support them in the centre rest on simple cylindrical shafts which do not have capitals, as do those in the upper belfry. Moreover, their square jambs, unlike those of the upper belfry, are constructed of massive stones, much larger than the ordinary stones of the walling. The window in the north face is, however, abnormal in that two cylindrical shafts support its through-stone slab instead of one, the shafts being placed so as to divide the length of the slab roughly into three equal parts. It should also be

¹ E. Gilbert, *P. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, 5th ser., I (1951-6), 311-33, particularly 322 and 330. The early character of

the lower part of the tower had previously been suggested by H. E. Savage, *loc. cit.* particularly 39.



North window in first floor of tower
(C in Fig. 150)

FIG. 154. JARROW, COUNTY DURHAM

Details of the north window in the first floor of the tower (see also Fig. 499).

noted how the through-stone slab in the south window is corbel-shaped below, in a way that is to be seen in other late-Saxon belfries such as Sompting, Scartho and Heapham.

In the second storey, only the north and south faces appear externally; and each of these originally contained a double-splayed, round-headed window. In the south face, the window has long been used as a doorway, to which access is gained by a flight of wooden steps. The jambs and head of this southern window are formed of dressed stones that are entirely devoid of ornament; but the corresponding north window is quite elaborately ornamented, and has commonly been described as Norman. The ornament might suggest Norman influence, but the jambs are built in a megalithic fashion which is characteristic of Anglo-Saxon rather than Norman work. Moreover, double-splayed windows are perhaps one of the most dis-

tinctive features of late-Saxon workmanship and are almost unknown in England after the Conquest.¹ Most of the double-splayed windows in England are built of the same rubble fabric as the walls in which they stand, but double-splayed windows of dressed stone are fairly common in late-Saxon churches in the south and west. Since Aldwine came from the south-west, there seems to us to be no reason for doubting that these two windows are part of his work; and the ornament on the north window does not seem to us an obstacle to this belief. The checky ornament which surrounds the head of the window can be paralleled in a number of pre-Conquest settings, perhaps most closely on the cross at Irton in Cumberland, and the hood-moulding is chamfered above and ornamented below, by the cutting away of sections at intervals in a way which cannot correctly be described as Norman billet-ornament.²

¹ A. W. Clapham (1930), 113-14.

² Illustrations of this window often make the ornament appear much more Norman in character than it is. A

particularly bad misrepresentation was published by R. W. Billings, *Illustrations of...the County of Durham* (Durham, 1846), pl. III.

At ground level, only the south face of the tower is visible outside, and this contains the blocked round-headed doorway, of early character, to which reference has already been made. The interior face of this doorway is of much later character, but this need cause no surprise in view of the many changes which the tower has suffered.

INTERIOR OF THE EXISTING CHURCH

The first feature to be noted in the modern nave is the dedication stone, which is now built into the west face of the tower above its wide west arch. The inscription (not in facsimile) and its translation read as follows:

DEDICATIO BASILICAE SCI PAVLI
VIII KL MAI ANNO XV ECFRIDI
REG CEOLFRIDI ABB EIUSDEM QQ.
BCCLES DŌ AVCTORE CONDITORIS ANNO IIII

The dedication of the church of St Paul on the ninth of the Kalends of May in the fifteenth year of King Egfrid and the fourth year of Ceolfrid, Abbot, under God the founder of the church.

The anonymous plan and interior elevation of 1769 showed this stone built into the eastern part of the north wall of the old nave which was destroyed in 1782. It is therefore clear that the stone has been moved at least once from whatever was its original position.

Attention should next be given to the wide round arches which lead through the tower. These are of Norman proportions, each about 10 ft wide and 12 ft high, of a single square order, rising from square chamfered imposts, on jambs of simple square section. The walls are 3 ft thick, and the stones of the arches are not through-stones. Within the tower, it will be seen that round-headed doors originally opened to north and south, that on the north still used as an entry to the modern vestry, but that to the south now blocked.

Within the chancel, the principal features are the three small early windows in the south wall, all of essentially the same construction, and similar to the round-headed windows at Escomb.

The splayed jambs are seen to be large slabs which pass right through the wall, one stone in each jamb laid upright, and one laid flat to serve as an impost. The round heads are each formed from two stones: one on the outer face of the wall, and the other a much larger rectangular stone, with the wide internal splay of the head cut in its lower face (see B in Fig. 151).

High up near the west of the south wall there should next be noticed the jamb and part of the arched head of the blocked opening already noticed from outside as probably belonging to a contemporary doorway leading to a western gallery. In the west wall of the chancel, or more properly the east wall of the tower, there may clearly be seen two blocked round-headed openings, which must formerly have communicated between the western gallery and the first floor of the tower.

Attention should next be directed to the north wall, close beside its western end, where there is clear evidence of the cutting away of the original west wall, when the east wall of the lower part of the tower had been built to replace it. Next it should be noted in the eastern face of the east arch of the tower how the voussoirs are of two quite different types: near the springing at each side they are of dressed stone, and are roughly square in profile; whereas near the top of the arch they are of quite rough stone, and are much longer radially than along the curve of the arch (see Fig. 500). We believe that these are the remains of an earlier and narrower arch which formerly led through this wall and which was replaced by the present wider arch, probably as part of Aldwine's reconstruction.¹

MONASTIC BUILDINGS

Jarrow differs from most other Anglo-Saxon churches in presenting extensive monastic remains which, although not of pre-Conquest date, at least belong to the period of the Saxo-Norman overlap. There is little among the remains which can be described with any certainty in terms of the

¹ There is evidence at Hart of a similar replacement of a tall, narrow chancel-arch by a lower and wider Norman arch. At Hart a complete segment of the Saxon arch has survived in the wall, above the Norman arch; and there

can therefore be no question of the interpretation. Here at Jarrow the history is less clear, but we think it is nevertheless quite convincing. Attention was first directed to this feature by H. E. Savage in 1900, *loc. cit.*

precise original use of the buildings concerned, but one may trace with some assurance a roughly square enclosure representing the cloister on the south side of the church, with a range of buildings which no doubt included the refectory on its south side. In the long wall to the west of this enclosure are two interesting original doorways. One has a flat lintel, of exceptional size, beneath a round head of two recessed square orders. These spring from square imposts, placed on recessed jambs, whose angle shafts have interesting early capitals and bases, and are illogically placed, as at Broughton in Lincolnshire, so as to give no support to either of the arched orders. The second doorway has an angular head formed of two stones sloped together; but its jambs and imposts are Norman in feeling rather than Anglo-Saxon. The evidence of the building is therefore consistent with its having been erected by Aldwine soon after the Conquest. The fabric of the monastic buildings is of stones of similar size and texture to those of the chancel and of the tower; but as the buildings have suffered centuries of neglect they now show gaping joints, very different from the well-preserved appearance of the church.

Excavations have recently been conducted to confirm or disprove the existence of remains of earlier monastic buildings of the seventh-century abbey. These disclosed no traces of cells such as have been found at Whitby in Yorkshire but showed, in the area now occupied by the verger's house, foundations which have been interpreted as those of a wall, probably of earth or sods, of a type which commonly enclosed early monastic sites.¹

THE CARVED STONES

The importance of the establishment at Jarrow is well illustrated by the many inscribed and carved stones which have been found on the site, or recovered during the reconstruction of the nave in 1866, having been used in the nave of 1782 as common building stones. In connexion with the architecture, the most important of these stones are the turned baluster-shafts now preserved in the north porch at Jarrow. These, along with

others found and preserved in Benedict's other church at Monkwearmouth, were illustrated by Baldwin Brown, who said that, apart from the shafts at Hart, also in County Durham, he had failed to find any similar shafts in this country, or any prototypes abroad from which Benedict's masons might have drawn their inspiration.²

Many writers have suggested that these balusters were used in the jambs of windows, like the four that are now in the two west windows at Monkwearmouth; but this is almost certainly incorrect, because, when they were found in those windows during the Monkwearmouth restoration the balusters had their carved faces turned inward, and their exposed faces had been cut smooth. It therefore seems clear that they had been used as common building stones at a time when the windows were given their present deep downward splay. The only balusters *in situ* are the four which serve as parts of the two jambs of the west doorway at Monkwearmouth, and it seems much more reasonable to suppose that use in such a position was the original purpose of the balusters. They need not necessarily have been employed only in doorways; they could have been used for the enrichment of the jambs of the arches which opened from the nave to side-chapels or for the jambs of the chancel-arch.

Another important stone in the porch at Jarrow is the piece of moulding, or screen, ornamented with a series of small baluster-shafts about 3½ in. high and set side by side in a row.³ The principle is much the same as the string-courses at Hexham and Simonburn, and the stone at Jarrow may have been a frieze or perhaps part of a screen.

Many inscribed stones have been found at Jarrow, in addition to the famous dedication stone; a good account of these, and of the stones carved with vine-scroll and other pre-Conquest ornament, was given in 1900 by Canon Savage.⁴

DIMENSIONS

The internal dimensions of the present chancel, including the space formerly occupied by its

¹ C. A. R. Radford, *Arch. J.* **III** (1954), 208.

² G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 258 and fig. 101.

³ *Ibid.* 261.

⁴ H. E. Savage, *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., **22** (1900), 30-60, particularly 35-48.

west wall, are 41 ft 11 in. in length by a breadth of 15 ft 8 in. In its original state, the building must therefore have been about 39 ft 8 in. long by 15 ft 8 in. wide. Its walls are 2 ft 3 in. thick and about 22 ft high, as measured from the floor of the present chancel.

The blocked round-headed doorway in the north wall is 2 ft 4 in. wide and 6 ft 6 in. tall. It is round-headed both externally and internally, and its interior dimensions indicate that it is cut straight through the wall without any rebate. Its voussoirs appear to be through-stones, but its jamb-stones are not.

The present arches through the tower are about 10 ft wide and 12 ft high. The two blocked doorways above are about 2 ft 8 in. and 4 ft in width, respectively; and they seem to have been about 6 ft in height, with their sills about 15 ft above the floor. The fragments of the doorway near the west of the south wall determine an opening about 3 ft wide by 6 ft tall with its sill about 14 ft above the floor.

The three windows in the south wall have apertures 1 ft wide and 2 ft 6 in. tall, externally, splayed to 2 ft by 4 ft internally. Their sills in the inner face of the wall are 11 ft above the floor.

The tower is 14 ft 2 in. wide internally at first-floor level, by only 6 ft 11 in. from east to west. The double-splayed window in the north wall has a mid-wall stone slab to carry its glazing, and the aperture in this is 8 in. wide by 2 ft 8 in. tall. The window is splayed so as to become 2 ft 3 in. by 4 ft in the inner wall-face.

The destroyed western church, on the site now occupied by the nave, is indicated by the plan in the British Museum as having had a nave about 90 ft long by about 19 ft wide, flanked by aisles or side-chapels about 9 ft wide. The church therefore had an overall exterior width of about 48 ft.

REFERENCES

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- D. H. HAIGH, 'Monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow', *Trans. Brit. Arch. Ass., Winchester, 1845* (London, 1846), 428-43. Plate 24 shows the small south windows before Scott's restoration in 1866.
- J. RAINE, *Jarrow and Monkwearmouth* (Surtees Society Publication 29, Durham and London, 1854), xxix. Gilbert Scott's report on the state of the church in 1852.
- J. R. BOYLE, 'On the monastery and church of St Paul, Jarrow', *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., 10 (1885), 195-219. Historical account, description of church, pictures of the stones preserved in the north porch.
- G. F. BROWNE, 'On inscriptions at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth', *ibid.* 11 (1886), 27-32.
- H. E. SAVAGE, 'Jarrow church and monastery', *ibid.* 22 (1900), 30-60. History, architectural description, reproductions of early plans and drawings. Complete account of carved and inscribed stones, with illustrations.
- J. F. HODGSON, 'The monastic choir or church of St Paul, Jarrow', *T. Durham Northd. A.A.S.* 6 (1906-11), 131-62. Somewhat controversial account of the buildings; but with good pictures, including reproductions from Surtees.
- E. GILBERT, 'The Anglian remains at Jarrow church', *P. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, 5th ser., 1 (1951-6), 311-33. Good critical account of the earlier descriptions. Reproductions of the early plan and drawings. Many line-drawings of detail.
- C. A. R. RADFORD, 'St Paul's church, Jarrow', *Arch. J.* 111 (1954), 203-5. Good critical architectural and historical account, with references.
- C. A. R. RADFORD, 'Trial excavations at Jarrow', *ibid.* 205-9. Excavations in the area now occupied by the verger's house; pitched stone foundations suggested as those of a turf wall surrounding the seventh-century monastery, as at Whitby.

JEVINGTON

Sussex

Map sheet 183, reference TQ 561015

ST ANDREW

West tower: period C3

This church has a beautiful setting in the heart of the South Downs, about 4 miles north-west of Eastbourne; but it has unfortunately suffered so heavily at the hands of nineteenth-century restorers that its Anglo-Saxon features are almost unrecognizable. The fabric of the tower is mainly flint, with dressed-stone quoins and facings; while the nave, north aisle and aisleless chancel are of coursed, roughly dressed stone and flint.

The broad and somewhat squat form of the

tower and its dressed-stone quoining suggest a Norman rather than an Anglo-Saxon date; and the double belfry windows with mid-wall shafts have been so rebuilt as to render them useless for dating, except that the shafts themselves are lathe-turned balusters of somewhat Anglo-Saxon appearance. Moreover, in the lower stage of the tower some traces remain in the north and south walls of round-headed windows of a width which clearly suggests that the openings must have been double-splayed.

Internally the evidence of Anglo-Saxon workmanship is less difficult to find, although the surface of the stone has been so smoothly dressed in the restoration of 1873 that it has lost much of its character. The tower-arch, however, still has jambs of massive through-stones, laid alternately upright and flat in 'Escomb fashion', with simple square bases chamfered above, and square chamfered imposts which are returned along the wall of the nave as a string-course. The west face of the arch, within the tower, is outlined by square strip-work, which is carried up each side and round the head; but the east face, towards the nave, is recessed 2 in. behind the face of the wall. The two round arches flanking the tower-arch are products of the nineteenth-century restoration.

The tower is 18 ft square internally and the tower-arch is 5 ft 8 in. wide and about 13 ft high, in a wall 2 ft 2 in. thick.

A remarkable carved slab, about 3 ft in height, which was found under the tower during the restoration, was at first built into the south wall of the nave above the door where the light was so bad that its detail could not easily be seen. When we revisited the church in 1956 the slab had been moved to the north wall of the nave, where it was in a much better light. The panel bears a full-length nimbed figure of Christ, carved in relief, naked except for a loin-cloth, holding a cross-headed shaft, and standing above a curiously interlaced snake-like animal, or pair of animals, in the 'Urnes' style. Kendrick dates the slab about 1100, whereas Talbot Rice assigns it to a date about 1050.¹

KILPECK

Herefordshire

Map sheet 142, reference SO 445305

Figure 501

ST DAVID

North-east corner of nave: period C

The exceptionally fine, small, aisleless Norman church of St David, at Kilpeck, about 8 miles south-south-west of Hereford, preserves in the north-east corner of its nave a megalithic quoin and a length of about 4 ft of the rough rubble wall of an earlier church.

This surviving fragment is clearly earlier than the main fabric of the Norman church, and is marked as of pre-Conquest date by the nature of the quoin, particularly by its use of large upright stones, arranged in conjunction with flat bonding stones, in something like long-and-short technique. The upright pillar stones vary in height from 22 to 38 in. while the flat bonding stones are between 6 and 12 in. in height, with horizontal faces about 20 in. in length.

The section of walling beside this quoin is distinguished from the remainder of the Norman church not only by its rougher rubble construction but also by its peculiarity of alignment; for, although its upper part lies approximately in the plane of the main north wall, the lower part is twisted slightly forward, so that its western end stands about 8 in. in front of the face of the Norman wall. It therefore seems clear that the builders of the Norman church found the ruins of an earlier one on the site and incorporated this piece of it into their new building.

The remarkable Norman south doorway of the nave should be noted as an instance of the survival of earlier local decorative forms, in a structure which is clearly of post-Conquest date. The curiously twisted monsters on the outer mouldings of the jambs are in a local tradition, which has links with Anglo-Saxon and Celtic art rather than Norman; and the tall, thin, trousered warriors in the scroll-

¹ T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), 120; D. T. Rice, *English Art, 871-1100* (Oxford, 1952), 95.

work on the angle-shaft are without parallel save in this district on the border between England and Wales.

DIMENSIONS

The walls throughout the church vary between 2 ft 4 in. and 2 ft 9 in. in thickness, thus indicating that thin walls cannot by themselves be accepted as evidence of pre-Conquest date.

REFERENCE

R.C.H.M., *Herefordshire*, I (London, 1931), 156-8. Good architectural description, with plan and pictures.

KINGSBURY

Middlesex

Map sheet 160, reference TQ 206869

ST ANDREW

Main fabric: perhaps period C 3

In spite of the pressure of urban development, the rather dingy old church of St Andrew at Kingsbury, within a mile of the Edgware Road, has survived three nineteenth-century restorations with very little change in its medieval form. Instead of enlarging it to provide for the needs of a larger population, the church council have followed a wiser course and have preserved it unchanged, for smaller gatherings, while a much larger new church has been built about a hundred yards to the west.

The old church is of rectangular form, with no structural distinction between nave and chancel; its walls are of flint rubble, some parts of which are plastered. It has stone facings and quoins, of which those to the west show some appearance of long-and-short technique. All four quoins stand on simple plinths, which run short distances along the walls; but, although at three corners this plinth has an early look, it appears at the north-west corner to be formed of a medieval grave-slab. This could, of course, be a later insertion; but it detracts from the impression of antiquity given by the other three.

There are no early openings which would serve to date the building with certainty; and, although

Baldwin Brown (p. 462) refers to 'an old doorway 8 ft 10 in. high, now disused, in the south wall', this shows no features which appear to us to justify the assignment of a pre-Conquest date; and the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments assign it to the twelfth century.

DIMENSIONS

Internally the church measures about 59 ft by 18 ft, and its walls vary between 2 ft 6 in. and 2 ft 10 in. in thickness.

REFERENCE

R.C.H.M., *Middlesex* (London, 1937), 88-9. Architectural description, with plan.

KINGSDOWN

Kent

Map sheet 171, reference TQ 579633

Figure 502

ST EDMUND

*Nave, possibly part of chancel, south tower:
Saxo-Norman*

The church of St Edmund is most pleasantly situated in wooded country about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north of the London-Maidstone road, midway between Farningham and Wrotham. The early part of the fabric now consists of an aisleless nave and chancel, with a tower on the south, overlapping the junction between the nave and the chancel. In later times a vestry has been added on the north of the nave and a porch on the south; and great diagonal buttresses have been built to support the tower.

Externally the walls indicate that the church has suffered many changes through the centuries. A blocked, round-headed arch in the east wall of the tower once opened to a small chapel on the south of the chancel, where foundations can still be seen to suggest that the original chapel was short, and apsidal in form. A blocked, pointed arch in the south wall of the chancel shows that an opening was later made between the chancel and an enlarged chapel on the south. But it is the nave which contains evidence of the earliest

alterations, for its south wall now shows two blocked, round-headed arches, which at one time opened to a south aisle, of which no trace now remains visible. The western arch shows only as an outline on the wall, but that to the east has retained its arch of dressed-stone, square-edged voussoirs, unquestionably of Norman date. Above this arch, to the east, and slightly cut away by the arch, is a small, single-splayed, round-headed window which, from its form, could be either Anglo-Saxon or Norman, but which, by being clearly anterior to the arch which has cut part of it away, must be either Anglo-Saxon or else very early Norman. The jambs of this window are constructed of flints, which have been selected as of suitably flat shape for the purpose; and the head is turned in thin pieces of stone of about the shape of tiles. The splays of the jambs and head are continued through the full thickness of the wall. The inner splays of the window are plastered and carry early paintings illustrating the story of Cain and Abel. These may be contemporary with the window, perhaps of the second half of the eleventh century.

Further support for assigning a pre-Norman date to the original aisleless nave is given by the character of its north-eastern quoin, which is formed of flints, without the use of any dressed stone. The tower is probably about the same date, since its quoins are also of plain flint construction, and the jambs and round head of its blocked eastern arch are wholly constructed of flints, in sharp contrast to the dressed-stone voussoirs of the Norman arch in the south wall of the nave.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 37 ft long internally, and 17 ft 5 in. wide. Its west wall is 3 ft thick, and its side walls 2 ft 8 in. thick and about 12 ft high. The tower is 5 ft 7 in. by 4 ft 11 in. internally, the longer dimension being from north to south. Its walls are about 4 ft thick and about 30 ft high. The arch in its east face is 5 ft 10 in. wide and about 12 ft high.

The small south window in the nave is 7 in. wide and 1 ft 10 in. tall, in the outer face of the wall, splayed to become 3 ft 3 in. by 5 ft 8 in. in the inner face.

REFERENCES

- P. M. JOHNSTON, *Kent*, Methuen's Little Guides, 6th ed. (London, 1935), 200.
 F. C. E. ERWOOD, 'Architectural notes on Kingsdown church', *Arch. Cant.* 35 (1921), 109-16. Good architectural description, with plans to indicate history of development. The arcade and early window were concealed beneath plaster until 1908, 112.

KINGSTON

Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 198512

ST GILES

*Main fabric of nave and west part of chancel:
probably Saxo-Norman*

Where the Roman road from Canterbury to Dover runs across open downs, about 5 miles south-east of Canterbury, the small village of Kingston nestles in a valley, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the south, with its church on higher land, looking across the valley towards the road. The church has an aisleless nave and chancel, with north porch and south vestry; its chancel has been lengthened eastward; and the west tower has been built against the original west end. The original fabric is of flint, lightly plastered, and dressed stone is used only in later additions.

No original doorways or windows have survived to give clear indications of date, but the church has been included here and classed as probably Saxo-Norman on the evidence of the five original quoins which have survived, all wholly built of flints, without any use of dressed stone. Four of these are the quoins of the nave, and the fifth is the north quoin of the chancel, which may be clearly seen as a straight vertical joint, and which marks the junction of the original chancel with the later extension.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 42 ft 8 in. long internally, by 19 ft 8 in. wide, and the present chancel is about 26 ft long by 12 ft 6 in. wide. The original chancel was about 10 ft shorter.

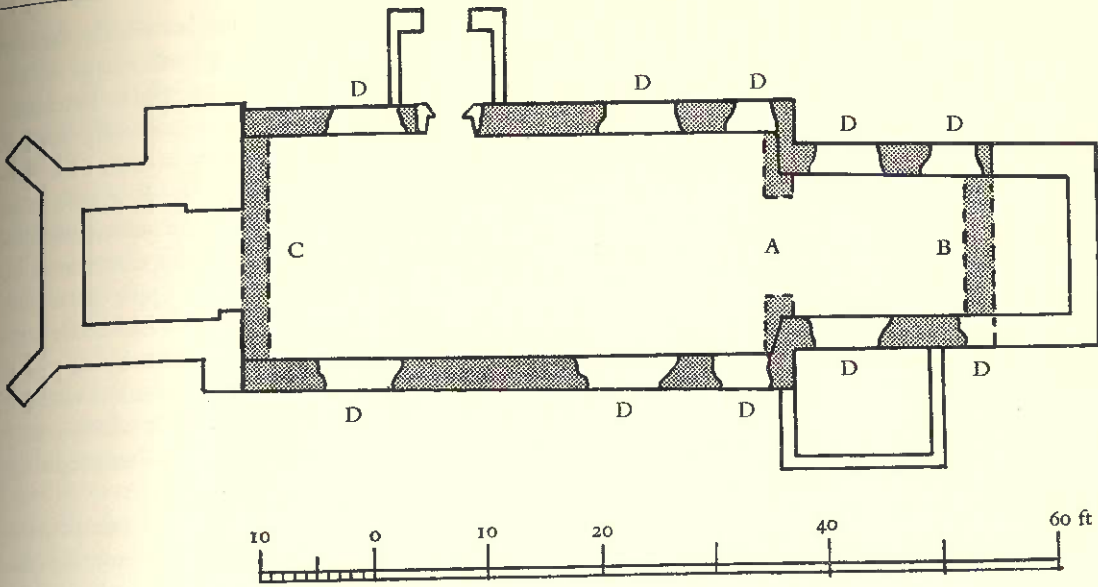


FIG. 155. KINGSTON, KENT

A, former position of chancel-arch; B, original east end, as determined by surviving north-east quoin; C, original line of west wall as determined by surviving western quoins; D, positions where original walls are broken away for the insertion of later windows.

The walls are 2 ft 11 in. thick, and those of the chancel are about 17 ft high, while those of the nave are about 1 ft lower.

REFERENCES

- P. M. JOHNSTON, *Kent*, Methuen's Little Guides, 6th ed. (London, 1935), 201.
 F. C. E. ERWOOD, 'Plans of . . . Kent churches', *Arch. Cant.* 59 (1946), 1-2. Plan and brief description. Dated to twelfth century.

KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES

Surrey

Map sheet 170, reference TQ 179692

CHAPEL OF ST MARY

Simple rectangular chapel, destroyed in 1730, but to be accepted as pre-Conquest on the evidence of drawings and tradition

At the south of the market place at Kingston-upon-Thames is a stone which is claimed by local tradition to be the coronation-stone on which the Anglo-Saxon kings of all England were crowned, from Edward the Elder in 900 to Ethelred the Unready in 978 or 979.¹ It formerly stood in the chapel of St Mary, on the south side of the church of All Saints, but when the chapel fell in 1730 it was placed outside the town hall, and was used as a mounting-block. In 1850 it was rescued, set up on a granite base, and enclosed within a railing in its present position outside the Guildhall.

Excavations carried out by Dr Finny in 1926 established the destroyed chapel as a simple rectangle 55 ft long by 20 ft wide internally, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick. Its position is marked by bronze plates set in the walls of the paths to the south of the existing parish church of All Saints, and an inscribed stone marks the site of its altar.

¹ We have not been able to find historical evidence that all of the kings from Edward the Elder to Ethelred the Unready were crowned at Kingston, but we have evidence for four. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* mentions the coronations at Kingston of Athelstan under the year 924 and of Ethelred the Unready under 978 or 979 (see D. Whitelock,

E.H.D. (1955), 199 and 210). Eadred's coronation at Kingston is mentioned in a charter (D. Whitelock, *loc. cit.* 508). Eadwig's coronation at Kingston is mentioned by Florence of Worcester (*Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, 1 (London, 1848), 136).

REFERENCES

- O. MANNING and W. BRAY, *History of Surrey* (London, 1804), 258. Picture of chapel in 1726.
- P. M. JOHNSTON, 'The parish church of All Saints, Kingston-upon-Thames', *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 32 (1926), 229-52.
- W. E. S. FINNY, 'The Saxon church at Kingston-upon-Thames', *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 32 (1926), 253-64. Historical account, picture of the coronation stone, reproduction of Manning and Bray's picture of 1726, and plan of excavations of 1926.

KIRBY CANE¹

Norfolk

Map sheet 137, reference TM 374942

Figure 503

ALL SAINTS

Round west tower: period C

The present village of Kirby Cane appears to have moved southward from the church, so as to cluster round the main road, A143, about 3 miles north-east of Bungay, but the Ordnance Map still shows the name of the village beside the church, about a mile to the north.

Originally an aisleless nave and chancel with a circular west tower, the church has later been given a south porch and a wide north aisle, which extends along the whole of the nave and part of the chancel.

The tower is of flint, and is remarkable for the series of small pilaster-strips which surround its base. These are worked in the flint surface, between 7 and 8 in. in breadth, and about 3 in. in profile, each separated from its neighbours by about 33 in. of plain walling; and all now stand only to a height of between 3 and 4 ft. There are now only seven of these pilasters, but the former places of two more are covered by later brick buttresses, so that originally there would have been nine in all. In the southern angle between the nave and the tower there is also a small surviving section of a

quarter-round pilaster-strip, also wholly formed of flints. Any evidence of a similar strip on the north has been obscured by later brick buttresses.

If the flint pilasters were originally carried higher up the tower, no part of them has survived, and none of the small slit-like windows in the upper part of the tower is of sufficiently distinctive form to allow a pre-Conquest date to be assigned with certainty to the upper part. The lower part may, however, with reasonable certainty be regarded as Saxo-Norman by reason of the pilasters, leaving as an open question whether they were ever carried up higher or whether they were always intended simply as a decoration for the base of the tower.

The interior of the church does not provide much further evidence to help in settling the date of the tower. The tower-arch is a plain round-headed opening, cut straight through the wall, and without any imposts. The walls of the tower, about 4½ ft thick at ground level, are reduced in thickness as they rise, by a series of internal off-sets, to become about 2½ ft thick at the level of the upper floor. There appears to have been no upper doorway between the tower and the nave, and even from close at hand it is difficult to decide whether the small windows have triangular or pointed heads. Their inner faces are widely splayed, with flat heads formed in flints laid over oak boarding which is still in position.

KIRBY HILL¹

Yorkshire, North Riding

Map sheet 91, reference SE 393686

ALL SAINTS

Nave: period B or C

About a mile north of Boroughbridge the Great North Road crosses the top of Kirby Hill and then follows for many miles the course of a Roman road. Less than half a mile to the east of this busy thoroughfare, the church of All Saints stands in

¹ The name Kirby implies the existence of a church before the Conquest, but this by itself does not justify the assumption of a pre-Conquest date for any part of the

present fabric; cf. E. Ekwall, *English Place-Names*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1960), 279.

complete seclusion, sheltered from the noise of traffic by the crest of the hill, and looking eastward across the peaceful valley of the Swale towards the Hambleton Hills. The church consists of a west tower, and of a nave and chancel both of which have north aisles of such large size that they somewhat dwarf the older main body of the church. The chancel has been rebuilt, for its south wall now continues the line of the south wall of the nave and is built against its eastern quoin without any bonding into it. The fabric of the nave is of large blocks of roughly dressed stone, with even larger blocks for the quoining; it clearly contains re-used material, for in the south wall there may be seen the monolithic round head of a window, now built in upside down. Closer inspection also shows a number of pre-Conquest carved stones that have been built into the walls as common building stones.

Both the original quoins of the south wall of the nave are visible externally, carefully laid in side-alternate fashion, and of very large blocks of stone. But the feature of special interest is the surviving fragment of a large, arched opening, within which the later medieval smaller south doorway has been built. The eastern impost of this early opening, and the four lowest voussoirs on the east side of the arch, are visible externally, within the south porch; and inside the church the curve of the wide round head is clearly visible above the present smaller doorway. The south face of the impost carries an interlacing pattern, which is laid out with skill to show three circles within a raised border; the west face is visible within a cavity in the wall, and is decorated with well-executed Anglian vine-scroll. Collingwood dated the stone to the latter half of the ninth century;¹ and it was largely on the evidence of this stone that Baldwin Brown assigned the whole church to his period B.² Collingwood, however, regarded the impost as having come from an earlier building, probably Ripon, and as having been re-used in its present position in the eleventh century. It should also be noted that the present relation between the impost and the three stones of the arch is peculiar, in that the impost projects nearly 2 ft in front of

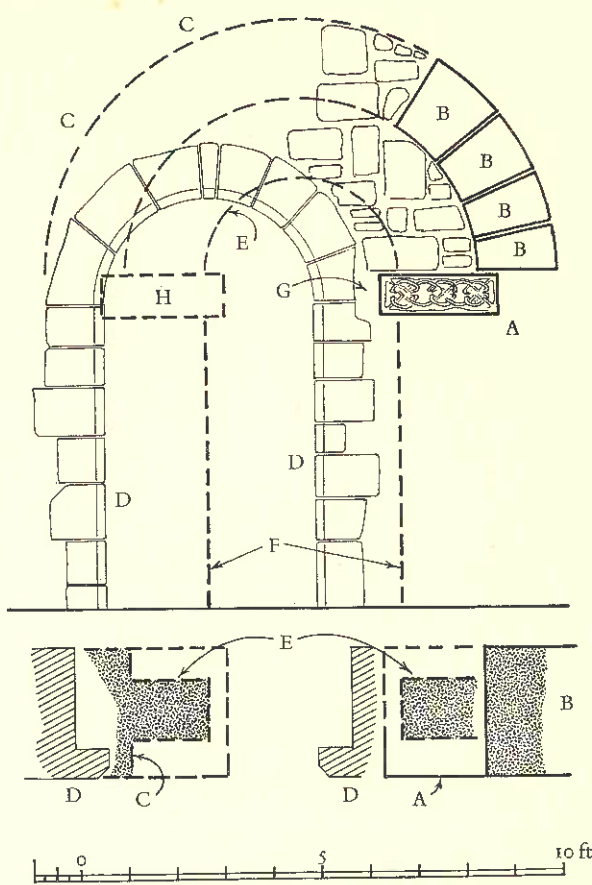


FIG. 156. KIRBY HILL, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)

Details of the partially destroyed south doorway. A, carved impost, *in situ* (for detail see Fig. 157); B, stones of arch *in situ*; C, curve of arch as shown by existing fabric of wall; D, jambs of inserted later round-headed doorway; E, inferred inner order of original arch; F, inferred position of jambs of original opening; G, cavity formed in wall to allow for inspection of west face of impost; H, inferred former position of missing west impost.

the curve of the arch. This seems to suggest that the arch originally had, or perhaps still has, an inner order, as in the chancel-arch and west doorway at Kirk Hammerton, only thirteen miles away. An arch of two orders is not an early feature; and the early indication given by the massive stones of the walls is also rather weakened by the clear evidence, noted above, that the fabric contains earlier material that has been re-used.

Whatever may be its date, the old opening beside the south doorway is of great interest. The

¹ W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses* (London, 1927), 109.

² G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 205. For an illustration of the stone, see Fig. 157, overleaf.

outline of its head remains visible even where the stones of its arch have been removed, and it is clear that it was an opening of some dignity.

Within the church the fabric of the original north wall may still be seen above the Norman arcade which leads to the broad north aisle; and the original quoins of the north wall are also visible. The western quoin is almost complete, and it stands on a well-defined, square plinth, which projects about 4 in. beyond the faces of the wall at the corner. The eastern quoin is less clearly defined, its lower parts having been rudely hacked away; but several of its upper stones may be made out with certainty.

Above the arches of the north arcade, and contrasting with the large stones of the original walling, it is possible to see two rectangular areas which

V.C.H., *Yorkshire, North Riding*, I (London, 1914), 370-I. Brief description, with dimensions, and plan.

H. STAPLETON, *The Church of All Saints, Kirby-on-the-moor* (Leeds, 1923). Good account of the development of the church. Pictures of similar carved stones at Ripon. Good plan.

KIRBY UNDERDALE¹

Yorkshire, East Riding

Map sheet 98, reference SE 808585

ALL SAINTS

Nave walls above later arcades: possibly Saxo-Norman
Pleasantly situated in a picturesque valley in the Wolds about 13 miles east-north-east of York, the

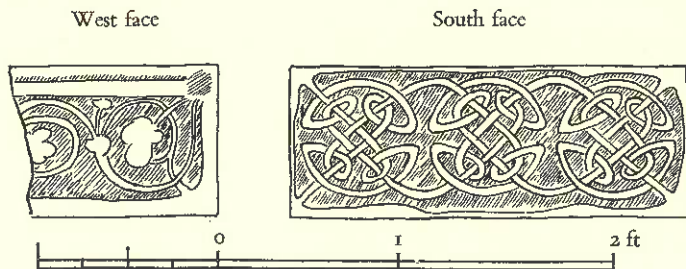


FIG. 157. KIRBY HILL, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)

Detail of the impost of the south doorway.

have been patched with much smaller stones. These probably represent the former positions of two north windows.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 24 ft long and 15 ft broad, internally, and its side walls are 2 ft 8 in. thick. The blocked arch by the south doorway defines an opening about 7½ ft wide and 10¾ ft tall if the arch had only its present visible outer order. But the impost defines an opening only about 3¾ ft wide between the jambs. It therefore seems fairly clear that there must have been an inner order which would have reduced the arch to a width of about 4 ft and a height of about 9 ft.

REFERENCES

G. ROWE, 'On the Saxon church of All Saints, Kirby Hill', *A.A.S.R.* 10 (1869-70), 239-43.

church of All Saints at Kirby Underdale is of considerably greater interest than appears at first sight from its much-restored exterior. It now consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with south porch, and a nineteenth-century aisleless chancel with north organ-loft. The walls of the nave and the tower are of rubble, with some use of herring-bone technique.

The plain, square, unbuttressed Norman tower was clearly added later to a pre-existing nave, for its side walls may be seen, both internally and externally, to be built against the west wall of the nave, and not bonded into it. But the tower-arch is Norman, and the west doorway of the tower is Norman, of an early type in which the angle-shafts have primitive cylindrical bases. Therefore the aisleless nave which preceded the tower must be of even earlier Norman date, or Saxo-Norman.

¹ For the implications of the name Kirby see footnote to Kirby Cane.

The side walls of the original nave have been pierced later by arcades of pointed Transitional arches, dating probably from near the close of the twelfth century; but above these, and almost wholly cut away by them, are the remains of four original windows. These are simple, round-headed, single-splayed openings all but one of which are visible only from the interior of the nave. The outer face of the fourth window, that nearest the east on the south side, may be seen within the south aisle; where it shows a monolithic, pseudo-arched head, curved both above and below. These windows might be either Norman or Anglo-Saxon; and their having been cut away by Transitional arches would not serve to fix them as earlier than Norman. But the thinness of the walls gives additional support to the evidence already cited for a Saxo-Norman date. Substantial lengths of the original side walls of the nave have been left at each end of each of the Transitional arcades.

The chancel-arch and tower-arch are both good examples of Norman work.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 27 ft long internally, and 18 ft 6 in. broad, with side walls only 2 ft 6 in. thick and about 18 ft tall.

REFERENCE

W. R. SHEPHERD, *All Saints Church, Kirby Underdale* (Batley, 1933). Brief description and plan. Nave and tower both dated c. 1150.

KIRKDALE

Yorkshire, North Riding

Map sheet 92, reference SE 677857

Figures 504-6

ST GREGORY

Nave: period C3

In an isolated and picturesque position, about 4 miles east of Helmsley, on a small level area

beside the steep wooded banks of Kirk Dale, the church of St Gregory stands close beside the moors which form the northern boundary of the Vale of Pickering. There is now no village of Kirkdale, if indeed there ever was; but the extensive graveyard is used by the neighbouring village of Nawton, whose nineteenth-century church is closely hemmed-in by houses. On the south side of the ancient church of St Gregory, foundations of old buildings are said to have been found; but there appears to have been no systematic investigation of an adjoining series of mounds, which have from time to time been described as the ruins of a monastery, or of a village. There is a local tradition that the church was part of a monastery founded by St Cedd in the seventh century as recorded by Bede (*H.E.* III, 23), on land granted to him by King Ethelwald, at a place which Bede calls *Laestingaew*; and in support of this tradition the Rev. D. H. Haigh professed to read the name of King Ethelwald inscribed in runes on one of the two very fine carved grave-slabs now preserved in the church.¹ On the subject of these grave-slabs, which are popularly ascribed to that king and to St Cedd, Collingwood writes:²

The first is 67½ in. long and bears a plait with rings, a type at least three hundred years later than the bishop. The other has a Celtic cross with late Anglian scrolls, and is a hundred years later than the king.

But there is very good ground for believing that Cedd's monastery was in fact founded at the neighbouring village of Lastingham (*q.v.*), where the church has interesting Anglo-Saxon remains, although it has usually been regarded as wholly Norman and later.

Kirkdale church has so many features of genuine interest that it is doubly unfortunate that its history should have been confused with yet another tradition of very doubtful reliability. Baldwin Brown records that 'the most northerly pilaster-strip known ran originally up the west gable'. This west gable has long been covered by a small tower, which was erected in 1827, so that it is not now immediately possible to check the former existence of this supposed pilaster-strip; but

¹ J. E. Morris, *The North Riding of Yorkshire*, Methuen's Little Guides, 2nd ed. (London, 1920), 223-4.

² W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses* (London, 1927), 17.

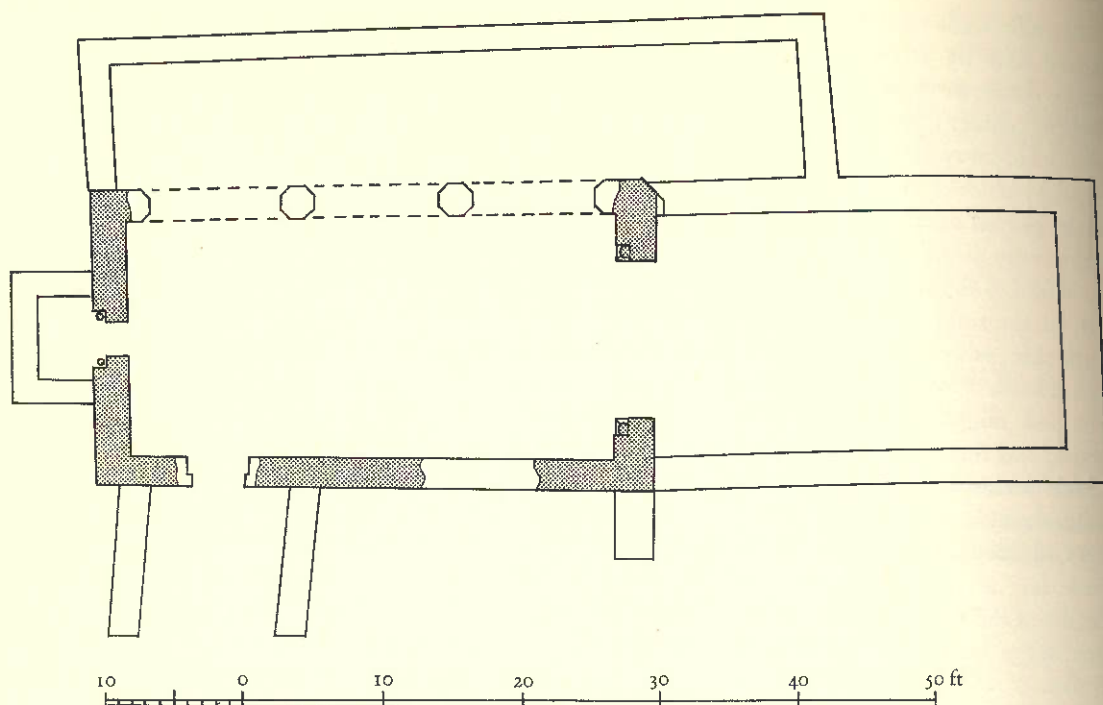


FIG. 158. KIRKDALE, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)

both Baldwin Brown and Hodges seem to have based their belief on a drawing, made in 1821 and published by C. L. R. Tudor in 1876, which Baldwin Brown described as showing a horizontal string-course crossing the west front and above it a vertical pilaster-strip running up to the point of the gable.¹ This would have been an arrangement exactly like that on the east gable of the chancel at Boarhunt in Hampshire, but the evidence that it ever existed is most unsatisfactory. The picture of 1821 was a water-colour, and Tudor described the picture which he published as 'a copy which I have made of a water-colour drawing formerly in the possession of the late Canon Dixon'. Now, while Tudor's drawing shows the horizontal and vertical strips as if they were of stone, a very similar picture published by the Vicar in 1909 over the title 'Kirkdale Church in 1821, from a water-colour' shows the strips with irregular outlines as if they were wooden beams.²

The matter can perhaps be put beyond reasonable doubt by reference to an engraving, published in 1779, on which there was no appearance of either vertical or horizontal strips on the west gable.³ We have recently been able to inspect the whole of the west face of the gable, within the upper stage of the nineteenth-century tower; and we can report that there is no pilaster-strip, no string-course, and no appearance of any cut back or disturbed stonework such as would have resulted from their removal.⁴ We therefore believe that no stone string-course or pilaster-strip ever formed part of the west gable of this church.

Turning now to what really exists, the church consists of the small, nineteenth-century, west tower; a nave whose main walls date from the middle of the eleventh century, with a north aisle added in the thirteenth; and an aisleless chancel, with north chapel, rebuilt in 1881. The walls of the early nave are of coursed and roughly squared

¹ G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 463 and 308-9; C. C. Hodges, *Reliquary*, n.s., 8 (1876), 199; C. L. R. Tudor, *A Brief Account of Kirkdale Church* (London, 1876).

² F. W. Powell, *A Short Account of St Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale* (Leeds, 1909). Figure 505 shows Tudor's drawing.

³ J. C. Brooke, *Arch.* 5 (1779), 188; (see Fig. 504).

⁴ We are indebted to the Vicar, the Rev. A. W. Penn, for allowing us to make this inspection, and for providing the necessary ladder.

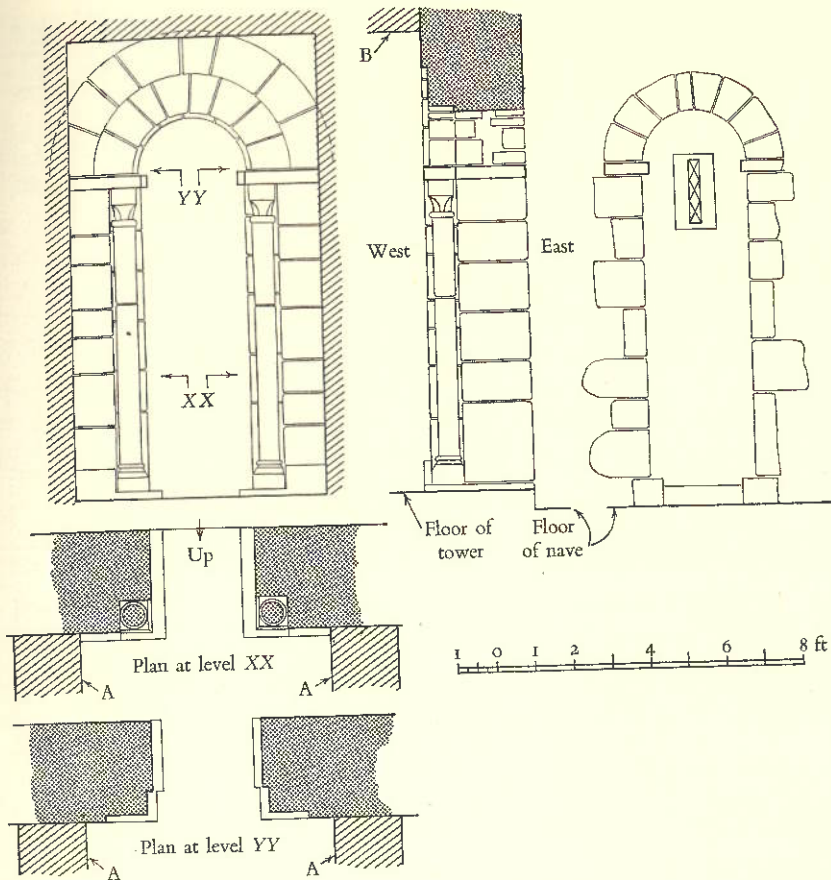


FIG. 159. KIRKDALE, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)

Details of the western doorway. The modern west tower is so small that it is difficult to get a good view of the rather elaborate west face of this doorway. As shown in the figure, the outer parts of the jambs are concealed behind the side walls (A, A) of the modern tower, and the head of the arch is partially obscured by the floor (B) of the bell-chamber.

stones, and their western quoins are built in side-alternate fashion, of stones much larger than the average run of those in the walling. No early windows have survived to help with the dating of the building; but this is fixed with unusual precision within the period of the earldom of King Harold's brother Tosti (i.e. from 1055 to 1065) by the inscription on the sundial, which is built into the wall over the south door, where it is now protected by a porch. This inscription may be rendered as follows:

Orm, the son of Gamal, bought St Gregory's church when it was broken and fallen, and had it made anew from the ground in honour of Christ and St Gregory, in the days of Edward the king and Tosti the earl.

The inscription, however, also establishes the former existence of an earlier church which had become 'broken and fallen', a fact which is con-

firmed by the use of a large number of carved stones from the earlier church and its graveyard as common building-stones in the fabric of the present church. Some of these, including the two grave-slabs already referred to, have now been moved into safety within the church in order to protect them from further exposure to the weather. It is tempting to see some vestige of the earlier church in the particularly large quoin-stones at the foot of the south-west angle of the nave.

The south doorway which now serves as the entrance to the church, under the eleventh-century sundial, is an insertion, probably dating from the twelfth century. Within the nave, the original west doorway, now leading only to the tower, is seen as a striking feature of undoubtedly Anglo-Saxon character, of tall and narrow proportions, with square bases and imposts, and

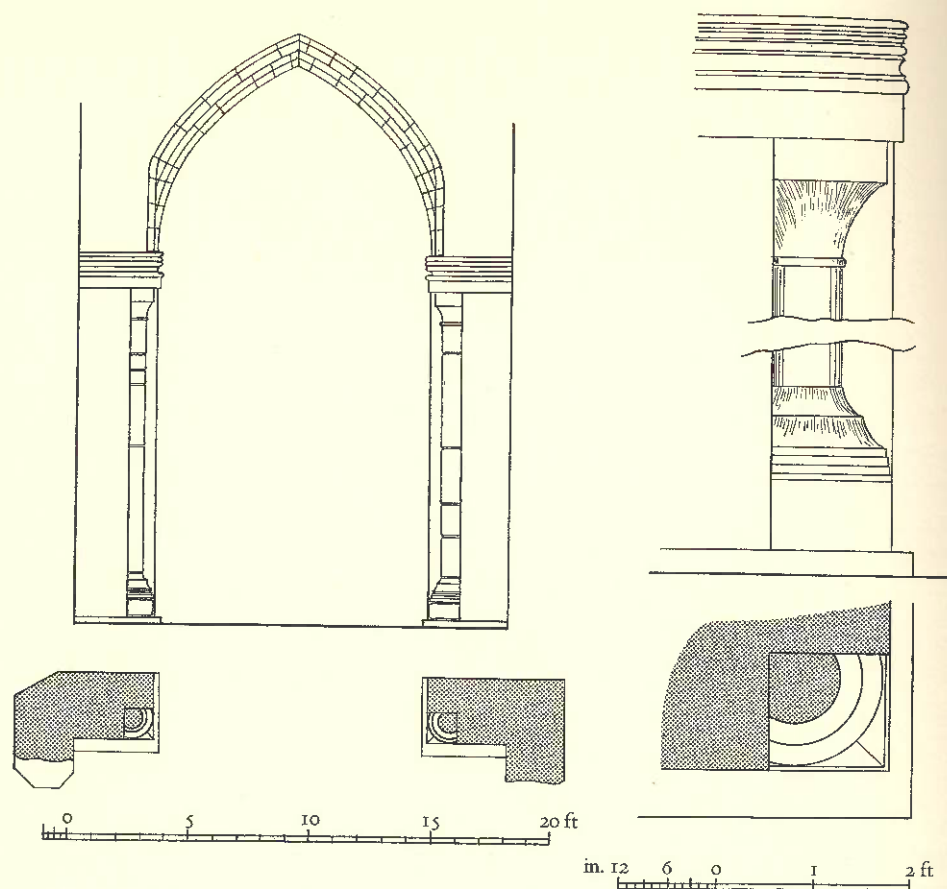


FIG. 160. KIRKDALE, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)

Details of the chancel-arch, with larger-scale drawings of the impost and base of the north jamb.

square jambs of through-stones laid in 'Escomb fashion'. The face into the tower is more ornate, and indicates the advent of some of the Norman principles of building, both arch and jambs being recessed, and the jambs being provided with angle-shafts as though to carry the inner order. The treatment is, however, quite tentative, and of a sort that it would be difficult to attribute to Norman workmen. The recess in each jamb, 10 in. square, contains a free-standing angle-shaft whose square base and square capital are brought into relation with the round shaft by the most elementary methods; the square base is chamfered on each of its outer faces and is surmounted by a circular fillet of tapering conical shape; the square capital is chamfered on each face and again more steeply on each angle so as to provide a series of upright and inverted triangular faces, which rest on a simple fillet at the top of the shaft (Fig. 159).

The arch itself should perhaps strictly be described as of three orders; although the inner two do not rest one on top of the other, but are really two separate arches set side by side. The arch next the nave spans the opening between the main jambs in a semicircle which is 2 ft 8 in. in diameter; while the arch next the tower spans the opening between the angle-shafts in a semicircle which is 3 ft in diameter. The third, or outer, order is flush with the west face of the wall and rests logically on the extrados of the second order, which is recessed about 2 in. behind it. Finally it may be noted that the square bases of the jambs run straight through the wall, while the square imposts are cut back 2 in. in passing westward from the main section of the jambs to the angle-shafts.

The chancel-arch is pointed, and is probably of the same thirteenth-century date as the aisle;

but its jambs are similar in character to those of the western doorway, fundamentally square in section but with rudimentary angle shafts which have capitals and bases of unusual character. The capitals are square above, and are shaped below to meet the round shafts by tapering in a form like an inverted bell. The bases are square below, rising in four square steps, and are then shaped to meet the round shafts by tapering in two bell-like collars, with a ridge between the two. These bases rest on a tall plinth of roughly dressed stones. It is therefore reasonable to accept the jambs of the chancel-arch as being part of Orm's eleventh-century church.

DIMENSIONS

Like many late-Saxon churches the nave is very irregularly laid out and its internal dimensions are therefore only approximately given as about 35 ft long by 18 ft broad. The walls, about 25 ft in height, vary somewhat in thickness: at the south door, 2 ft 2 in.; at the west door, 2 ft 8 in.; the north wall cut through by later arches, 2 ft 8 in.; and the east wall at the chancel-arch, 2 ft 10 in. The west doorway is 2 ft 8 in. broad by about 10 ft high, while the width between the jambs of the chancel-arch is 11 ft 3 in.

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- T. RICKMAN, 'Further observations on ecclesiastical architecture in France and England', *Ibid.* 26 (1836), 26-46. Kirkdale, 32.
- G. ROWE, 'On the churches of Kirkdale and Lastingham', *A.A.S.R.* 12 (1873-4), 202-10. Good descriptions of the carved stones. Clear statement that no runes were visible even in a good light, 208 n.
- C. L. R. TUDOR, *A Brief Description of Kirkdale Church* (London, 1876). Detailed description of church, with plans, elevations and sections.
- G. FRANK, *Ryedale and North Yorkshire Antiquities* (York, 1888), 135-43. Clear statement that when the writer visited Kirkdale about 1868 several of the runes were visible and that 'now only one or two remain', 137.
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KIRK HAMMERTON

Yorkshire, West Riding

Map sheet 97, reference SE 465555

Figures 507-10

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

Nave and chancel: possibly as early as period A

West tower: period C₁ with possibly a later west doorway

The church of St John the Baptist stands at the top of a green mound, in an attractive churchyard, beside a quiet loop of road which runs through the village of Kirk Hammerton, about 9 miles west of York, and within a mile of the busy main road to Boroughbridge. The church is built throughout of large blocks of roughly squared greyish brown stone laid roughly in courses, with even larger blocks for the side-alternate quoins. Although the north walls of both nave and chancel have been almost completely removed, it is possible to fix the size of the original church with certainty, for all the quoins have survived; those of the chancel are visible externally at the east; the southern quoins of the nave are visible externally; and its northern quoins are visible within the nineteenth-century nave.

In the west tower, the upper stage occupies roughly one-quarter of the total height and has in each face a double belfry window, whose two round heads are cut in the lower faces of two square stones, and are supported on plain, rectangular through-stones and imposts. The through-stone slabs rest on plain cylindrical mid-wall shafts, which have no capitals, but which have

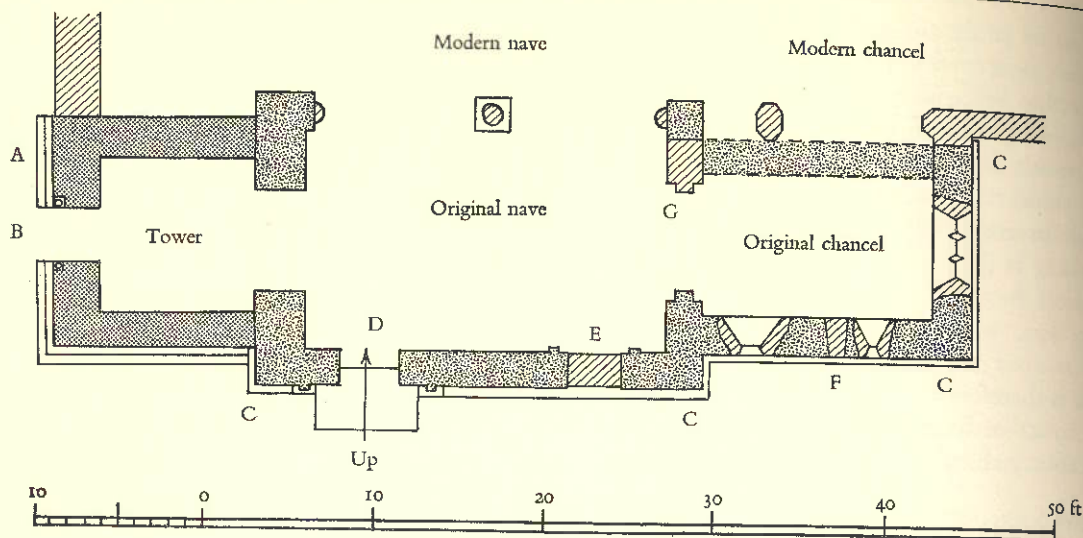


FIG. 161. KIRK HAMMERTON, YORKSHIRE (W.R.)

A, double plinth round tower; B, west doorway, recessed and with angle-shafts; C, single plinth round earlier nave and chancel; D, south doorway of nave, with outlining strip-work on exterior face; E, blocked south doorway, with head partially destroyed by insertion of two-light window above. Note that the outlining strip-work is on the interior face; F, blocked round-headed single-splayed window; G, modern restoration of north jamb of chancel-arch.

rude bases consisting of a bulbous collar over a splayed foot. The imposts rest on square jambs, each built of two or three very large stones, which appear to pass straight through the full thickness of the wall. A square string-course of roughly dressed stone separates the belfry from the lower stage, which is much taller and also much simpler. It has no windows in its east face but in each of its others has two, narrow, rectangular, slit-like openings, one above the other. In the west face there is also an interesting doorway, whose arched elliptical head is formed of two square orders, of which the lower is slightly recessed behind the face of the wall, and is apparently built of through-stones. The jambs, also apparently of through-stones, are recessed behind the face of the wall to provide for angle shafts, which are curiously different on the two sides of the door; that on the north carries a somewhat elaborate capital, while that on the south is more square than circular in plan, and carries a capital of much rougher shape and smaller height. These angle-shafts have no bases, but stand direct on the plinth.

It will be clear from the description that the tower is a very simple example of the late-Saxon type that is so common in Lincolnshire. Like

many of the Lincolnshire towers, it can also be seen to be a later addition to what was formerly a simple two-cell nave and chancel. This is indicated by the fact that the plinth beneath the tower is of two square orders, whereas the nave and chancel stand on a simpler plinth of one square order; it is confirmed by the way in which the walls of the tower are not in bond with the west wall of the nave; and it is made clear beyond doubt by inspection of the upper chamber of the tower, where the original plaster of the west wall is to be seen passing behind the later side walls of the tower.

No original external openings remain in use in the nave and chancel, except the south doorway, near the west of the nave. This has been very heavily restored, but enough of the original work remains to give a good indication of its nature. The square jambs, cut straight through the wall, were possibly of through-stones, but are now very greatly patched. The imposts are fundamentally flat square blocks: that on the east is wholly a restoration; but that on the west is original, and retains vestiges of mouldings on its lower arris. These imposts are returned along the outer face of the wall for about 2 ft to intersect a line of strip-work, which is carried up each side of the

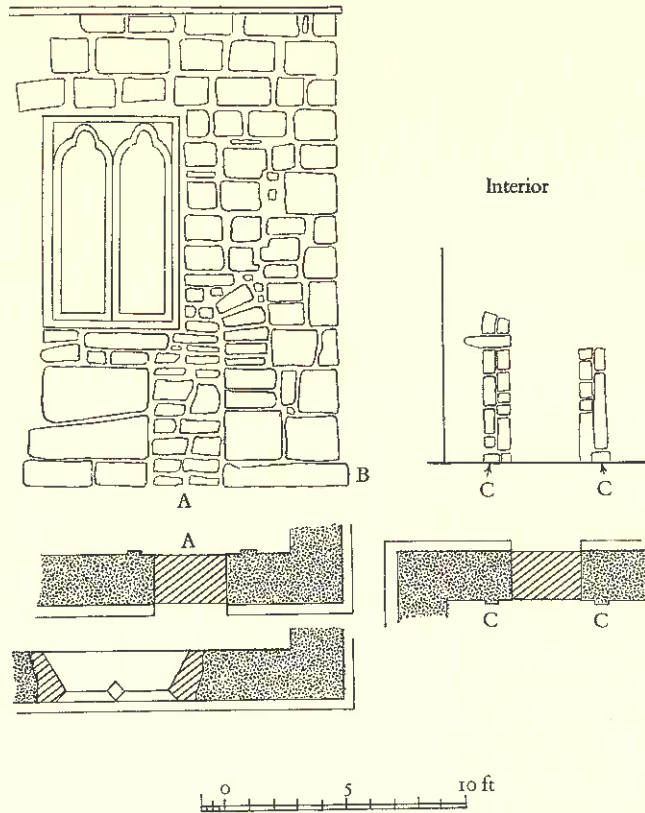


FIG. 162. KIRK HAMMERTON, YORKSHIRE (W.R.)

The blocked south doorway near the east of the nave. It should particularly be noted how the doorway A cuts through the original plinth B. Inside the church the strip-work C is clearly visible, with vestiges of an impost and of hood-moulding on the east side, while on the west there is a vestige of a base.

doorway and round its head as a semicircular hood-moulding. A strange feature of the doorway is that the hood-moulding is not concentric with the main arch, but stands further back from it at each side, where large stones are interposed between the arch and the hood-mould, by contrast with quite small intervening stones at the head. The jambs and surrounding strip-work of the doorway rise from a simple plinth, of a single square order.

In the eastern part of the same south wall, below a medieval window of two lights, there may be seen the blocked outline of another doorway, whose form is more clearly visible internally, there outlined by strip-work which is now cut back almost flush with the surface of the wall. It is difficult to explain why so small a nave should have been thought to need two doorways so close together; unless the eastern doorway opened from the nave to a *porticus*, or side-chapel, while the

western one served as the entrance to the nave. An argument in favour of such an explanation is that the strip-work is on the exterior face of the western doorway and the interior face of the eastern. There is, however, no apparent evidence of the former existence of a *porticus*, and the continuous line of plinth round the walls of the nave and chancel seems to argue against the possibility.

Within the nave it may be seen how a north aisle was added, in the thirteenth century, opening to the nave through an arcade of two lofty Early English arches, which still remain but which now lead to the much wider nineteenth-century nave, with its own north aisle beyond. The blocked eastern doorway in the south wall should also be noted; its jambs are clearly visible, and also its eastern impost, and the lines of vertical strip-work on either side of the doorway, resting on somewhat bulbous bases.

The tall tower-arch, of slightly horseshoe form,

is most strangely lacking in imposts; and the uneven surface of its plastered soffit leads one to wonder whether there could originally have been an inner order, as in the chancel-arch, and whether this was subsequently removed for some reason. The plain square jambs are, however, of massive through-stones which show no sign of any later modification. It should also be remembered that, until the tower was built, the nave must have had either a solid west wall or else a wall with a doorway. It may therefore be that the strange form of the tower-arch is simply the result of inexperienced workmanship in the difficult task of cutting quite a large arch through a pre-existing wall. High above the tower-arch, and partially obscured by a king-post of the roof, are traces of a blocked, small, rectangular doorway to give access to the upper part of the tower.

The chancel-arch is of three orders, of which the outer two are flush with the face of the wall, while the inner one is recessed. The imposts are of massive flat slabs of stone, cut to match the recessing of the inner order; they are also constructed in two steps, of which the upper projects slightly beyond the lower. The jambs, also, are logically formed of two square orders so as to continue the motive of the arch and of the imposts. The lower part of the south jamb has at some later date been savagely hacked away, possibly to give a wider view of the altar. Almost the whole of the northern side of the arch and its jamb were cut away in 1834, when the church was enlarged on the north; the arch was then supported on an oak beam; and it was not until 1891 that the arch was restored to its present form.

In the south wall of the chancel, between a tall, narrow, round-headed Norman window at the west and a small Early English lancet further east, there are traces, visible both externally and internally, of a blocked, round-headed, internally splayed window, probably the only vestige of the original Anglo-Saxon windows. Internally it may be seen that the window was enriched by the cutting of a roll-moulding on the salient angle up the jambs and round the head.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 21 ft long internally and 13 ft 1 in. wide; the chancel is 13 ft 4 in. long and was

originally 8 ft 6 in. wide. The walls are 2 ft 2 in. in thickness and about 21 ft in height. The tower is about 9 ft 2 in. square internally, with side walls 2 ft 2 in. thick, and end walls varying between 2 ft 9 in. (west) and 2 ft 11 in. (east); it is about 50 ft high.

The south doorway is 3 ft 5 in. wide and 8 ft 6 in. tall; the west doorway is 3 ft 3 in. by 9 ft 8 in.; and the blocked south-eastern doorway is 2 ft 10 in. wide and must have been about 7 ft tall. The tower-arch is 6 ft wide and 13 ft tall, and the chancel-arch 5 ft 10 in., by 13 ft.

The blocked window in the south wall of the chancel is 1 ft wide and 3 ft 1 in. tall externally, with its sill 7 ft 3 in. above the plinth. Internally it is splayed to become 1 ft 4 in. by 4 ft 2 in.

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KNOOK

Wiltshire

Map sheet 167, reference ST 937418

ST MARGARET

Tall south doorway in nave, with elaborate tympanum: period C 3

About 5 miles east-south-east of Warminster and less than 400 yards from the busy road that leads from Salisbury to Bath, Knook church has a peaceful setting at the end of a cul-de-sac beside the River Wylye. The church has been so drastically restored that little of its original fabric

remains; but the chancel is substantially Norman, with six typical round-headed, internally splayed windows, of ashlar construction. If there ever was a stone chancel-arch it has now been replaced by one of wood; this is carried by corbels in the form of short lengths of half-round shafts, with elaborately carved capitals of a character which Clapham claimed as belonging to a period immediately before the Conquest.¹

In the south wall of the nave there has, however, been suffered to remain a remarkable square-headed blocked doorway under a round arch, which in turn is outlined by a gabled porch or framework standing forward 1 ft from the main surface of the wall. The doorway has none of the more commonly accepted characteristics of Anglo-Saxon workmanship such as through-stones, 'Escomb technique', or jambs cut straight through the wall, but it was dated by Clapham to the period immediately before the Conquest on the evidence of the capitals which support the round arch. These are not unlike Norman cushion capitals, but are of somewhat simpler form, and the D-shaped plain faces are each outlined by a raised rectangular fillet, while the sunken areas within are enriched with simple carved foliage. Between the round arch and the head of the doorway is a carved tympanum which has been regarded as Norman, but for which Clapham claimed the same late-Saxon date. He based this claim not only on the evidence of the capitals, but also on a comparison of the sculptured foliage and confronted animals with similar motifs in the Aldhelm manuscript at Lambeth, ascribed to the early part of the eleventh century.²

The doorway is tall and narrow and, in addition to the peculiar form of the capitals, it has an unusual moulding round its arched head, where the arris carries a broad three-quarter roll, outlined on the archivolt face by a concentric fillet of rectangular section, which is separated from the plane face of the gable by a groove, also of rectangular section.

The interior face of the doorway towards the nave is a plain, round-headed, rear-arch without any imposts.

DIMENSIONS

The rectangular doorway is 3 ft 8 in. wide and 8 ft tall. The round arch outlining the tympanum is 4 ft 1 in. wide and 9 ft 10 in. tall, and the rear-arch in the nave is of the same dimensions.

The wall in which the doorway stands is about 3 ft thick, excluding the additional projection of the gabled porch or frame.

KYME, SOUTH

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 113, reference TF 168497

ALL SAINTS

No surviving fabric, but important fragments of architectural sculpture, probably originally forming a screen: probably period A

Although no part of the fabric of a pre-Conquest church has survived *in situ* at South Kyme, about 7 miles east-north-east of Sleaford, the site is of importance to the student of Anglo-Saxon art and architecture because of the fine group of carved fragments, which were found during the restoration of the church in 1890 and which are now built into the north wall, in a small vestry near its east end. These stones are of particular importance because one contains fully developed trumpet-spirals, closely resembling those that are found on the escutcheons of pagan Anglo-Saxon hanging bowls of the sixth and seventh centuries and in the seventh-century manuscripts of Northumbria and Ireland. Other stones of the group show plant-scrolls and other Northumbrian motives, including fret, interlace, and a fine eagle. The stones seem to have formed part of rectangular panels for a screen or shrine, since each of them shows parts of the moulded framework which bounded a panel.

It has been suggested that South Kyme was the site of St Botolph's monastery of *Icanho*, but this identification seems to be disproved by the statement in the anonymous Life of Abbot Ceolfrith that he 'came also to East Anglia to see the

¹ A. W. Clapham, *Arch. J.* 104 (1947), 163.

² C. E. Keyser, *Norman Tympana* (London, 1904),

pl. 34. See also Clapham, *loc. cit.* and *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, 136-7.

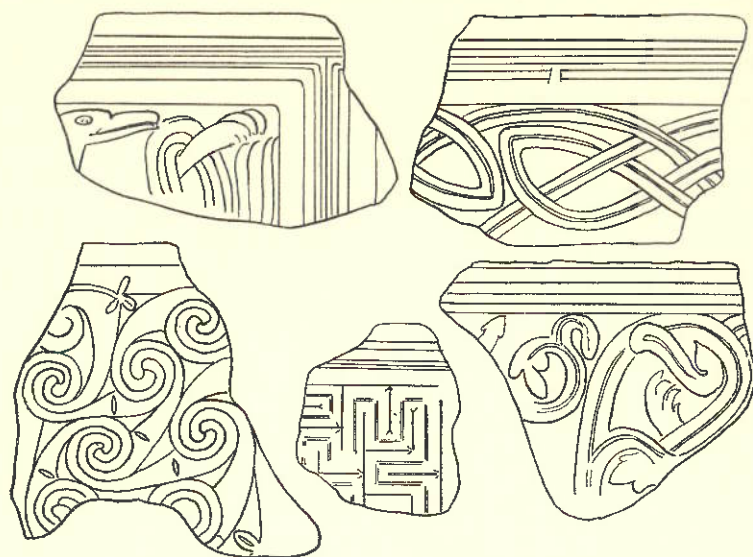


FIG. 163. SOUTH KYME, LINCOLNSHIRE

Five of the six fragments of sculpture preserved in a recess at the north of the altar.

monastic practices of Abbot Botwulf'.¹ The excellence of the work suggests that the foundation at Kyme was one of considerable importance.

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 C. F. C. HAWKES, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Lincolnshire', *Arch. J.* 103 (1946), 92.

LANGDON, EAST

Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 333460

ST AUGUSTINE

Main fabric: possibly Saxo-Norman

The church at East Langdon, pleasantly situated in a fold of the Downs about 3 miles north of

Dover, was claimed as Anglo-Saxon by Loftus Brock in 1895.² This claim was based on the discovery of a round-headed, single-splayed window close to the west of the Norman south arcade, and partly cut away by its western arch. A second window of the same type has subsequently been discovered in the north wall and has been opened out and restored to use. The interior splays of both windows are completely covered with plaster, so that no details of their construction can now be seen, but Brock recorded that the splays of the south window were built of small stones without any use of dressed Caen stone. He said that, although the form and proportions of the south window could not be taken for other than Norman work, nevertheless its having been cut away by the Norman arch (which he regarded as early Norman) made it most likely that the window originally belonged to an Anglo-Saxon nave.

This argument is not conclusive, for it is difficult to say how early the arcade really is, and the windows could be those of an early Norman

¹ D. Whitelock, *E.H.D.* (1955), 698; and introductory note, 697.

² E. P. L. Brock, *Arch. Cant.* 21 (1895), 303.

church enlarged in later Norman times by the addition of the south aisle. The widely splayed apertures are more in favour of Norman than Anglo-Saxon workmanship; and the same is true of the outer face of the north window, with its jambs and arched head all formed of smallish, dressed stones, some of which may, however, be modern restoration. The quoins of the nave are also of small blocks of dressed stone, more in keeping with a post-Conquest date, although the thin walls give some support for an earlier date.

The chancel-arch, also, although it has some features suggestive of Anglo-Saxon influence, is on the whole Norman in character. The arch itself is round, of a single order, not of through-stones. The arris toward the chancel is of plain square section, while that toward the nave is worked to show a roll-moulding, outlined by a hollow on either side. The jambs, resting on double-stepped bases, are also square in section toward the chancel but are each worked to show toward the nave an attached angle-shaft with a mitred cushion capital. The most interesting features, although still inconclusive, are, however, the quirked and chamfered impost. That on the north is ornamented with a double-step or key pattern, while that on the south has two interlacing strands in the form of a continuous figure-of-eight pattern. Although the stepped pattern on the north and the interlace on the south are Anglo-Saxon in feeling, the pellets with which the steps on the north impost are charged are a Norman feature.

On the whole, we are inclined to assign the original work at East Langdon to the Normans and to regard the extent of Anglo-Saxon influence as quite small.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 33 ft long by 17 ft 6 in. wide internally, and the chancel 18 ft by 14 ft 7 in. The walls are 2 ft 3 in. thick and about 15 ft high. The chancel-arch is 9 ft 8 in. wide by about 16 ft in height. The windows in the nave have apertures 9 in. wide by 2 ft 6 in. tall, splayed to 3 ft 3 in. by 5 ft 7 in. in the inner face of the wall, where their sills are 8 ft above the floor.

LANGFORD

Oxfordshire

Map sheet 157, reference SP 249025

Figures 511-13

DEDICATION UNKNOWN

Axial tower: period C3

The attractive stone-built village of Langford, surrounded by level meadows, in the upper Thames Valley, about 3 miles north-east of Lechlade, has one of the most interesting churches of Oxfordshire. Its late-Saxon axial tower stands between a somewhat wider aisleless Early English chancel and an aisled nave, which has late-Norman or Transitional arcades, and outer walls containing fine Decorated and Perpendicular windows. The aisles have been carried eastward across half the sides of the tower, but fortunately the eastern half has been left unobscured. In addition to its interesting structural details, the church also has two pre-Conquest Roods built into its medieval south porch.

The walls of the tower are thinly covered with plaster, but this does not entirely obscure their fabric of flattish rubble. At each angle the quoins of dressed stone project about 2 in. in front of the main face of the wall and so form a frame for it. Pilaster-strips, also of dressed stone, and of the unusual width of about 12 in., run up the middle of the north and south faces and divide them into vertical panels. Each of the three stages of the tower is divided from the one above by a broad string-course of plain square section and of the same projection as the pilasters and quoins. The belfry stage is further emphasized by being set back a few inches from the stage below. In each stage, the quoins and pilasters start from the plinth or string-course with characteristically Anglo-Saxon double-stepped bases, and end on the string-course above with similar stepped capitals.

Above the upper string-course of the belfry stage there follows a short section of ashlar walling, above which a Norman corbel-table carries a low-pitched gabled roof, with its ridge running from east to west.

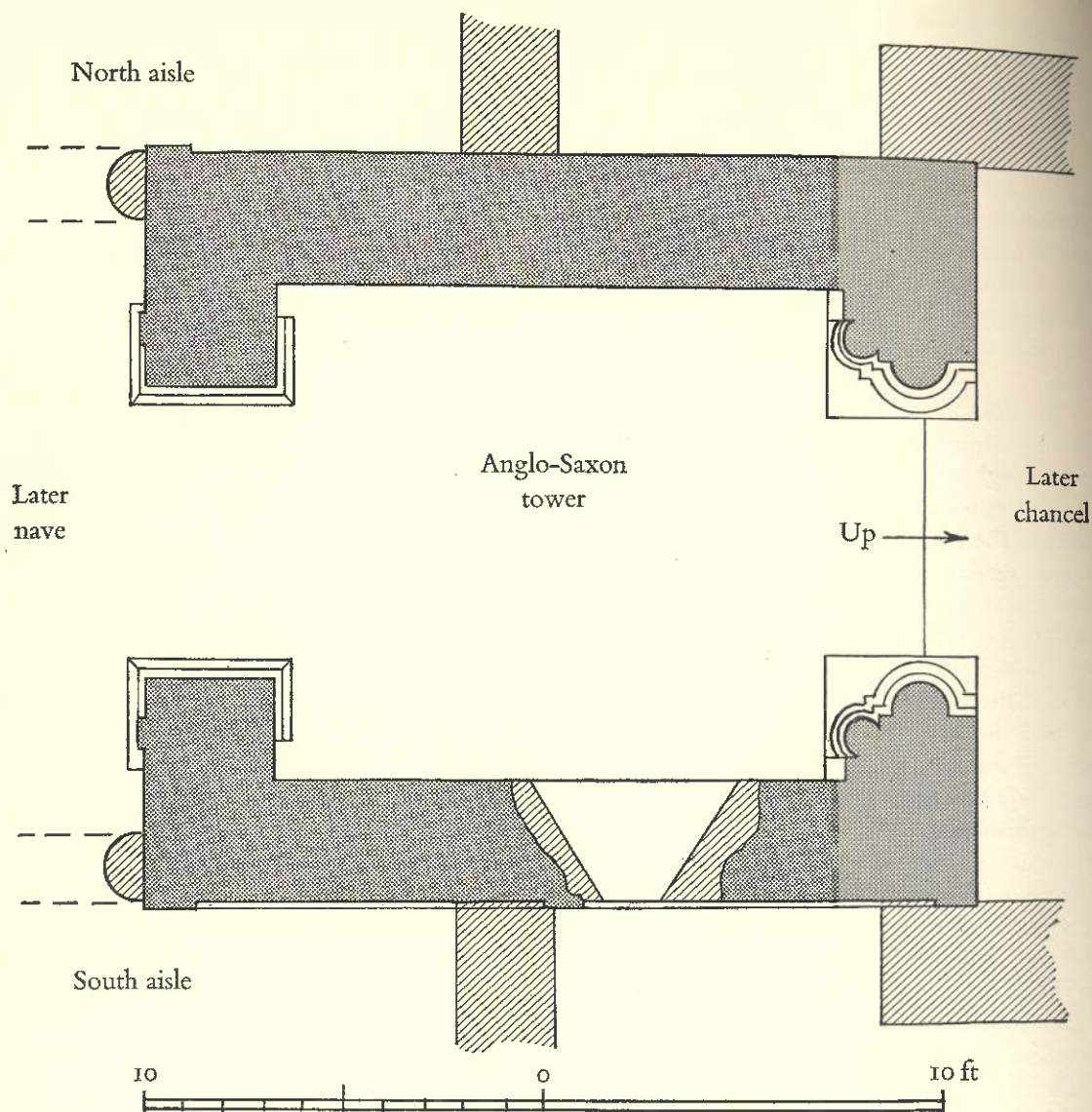


FIG. 164. LANGFORD, OXFORDSHIRE

Plan of the Anglo-Saxon tower showing its relation to the later buildings on either side.

A pair of wide, round-headed windows occupies the greater part of each face of the belfry stage. These are of unique character, constructed of ashlar and, so far as we can ascertain, wholly of through-stones. The soffit face of each window carries a half-round moulding, which runs up the jambs and round the head, without any capital between jambs and head. Towards the interior of the tower the jambs and arched head are otherwise of plain square section; but externally, the archivolt face has been cut away so as to form a

half-round archivolt-roll, which is separated from the main face of the wall by a deep V-shaped incision and from the soffit-roll by a square arris. Like the soffit-roll, the archivolt-roll and the square arris are carried up the jambs and round the arched head; but, unlike it, their jambs and heads are separated by conical, collar-shaped capitals, which are decorated with simple carved foliage and are outlined, above and below, by plain, square fillets. The central pier between the two lights of each window is formed of massive

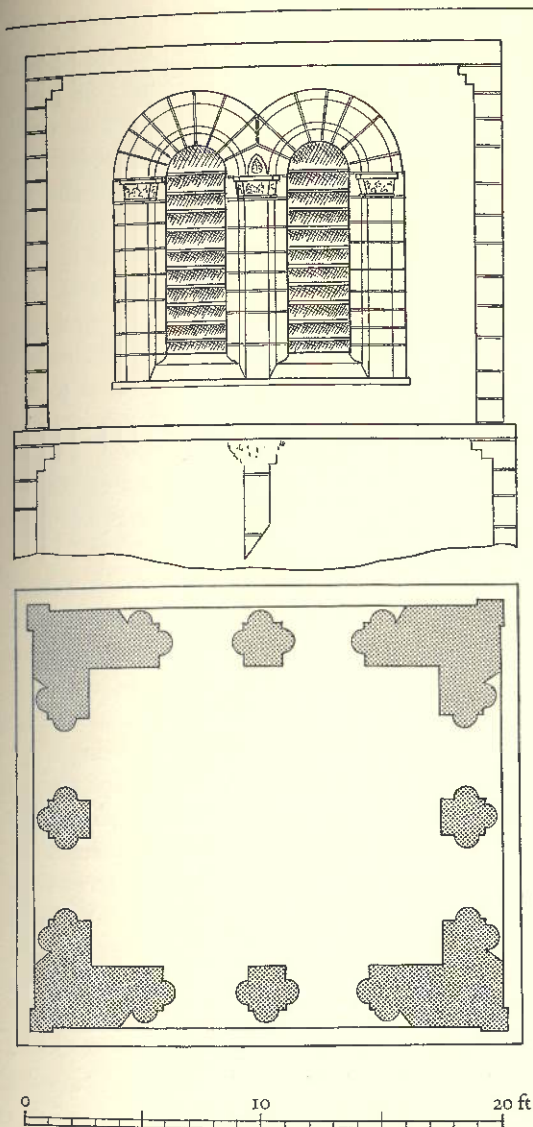


FIG. 165. LANGFORD, OXFORDSHIRE

Plan of the belfry stage of the tower and elevation of its south face. Note how the mouldings of the arches and jambs are cut on single through-stones. Note also how the face is outlined by slightly projecting pilasters which have stepped tops.

stones which not only pass through the full thickness of the wall but also carry the mouldings which form the jambs of the two adjoining lights. In each window, the archivolt-rolls which surround the heads of the two lights unite above the capital of the central pier and form a single moulding which runs down its outer face. In order to decorate the junction between the two mouldings, the springing immediately above the capital is carved to show a large upright leaf or

flower within a medallion, which is outlined by a raised square fillet. To complete the description of these remarkable windows, it should be noted that their sills slope outward, and that the mouldings of the jambs have no bases where they join the sills.

Below the belfry stage, the east and west faces of the tower are almost completely hidden by the steeply pitched roofs of the chancel and the nave. On the north, a turret-stairway has subsequently been built externally, partly overlapping the chancel and partly the tower, in order to give

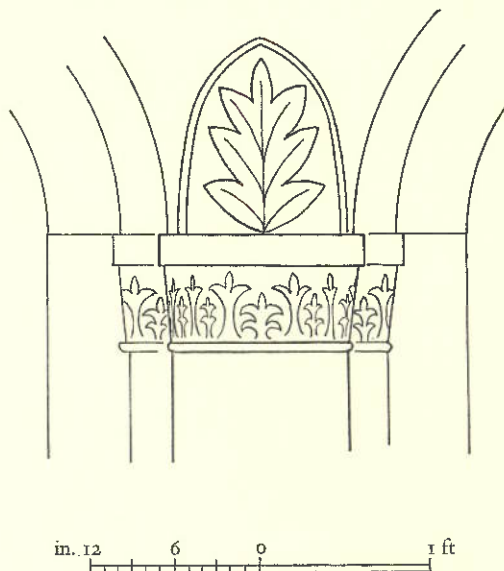


FIG. 166. LANGFORD, OXFORDSHIRE

Details of the sculpture on the central impost of the south belfry window.

access to the ringing-chamber by a doorway near its north-eastern corner. The middle stage of the tower has two double-splayed, round-headed windows in its south face, and presumably formerly had two also in its north face, where now only one is visible, and the other is no doubt hidden or destroyed by the stairway. These double-splayed windows all contain their original stone mid-wall slabs in which are cut their apertures, of markedly keyhole form. The central pilaster-strip, already noticed, runs continuously down the centre of the north face; but on the south face a section near the top is missing and a little lower the pilaster is interrupted by a decorative panel, which is carved in relief to show two

kilted human figures, who hold aloft a semi-circular sundial that is now so weathered as to show little of its original details. On the south face, the horizontal string-course between the two lower stages has been in part supplanted by a later medieval drip-stone, but the simple square outline of the original string-course is quite plain near the centre, where the stepped cap of the lower pilaster meets it and where it in turn supports the stepped base of the upper pilaster (see Fig. 167).

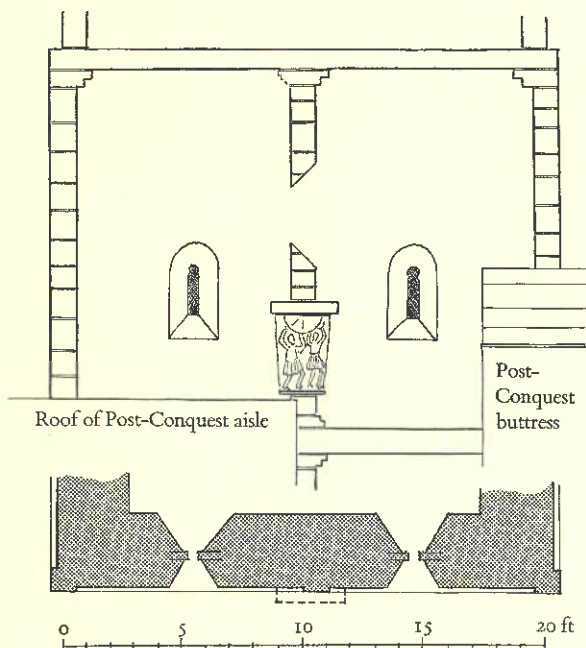


FIG. 167. LANGFORD, OXFORDSHIRE
The south face of the tower at first-floor level, showing the double-splayed windows and the sundial.

Externally, the lowest stage has no features of Anglo-Saxon date, except the pilaster-strip, with its stepped base rising from a simple, square plinth. In the south face, a tall Early English lancet has been cut through the wall, to the east of the central pilaster, in order to light the ground floor of the tower.

Internally, the two arches which lead through the tower are fine examples of Anglo-Saxon architectural composition. The western arch is a simple, round-headed opening of plain square section. Its square imposts are chamfered, and are returned along the wall into the nave and the tower.

Its plain square jambs and its imposts are formed of through-stones, but its arch is not. Its jambs rest on square bases, which in turn rest on a tall, chamfered plinth; both the base and the plinth are returned, like the imposts, into the nave and the tower. Towards the tower, the arch has no further ornament; but towards the nave it is outlined by strip-work, which is carried up beside the jambs, and round the head as a hood-moulding. The vertical strips, about 8 in. in width, project only 1 in. from the face of the wall, so as to run into the lower chamfered face of the imposts; but the hood-moulding, of the same width, projects 4 in. from the wall, so as to have its outer face flush with the vertical face of the imposts (see Fig. 168).

The eastern arch is of considerably greater elaboration. It is also round-headed, but its through-stone voussoirs are shaped so as to show a plain square arris towards the chancel, a narrow three-quarter-roll on the western arris, and a wide half-roll on the soffit. These mouldings are continued down the jambs, which are also of through-stones. In plan, the capitals and bases also continue the same mouldings, while in vertical section they are in part cylindrical and in part conical. The capitals are separated from the shafts by a narrow, rounded fillet; then follows a tall, conical section; then a slightly less tall cylindrical section; and finally a quirked and chamfered abacus. Each base begins from the plinth with a vertical cylindrical section, which is followed by two tapering conical sections, separated by a narrow step. The plinth is a bold cubical block which projects appreciably beyond the base and forms a strong support for the whole composition.

The ground floor of the tower is now well lit by the Early English lancet in its south wall. It is also covered by a stone barrel-vault which has a cross-bay to accommodate the head of this lancet. The vault has been claimed as probably Anglo-Saxon,¹ but the cross-bay suggests that it is an insertion of the thirteenth century or later. In the first-floor chamber of the tower, the present stone floor is about 3 ft below the original doorways which open to the east and west; and

¹ Editorial, *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S.* 53 (1931), 37.

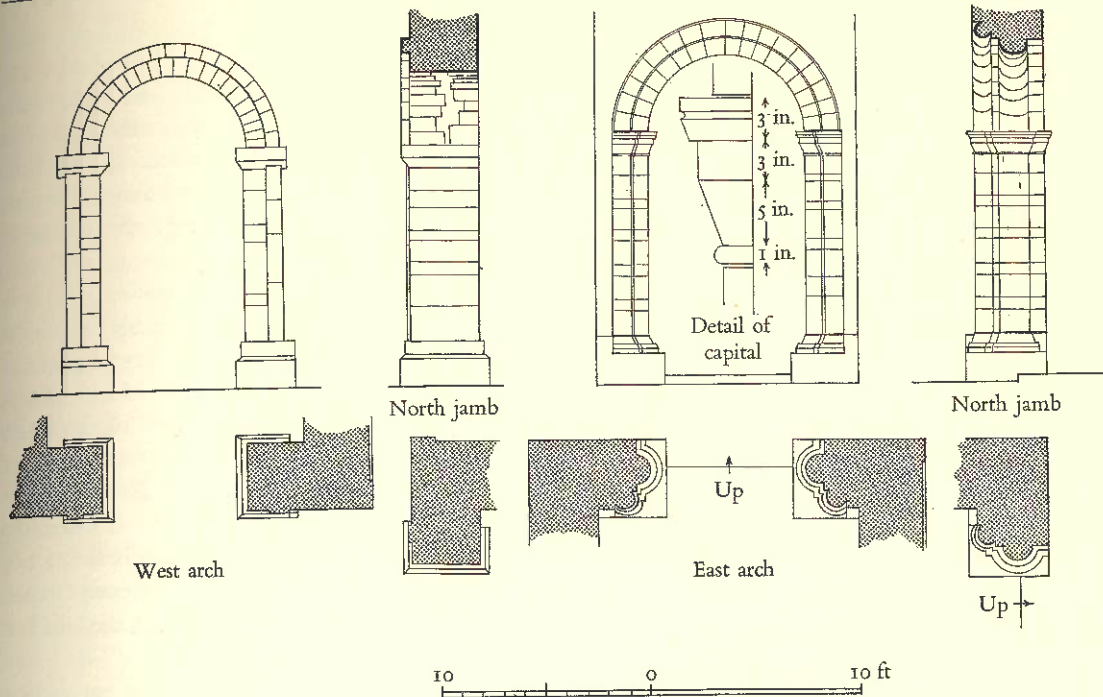


FIG. 168. LANGFORD, OXFORDSHIRE

Details of the two arches of the tower. Note the much greater elaboration of the eastern arch. Note also that, while the jambs of both openings are built of through-stones, the western arch is not, although its voussoirs would have been much easier to form from single stones than was the case with the complicated mouldings of the eastern arch.

this fact would also argue against assigning an Anglo-Saxon date to the vault.

Above the arches of the tower, doorways opened eastward and westward through the walls, and these may still be seen from the nave and the chancel. Both doorways are square-headed, and that towards the nave has its western face carefully framed in dressed stone, with 'Escomb fashion' jambs, chamfered bases, and a flat lintel. The doorway towards the chancel, now blocked, has a stone lintel, but its jambs are built of the same rough flat pieces of undressed rubble as the walls themselves. Moreover, in the first-floor chamber, the faces of both doorways have jambs of rough rubble construction. It therefore seems to follow that the opening towards the nave was meant to be seen from the nave, whereas the others were internal openings in upper chambers, that is to say that both the tower and the chancel had upper chambers, with floors at the level of the sills of these doorways, while the doorway towards the nave would probably have been approached from a stair or a gallery.

The eastern and western faces of the tower towards the chancel and the nave are plastered, and it is not now possible to see any traces of the original side walls of the Anglo-Saxon nave and chancel. Towards the east, however, the line of the original roof is visible on the upper part of the wall, above the upper doorway; and this gives some indication that the chancel was narrower than the tower. The north and south faces of the original western quoins of the tower may be seen within the parts of the aisles which overlap the tower; and these quoins continue to the floor, thus proving that the original nave did not overlap the sides of the tower. It seems impossible now to decide with certainty whether the present tall Norman arcades of the nave are in the alignment of the original Anglo-Saxon walls (or are even cut through them) or whether, as at Barton-on-Humber, the building to the west of the tower was narrower than the tower. The very tall and thin character of the arcades seems, however, to give some support for the former hypothesis.

THE ROODS

The two Roods now built into the gable and the east wall of the south porch do not strictly come within the scope of this book, because they are clearly not in their original architectural setting; but they are of much too great interest and importance to be passed over without brief reference. The larger one in the east wall, although mutilated, and without the head of Christ, has an exceptional simple dignity; and is important as one of the few early examples in this country in which Christ is shown in a long, clerical garment with sleeves. Attention should be drawn to the deep undercutting of the sleeves and of the folds of the skirt, and to the simple knot of the girdle. The long fingers should also be noted, and the way in which they pass over a vertical moulding on the face of the stone. This is of importance in relation to the fragment of the Rood at Bitton, Gloucestershire, which shows a similar hand, emerging from a wide-ended sleeve, and passing over a similar vertical moulding.

The second sculpture is on a much smaller scale, in the gable of the porch, and has been incorrectly reassembled, so that the figures of St Mary and St John are looking away from the crucified Christ; it shows the figure of Christ distorted, no doubt to indicate the intensity of His human suffering, as in the Rood at Breamore; whereas the peaceful and dignified figure of the larger Langford Rood was, by contrast, intended to show divine majesty standing above human suffering.

The date of these sculptures has been the subject of some controversy. The larger figure is dated by Clapham to the tenth century, and both sculptures are dated by Talbot Rice to about 1020, but Kendrick firmly places the large Langford Rood in the twelfth century.¹ The relation between the Bitton and Langford Roods seems to us to give an important new piece of evidence in favour of the pre-Conquest date, for the feet of the Bitton Rood are *in situ* in a pre-Conquest structure.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is slightly oblong in plan, with internal dimensions of 13 ft 8 in. from east to west and 12 ft 3 in. from north to south. Its east wall is 3 ft 8 in. thick and the others are about 3 ft 3 in. Excluding the Norman capping, the tower is about 55 ft in height.

The western tower-arch is 7 ft wide and 14 ft tall, and the eastern arch is 7 ft 3 in. by 15 ft 8 in.

The double-splayed windows have apertures 5 in. wide and 2 ft tall, cut in stone slabs which are placed at 2 ft from the inner face of the wall; and at that inner face the windows are splayed to 3 ft in width by 5 ft 7 in. in height. The doorways leading east and west from the upper chamber are both about 6 ft tall, with their sills about 3 ft above the present floor. Both doorways taper slightly upwards and their widths at the sills are 2 ft 3 in. (east) and 2 ft 8 in. (west).

The individual lights of the double belfry windows are each 2 ft 6 in. wide and about 8 ft tall.

REFERENCES

These have been fully given in the footnotes.

LASTINGHAM

Yorkshire, North Riding

Map sheet 92, reference SE 728904

ST MARY

Bases in crypt, impost in chancel; and possibly lower part of north wall of chancel, with string-course in situ: period uncertain

The foundation of the monastery at Lastingham, about 3 miles north-east of Kirkby Moorside, is told in considerable detail by Bede (*H.E.* III, 23). Ethelwald, king of Deira, asked Bishop Cedd of the East Saxons to build a monastery to which the king might go to offer prayers and to hear the Word, and in which he might be buried when he died. Cedd accordingly chose a place among

¹ A. W. Clapham (1930), pl. 61. Also 'Some disputed examples of pre-Conquest sculpture', *Ant.* 25 (1951), 193-4; D. T. Rice, *English Art, 871-1100* (Oxford, 1952),

98-106, and pls. 11a and 17; T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), 51-2.

craggy and distant mountains which looked more like a lurking place for robbers and a retreat for wild beasts than a habitation for men. After Cedd and his brother had fasted here for the forty days of Lent, the monastery was founded here, and was for many years under Cedd's direction. He eventually died there, and was buried first in the open but later on the right hand of the altar in a church of stone dedicated in honour of the Mother of God.

The present apsidal church is mainly of Norman and later date, and is of considerable interest in itself. It is difficult to be certain that any fabric has remained *in situ* from the pre-Conquest church, but the antiquity of the site as a place of Christian worship and burial is indicated by the large number of Anglo-Saxon carved stones which are to be seen in the crypt.

The four Norman columns which support the vault of the crypt rest on bulbous bases whose form suggests pre-Conquest rather than Norman workmanship. These, therefore, seem to be re-used fabric from an earlier church, as is also the carved impost at the west of the eastern arch of the south arcade in the church. This impost is constructed of two separate stones, which do not quite match in size, and which are carved with quite different patterns. The southern stone has on its vertical face a pattern of diaper and of interlocking half-circles; on its chamfered face it has a pattern of coiled strands whose loops give an impression of upright palmate leaves. The northern stone has on its vertical face a pattern of interlace and of interlocking circles; while its chamfered face has an unusual scroll pattern of a weak and late character.

The lower part of the outer north wall of the crypt and of the chancel is of roughly squared stone with much larger stones for its side-alternate quoins. The fabric is in marked contrast to that of the remainder of the church, and it is bounded above by a string-course, which is now sadly weathered, but which seems to be of pre-Conquest character. In section it is fundamentally square, but with a quarter-round moulding cut into its lower angle. The vertical face is ornamented with patterns of interlace and of interlocking circles,

all of which are now too weathered to be interpreted in detail. The section is, however, like that of the lower string-course at Milborne Port, and it suggests to us a date in period C, towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon era.

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- C. C. HODGES, 'Pre-Conquest churches of Northumbria', *Reliquary*, n.s., 8 (1894), 193-205. Lastingham, 196-8. Note that Dr J. C. Cox had drawn attention to the survival of pre-Conquest fabric in the piers on the south of the choir. Norman work dated to c. 1078.
- J. C. WALL, *The Monastic Church of Lastingham* (York, 1894). In a review of this book (*Antiquary*, 30 (1894), 230) the anonymous reviewer states his firm conviction that parts of the four piers of the crypt are Anglo-Saxon.

LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN

Yorkshire, West Riding

Map sheet 103, reference SK 517882

Figure 514

ALL SAINTS

*Part of north and west walls, with north doorway:
period C*

The graceful Perpendicular spire of All Saints church serves as a landmark for the small village of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, which, although only 10 miles east from the centre of Sheffield, still stands in a district of woods and fields, in a pleasantly rolling landscape. An extensive motte and bailey earthwork immediately to the west of the church is now largely included in the churchyard.

The architectural history of the church is not easy to disentangle from the present fabric, but the Rev. T. Rigby recorded that the present church is the third to stand on the site.¹ The first was an Anglo-Saxon church of which some parts

¹ T. Rigby, *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 10 (1904), 189-98.

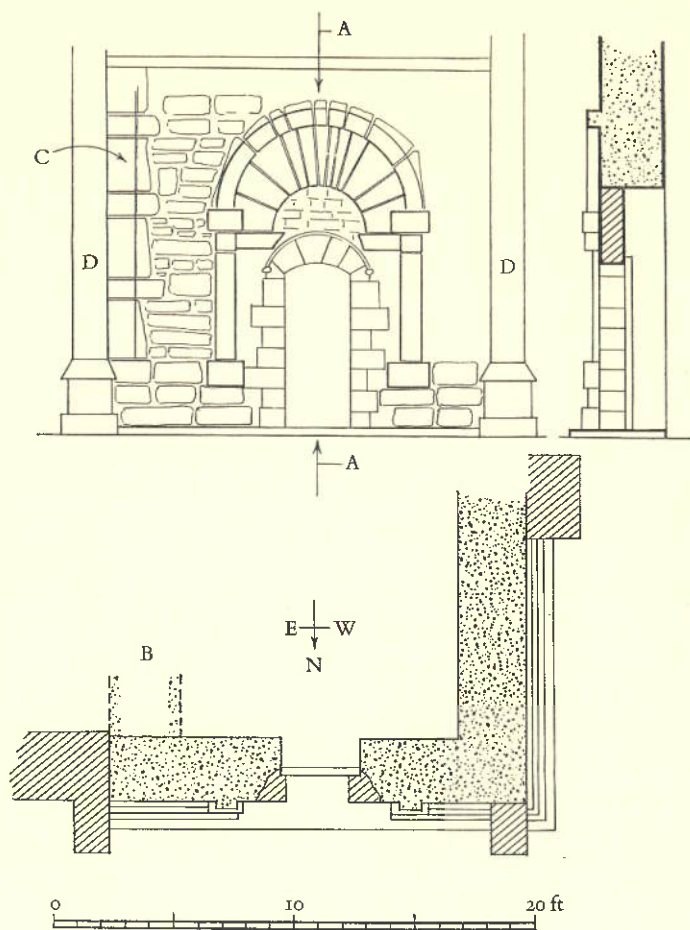


FIG. 169. LAUGHTON-EN-LE-MORTHEN, YORKSHIRE (W.R.)

Elevation, section at AA, and plan of the early door and walling at the north-west of the later medieval church. B, destroyed east wall of *porticus*; C, surviving east quoin of *porticus*, in well-defined long-and-short formation; D, later medieval buttresses.

still remain, built in dark brown gritstone which contrasts sharply with the white stone of the rest of the fabric. This church may have fallen out of use as a result of William the Conqueror's harrying of the north after the rebellion of 1069-70. The second church, late-Norman in style and built of white Roche Abbey stone, was ruined during the Insurrection of the Barons in the reign of Edward II; and it was replaced in 1377 by the present church, dedicated to All Saints. Of the Anglo-Saxon church there certainly remains a section of north and west wall, at the west end of the north aisle, with the fine doorway illustrated by Rickman in 1836 in his first list of twenty

Anglo-Saxon churches.¹ Mr Rigby also claimed that the lower parts of the present walls of the chancel, built of the same brownish stone, are relics of the original church. The east wall of the chancel is indeed of the same brown gritstone as the Anglo-Saxon walling at the north-west, and of similar large blocks of roughly squared stone. Moreover it stands on a simple plinth of two square orders of the same brown stone. But, intervening between this plinth and the walling above, is a chamfered plinth which is mitred round the Norman buttresses of the upper part of the wall. Both this chamfered plinth and the Norman buttresses are of white stone and there-

¹ T. Rickman, *Arch.* 26 (1836), 32-3.

fore, if the east wall is largely Anglo-Saxon as claimed by Rigby, these buttresses and the chamfered plinth must have been inserted later. On the whole, we incline to the view that the brown stone in the upper part of the wall is re-used material, and that the wall is of Norman date. This leaves as an open question whether the two courses of plinth are survivals, *in situ*, from the original church.

The undoubted Anglo-Saxon remains at the west of the north aisle comprise about 15 ft of north wall, including the doorway described below, together with about 11 ft of west wall. A long-and-short quoin at the north-west angle is concealed on the north by a later buttress, but its western face is visible, and it has survived with only the slight damage that was caused by the bonding of the buttress into it. At the east of the early wall, and again partly concealed by a later buttress, is the north face of another long-and-short quoin. This quoin, together with confirmatory evidence which is visible internally, serves to show that the surviving Anglo-Saxon fabric was a porch or chapel of total external extent from east to west of about 17 ft 6 in. The most probable interpretation of such a building seems to be that it formed part of a complex of western chambers; since at Brixworth and Monkwearmouth the north and south doorways, in the surviving parts of the western *porticus*, indicate lateral chambers at the west of the church.

The walling itself is of the brown gritstone already mentioned, in blocks of varying size, roughly squared and laid with some regard to regular coursing. The walls stand on a square plinth of three courses of the same stone set forward about 10 in. in all; and separate projecting square bases are set on top of the plinth, to support the quoins, and the strip-work which outlines the doorway. The plinth is returned round the north-western angle and may be inferred to have turned southward similarly at the north-eastern angle, where it is concealed by the later buttress; in any event it does not continue along the remainder of the north wall of the north aisle.

The doorway itself is the feature on which Rickman based his identification of the church as Anglo-Saxon so long ago as 1836. It is boldly outlined by strip-work which rises, with its own

rudely shaped square bases, from the main plinth, to support similar square imposts for the semi-circular hood-mould over the doorway. The outlining frame of strip-work has survived complete, but the doorway has been ruthlessly cut away to allow the insertion of a medieval doorway of no merit. There now remain of the original doorway only the arched head and the mutilated imposts, but these are sufficient to define the size of the opening and to indicate its original character, as an opening which was cut straight through the wall, without any internal rebate. Both externally and internally the arched head has twelve voussoirs, and there is therefore a strong indication that these are through-stones. They are well laid and closely jointed, of considerably greater length along the radius than round the circumference of the arch, and they are all worked with a small rebate near the arris, as though for decoration.

The hood-moulding is of large stones, most of which extend round considerable lengths of the circumference. They are mostly larger than the area of the raised hood-moulding itself, and the remainder of their surface is cut back flush with the surface of the wall.

Internally, a straight vertical joint marks the position where the Anglo-Saxon north wall at the west of the north aisle joins the thicker medieval north wall. This joint is at a distance of 14 ft 5 in. from the north-western angle of the north aisle, and from this joint westward, for a distance of about 2 ft 11 in., the walling is irregular and roughly surfaced, no doubt as the result of the cutting away of the eastern wall of the Anglo-Saxon *porticus*, which at this point must have run southward.

The jambs of the original doorway seem to have been suffered to remain, internally, built of stones which are coursed with those of the wall. The arched head has also survived, of twelve well-shaped voussoirs, which are decorated, like the exterior face, by the cutting of a shallow rebate near the arris.

In the south wall of the chancel is a large, triangular-headed piscina, which Rigby claimed as Anglo-Saxon. As mentioned above, we doubt whether the walls of the chancel in their present form can be regarded as pre-Conquest; and the

triangular shape of the head of the piscina does not seem to us to be sufficient evidence for justifying its claim to such a date.

DIMENSIONS

The surviving north-west *porticus* is 11 ft 6 in. in internal extent from east to west, with the north doorway almost exactly centrally placed. The north wall is 2 ft 8 in. in thickness and the west wall 2 ft 10 in.; the indications on the interior of the north wall suggest a thickness of 2 ft 11 in. for the demolished east wall.

The north doorway was about 3 ft 4 in. in width and about 10 ft 2 in. tall.

REFERENCES

- T. RICKMAN, 'Ecclesiastical architecture in France and England', *Arch.* 26 (1836), 26-46. Laughton, 32-3. North doorway illustrated.
- J. STACEY, 'Laughton-en-le-Morthen', *J.B.A.A.* 30 (1874), 397-405. Historical account; Laughton was the property of Edwin, before the Conquest. Church described, 403-5.
- G. M. HILLS, 'Examples of ancient earthworks', *ibid.* 30 (1874), 406-13. Earthwork claimed as pre-Norman. Plan and section of earthwork, pl. 16.
- T. RIGBY, 'Laughton-en-le-Morthen church', *ibid.*, 2nd ser., 10 (1904), 189-94. Account of repair of north wall c. 1894. Interior and exterior elevations of north doorway.
- C. LYNAM, 'Laughton-en-le-Morthen', *ibid.*, 2nd ser., 10 (1904), 195-8. Compared and contrasted with Carlton-in-Lindrick.

LAVENDON

Buckinghamshire

Map sheet 146, reference SP 915536

ST MICHAEL

West tower, nave, and part of chancel: period C

About 9 miles west of Bedford, on the way to Northampton, Lavendon's pleasant raised churchyard is likely to be noticed by the passing motorist chiefly because of the sharp corners which it imposes on the main road. The church itself is, however, well worth a visit: for the lower part of the west tower; the main walls of the nave, above the thirteenth-century arcades; and the western part of the south wall of the chancel are

all of late-Saxon workmanship. These earlier parts of the church are built of flattish pieces of limestone rubble, roughly coursed, and with quoins of the same material; by contrast, the later walls of the aisles and of the eastern part of the chancel are of larger rubble, with dressed-stone quoins.

The tall, unbuttressed west tower now carries a fifteenth-century belfry, but the lower stage, itself over 50 ft in height, is marked as of pre-Conquest workmanship by the absence of dressed stone in the quoins, and by its gaunt walls, which rise sheer from the ground, without any decoration, and without string-courses or off-sets to mark the interior floor-levels. No windows have survived in the east face, but each of the other faces has three; and an area of disturbed walling below the clock in the east face suggests that there may originally have been a window at this point to match the uppermost in each of the other faces. These uppermost windows, probably the belfry windows of the original tower, are tall, narrow, round-headed openings, with jambs of rubble like the walls, and heads arched in similar flat pieces of undressed stone, laid with considerable disregard for radial setting. Vertically below in each face is a much smaller but otherwise similar window to light the first-floor chamber, and again vertically below yet a third window, also small, to light the ground floor.

Below the uppermost Anglo-Saxon windows, the tower is surrounded by a band of masonry set in herring-bone fashion, possibly for decorative effect; and built into the south face of the tower as part of its eastern quoin is a piece of stone carved with an interlacing pattern.

All four quoins of the original nave may be seen, in the form of straight vertical joints between the smaller rubble walling of the original fabric and the larger rubble of the later medieval east and west walls of the aisles. There is no evidence of early work in the north wall of the chancel, but the western half of the south wall, containing a thirteenth-century lancet window and a blocked doorway, is of the same smaller rubble as the tower and the nave, in contrast with the later fabric of the eastern half of the same wall, in which there is a three-light window of late fifteenth-century form. In the earlier walling,

above the pointed head of the blocked doorway and no doubt partially destroyed when the doorway was inserted, there may be clearly seen the jambs and round head of a blocked window, similar to those of the tower, thus confirming that this part of the wall is contemporary with the tower and nave. There is some slight indication of an inward curve of this early wall towards its eastern end, as if the original chancel had been apsidal; but the evidence is hardly conclusive.

The internal walls of the nave and the tower are heavily plastered, but the tower-arch, with square jambs, simple square imposts, and round head of a single square order, is consistent with the Anglo-Saxon workmanship of the tower. So also is the tall, narrow, round-headed doorway high up in the west wall of the nave, leading to the first floor of the tower. The walls of the early nave have been pierced with arcades of three bays, about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and over the eastern pointed arch of the north arcade there is now exposed the round head of an Anglo-Saxon window, roughly turned in flat stones, laid with even less attention to radial setting than in the windows of the tower. The outer face of this window is not exposed in the aisle, so that it is not possible to settle whether the splay was single or double, but there seems little reason to doubt that it was single.

DIMENSIONS

The internal dimensions of the nave are 48 ft by 16 ft, and its side walls are 2 ft 6 in. thick. The tower, somewhat irregularly laid out, is about 11 ft 6 in. from east to west internally and about 6 in. broader from north to south, with walls only 2 ft 8 in. thick. The tower-arch is 7 ft 4 in. wide, and 10 ft 2 in. tall, while the upper door, with its sill about 17 ft above the floor, is about 1 ft 6 in. wide and 6 ft tall.

The blocked window in the south wall of the chancel is referred to by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments as being 'set high in the wall'. To us it seems to be set exceptionally low

for an Anglo-Saxon window, the crown of its arched head being only 8 ft above the ground. The aperture of this window was about 13 in. wide; and about 20 in. in height remains from the crown to the head of the later doorway.

REFERENCE

R.C.H.M., Buckinghamshire, North (London, 1913), 161-3. Good architectural description and plan. Picture of tower from the north, facing p. 330.

LAVERSTOKE

Hampshire

Map sheet 168, reference SU 497490

ST MARY THE VIRGIN

*North-east quoin of long-and-short construction:
demolished*

The old parish church of St Mary, in the grounds of Laverstoke House, about 2 miles east of Whitchurch, became the mortuary chapel of the Portal family in 1874. Details of its condition at the beginning of the twentieth century are given in the *Victoria County History*, and Baldwin Brown (p. 464) recorded that the north-east quoin of its nave was in good long-and-short technique. Before 1958 it had 'reached the point where very costly repair would be required, while its future use for any purpose was impossible since for most of the year it stands in a swampy field now some way from any habitation'.¹ A faculty was obtained for its demolition.

DIMENSIONS

The nave was 28 ft 10 in. by 19 ft 3 in. internally, and the chancel 18 ft 8 in. by 13 ft 4 in. (*V.C.H.*).

REFERENCE

V.C.H., Hampshire and the I.O.W. 4 (London, 1911), 209.

¹ The reason cited above for the demolition of the church was kindly given to us by Sir Francis Portal, in a letter dated 6 October 1958.

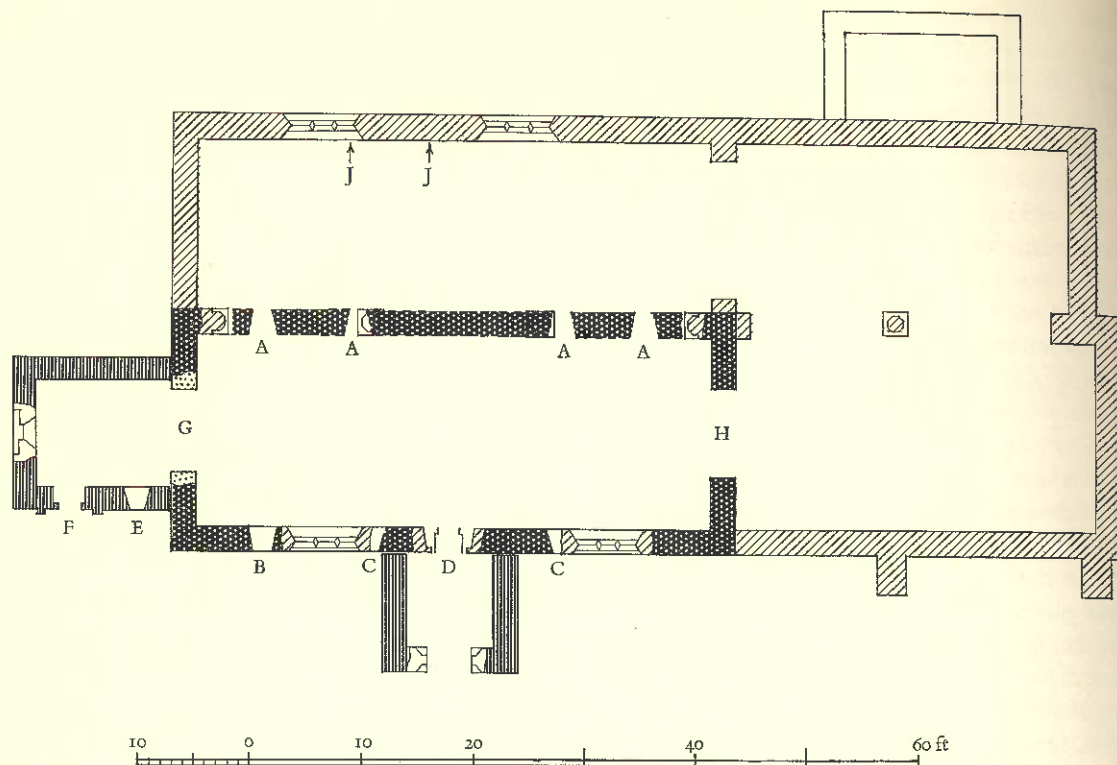


FIG. 170. LEDSHAM, YORKSHIRE (W.R.)

General plan showing the sequences of development. A, blocked and partially destroyed Anglo-Saxon windows above post-Norman north arcade; B, blocked complete Anglo-Saxon window in south wall of nave; C, single jambs of blocked and partially destroyed Anglo-Saxon windows; D, upper parts of jambs and complete head of blocked Anglo-Saxon doorway above post-Norman south doorway; E, complete Anglo-Saxon window in use, with similar window at first-floor level above; F, complete Anglo-Saxon doorway in use; G, Norman tower-arch with Anglo-Saxon window at first-floor level above; H, Anglo-Saxon chancel-arch; J, positions of pieces of early cross-shaft built into post-Norman north wall.

LED SHAM

Yorkshire, West Riding

Map sheet 97, reference SE 456297

Figures 515-18

ALL SAINTS

*Lower part of west tower, and nave walls:
period A, with later additions*

Although the church of All Saints at Ledsham, about 10 miles east of Leeds, and once in the Forest of Elmet, is of quite outstanding interest, it appears so far to have received very little attention. Clapham does not mention it, and Baldwin Brown appears to have been misled into regarding it as of late-Saxon date by a number of features which are undoubtedly later insertions. The church now comprises a western tower, with spire; a nave with

north aisle and south porch; and a chancel with north chapel and vestry. Of this fabric the main walls of the nave, the lower part of the tower, and part at least of the walls of the south porch are Anglo-Saxon, of an early type.

OUTLINE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

The history of the fabric may be summarized as follows. The early Anglo-Saxon structure, of brown sandstone, was a simple aisleless nave, with a small chancel of which no trace now remains. To this there was added, after a short interval, a gabled western porch, with two storeys corresponding to the levels of the two windows in the south face of the tower. At about the same time a southern *porticus* was added, and possibly a similar one to balance it on the north. After the Conquest the western porch was converted into a tower, with a Norman belfry stage of white

Tadcaster stone; the original Anglo-Saxon west doorway was replaced by the present much larger Norman tower-arch; and the south chapel was converted into a porch of entry by cutting an outer doorway through its south wall. In the thirteenth century the walls of the nave were continued eastward to form a much larger chancel, to which in the fourteenth century a wide north aisle or chapel was added. Notwithstanding these alterations, the original chancel-arch appears to have survived intact, save for the addition at some later date of a debased pelta ornament on its imposts. In the fifteenth century a wide north aisle was added to the nave, opening to it through three tall, pointed arches, above which the four blocked Anglo-Saxon north windows may still be seen. The stone spire and the two large Perpendicular south windows of the nave are also of this period.

The church was restored by Henry Curzon in 1871, when the outer archway of the south porch was given its present Gothic form. The western Anglo-Saxon window on the south side of the nave appears to have been blocked during the course of this restoration; while the south doorway of the tower, which had previously been blocked, was then reopened. The present ornamental strip-work round this doorway, and its curious carved imposts, appear in the main to date from Curzon's restoration, but it has so far proved impossible to find out exactly what their earlier form was.

THE NAVE

The south and west walls of the nave survive almost intact, made of well-coursed, roughly dressed brown sandstone, with exceptionally large stones for the quoining, which is visible at both ends of the south wall and at the north-west angle, laid in careful side-alternate fashion as at Escomb and Jarrold.

The blocked, round-headed, internally splayed, original windows call for special description. Externally their heads are cut in the lower faces of single rectangular lintels, and their jambs are coursed with the walling. Internally their heads are arched with well-laid voussoirs and their jambs are quite distinct from the coursing of the wall, with some tendency towards the use of

alternating upright and flat stones in the manner referred to by Baldwin Brown as 'Escomb fashion'. The windows are of interest by reason of their size also, for the external aperture is 23 in. wide by 51 in. high, splaying internally to become 32 in. wide by 78 in. high, with the internal sills just over 12 ft above the floor (see Fig. 171, D).

THE WESTERN PORCH AND TOWER

No part of the original western porch was built at the same time as the nave, for its walls are nowhere in bond with those of the main fabric; but that it closely followed the building of the nave may be inferred not only from the similarity of its two south windows to those of the nave but also from the close similarity of the general fabric and the quoining.

Baldwin Brown (p. 193) says there is no suspicion that the western tower at Ledsham was built on an earlier porch, but in this opinion he must have been mistaken, for in the eastern wall of the present clock-chamber there is clearly visible the patched scar of the original roof-line, which shows the junction of the gabled Anglo-Saxon porch with the west wall of the Anglo-Saxon nave (see Fig. 518).

As at first built, the western porch was of two floors and a gabled roof-space. Although no trace now remains of the original first floor, its former existence may be inferred from the existing upper south window and the corresponding eastern window towards the nave. The present first floor of the tower is at about the height of the ceiling of the original upper chamber, above which the internal walling ceases to be of carefully laid, well-dressed stone, and becomes of rough workmanship suitable to a space that might have been left unoccupied or used as a belfry.

The present tower-arch may with certainty be regarded as a Norman insertion, probably in replacement of a western doorway such as still exists at Monkwearmouth. That the arch is a later insertion is clearly indicated by the way its imposts are not coursed with the walling, and by its head having run so close to the window above it that the sill has been built up by one course. Moreover, the original first floor of the porch would have run across the open head of an arch of this size (see L, in Fig. 171).

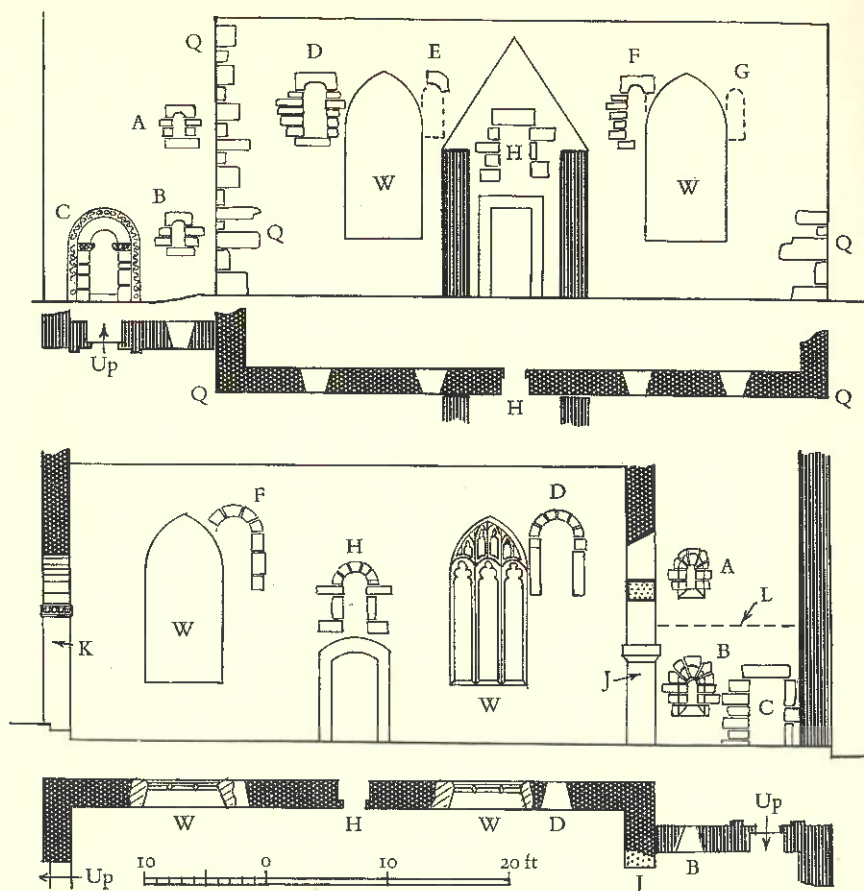


FIG. 171. LEDSHAM, YORKSHIRE (W.R.)

The south wall of the nave and porch. A, original upper window of porch; B, original lower window of porch; C, original south doorway of porch, round-headed externally and square-headed internally; D, surviving original window of nave; E, F, partially surviving original windows; G, window conjectured by analogy with windows in north wall; H, partially surviving tall doorway, square-headed on south and round-headed on north; J, Norman tower-arch; K, original chancel-arch; L, conjectural original level of first floor in west porch, at same depth below window A as is ground level below window B; Q, surviving megalithic quoins of nave; W, later windows of Perpendicular design. The upper diagram shows an exterior elevation of the south wall of the church, and a section through the side walls of the porch. The lower diagram represents a section through the centre of the church, looking southward so as to see the interior face of the south wall.

The eastern window close above the tower-arch deserves special mention. That it has always been a window and not a doorway may be regarded as certain, because of its close similarity of construction to that of the two southern windows, and also because its jambs and head are not cut straight through the wall like those of Anglo-Saxon doorways, but are splayed towards the interior of the tower. Baldwin Brown (p. 464) mistakenly refers to this opening as 'the usual east doorway over the tower arch', but it is of interest to note that at Monkwearmouth, where it is also known that a western porch was added soon after the nave was built, there is, as at Ledsham, a round-headed,

early Anglo-Saxon window above the western doorway of the nave. At Monkwearmouth, however, the western doorway has survived and has not, as at Ledsham, been replaced by a Norman tower-arch.

The remarkable south doorway has been left to the end because it is the most difficult and controversial feature. From outside it is a round-headed opening 2 ft 4 in. wide by 5 ft 7 in. high, with jambs of square section, rather shallow impost, and a round-arched head of seven well-laid voussoirs. The whole doorway is outlined by a band of strip-work, which is carried up beside the jambs and round the head. The difficult features

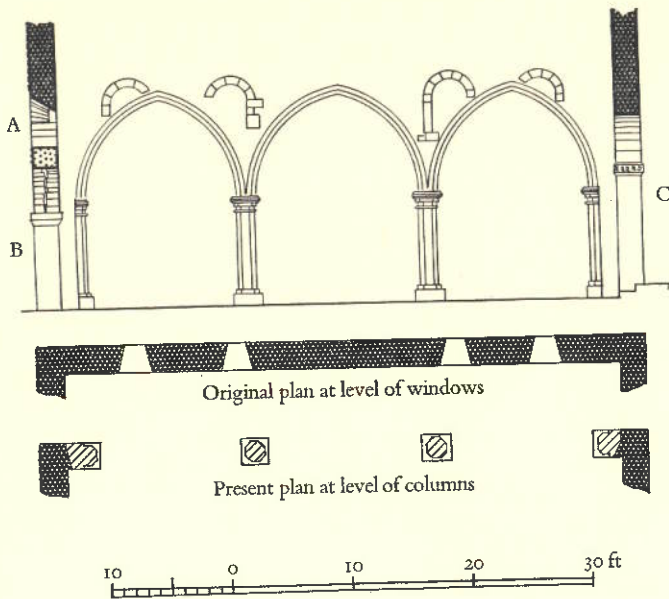


FIG. 172. LEDSHAM, YORKSHIRE (W.R.)

The north wall of the nave, with its four partially surviving windows above the later medieval arcade. A, Anglo-Saxon window from west porch to nave, with sill raised during insertion of Norman tower-arch; B, Norman tower-arch; C, Anglo-Saxon chancel-arch.

are this strip-work and the imposts. In the first place the imposts are not the usual Anglo-Saxon square blocks but are rounded off below; next, they do not continue across the wall-face to intersect the strip-work but instead end oddly against it; finally, both the imposts and the strip-work are enriched with ornament, which Baldwin Brown describes in some detail, adding: 'The work, which seems to have been renewed, is essentially the same in design as the bands round the Deerhurst font of about the tenth century, but this need not drive the date of Ledsham back as the vine scroll has a very long life history.' A better appreciation of the true value of this ornament as evidence of the history of the church was given by J. E. Morris,¹ who wrote: 'The imposts . . . and the hood (which goes down to the ground) are unhappily mere modern restoration.' It is, however, not possible to dismiss the strip-work and its ornament as a straightforward addition by Curzon in 1871, for Sir Stephen Glynne's description of the church as he saw it in 1862 contains the following reference to the doorway:²

The tower is Norman, and apparently of an early character, without buttress, stair turret, or western door, but having on the south side a remarkable door-arch, not unlike that at Laughton-le-Morthen, and not placed in the centre, the arch on imposts and with horizontal bands below on each jamb. Some rude sculpture also appears in the jambs, and within the large arch is another smaller one closed.

It is a matter for great regret that Glynne made no sketch of what he saw, but it is clear from his description that the opening as it existed before 1871 had strip-work round it, and also that the strip-work was of a simpler form than at present. The same is also indicated by plans and elevations made by Curzon in connexion with his restoration, but unfortunately these do not show clearly what the earlier form was.

The interior face of the doorway, which appears to have survived unchanged in its original form, is of no little interest. The head is flat, formed of a single lintel, and the jambs are rebated 2 in. behind those of the outer face, for the hanging of a door. There seems good ground for regarding this arrangement as an original feature, which should

¹ J. E. Morris, *The West Riding of Yorkshire*, Methuen's Little Guides, 3rd ed. (London, 1932), 334.

² *Yorks. Arch. J.* 24 (1916-17), 206.

be compared with the early north doorway at Escomb and, so far as the jambs are concerned, with the side openings of the west porch at Monkwearmouth.

THE SOUTH PORTICUS

At first sight the present south porch of entry is an ordinary medieval building, but that it was originally a lateral *porticus* becomes apparent when the remarkable remains above the medieval inner doorway are correctly interpreted as those of a tall, narrow doorway originally opening *outwards* from the nave. The true character of this

to prove its pre-Conquest nature, but its walling is of similar thickness and general character, and its quoins are of fairly large stones set in side-alternate fashion, so that there is an indication of a similar date, although the upper courses may well have been replaced. The present south arch of entry, in Gothic form, was built in 1871 in replacement of an earlier opening, whose form is not known except that its jambs are shown on Curzon's plan as having been cut square through the wall, with small, square projections on either face. This is a form which it would be difficult to explain as the work of medieval builders unless, as at

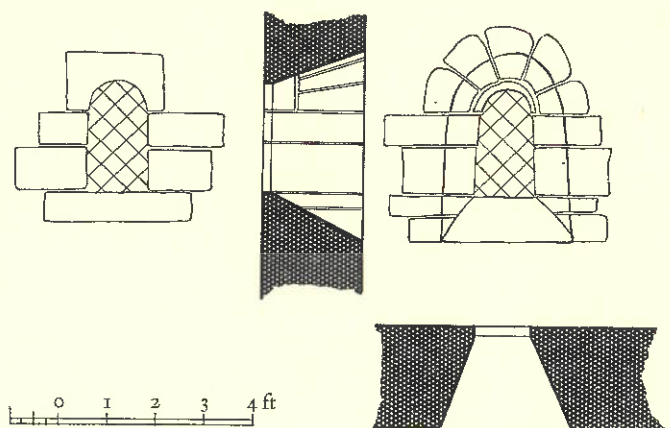


FIG. 173. LEDSHAM, YORKSHIRE (W.R.)

Details of the south window of the tower.

doorway may be seen because its round-arched head towards the nave rests on jambs that are only 24 in. apart, while on the south face of the wall not only does the flat lintel head rest on jambs 28 in. apart, but also the head itself is about 2 in. higher, thus completing the rebate for a door that opened southward. Moreover, since this doorway has been blocked from the time of the formation of the medieval doorway below, it seems fair to deduce that the similarly rebated jambs and flat lintel head of the south doorway of the tower are original features and not later adaptations.

It is difficult to be certain about the date of the main fabric of the south porch except to say that it is certainly later than that of the nave, because, like the west porch, it is not in bond. It has no overlying Norman fabric, as the west porch has,

Bishopstone, it represented a Norman doorway cut through an earlier wall.

The remarkable height of the doorway from the nave deserves further mention. It was an opening only 2 ft wide and no less than 14 ft high; at Worth, Sussex, the side doorways of the nave were of about this height, but they were about 3 ft 8 in. in width. It would be possible at Ledsham to postulate two doorways, one above the other, opening into a southern *porticus* of two storeys; but this would imply the need for upper windows in the *porticus*, and these do not exist. It therefore seems more reasonable to regard the doorway as an extreme example of the Anglo-Saxon love of tall, narrow openings, and to wonder whether such openings had some connexion with ritual, such as might be involved by the carrying of a tall cross in procession.

No windows have survived in the porch, but if it had had a south window this would have disappeared in the insertion of the outer doorway.

EVIDENCE FOR AN EARLY DATE

The following reasons are advanced for suggesting a date as early as the eighth century for the original aisleless nave and chancel at Ledsham:

(a) The blocked side windows of the nave and the complete original south and east windows of the tower are similar in form to those in the west wall of St Peter's church, Monkwearmouth, particularly as regards their monolithic exterior round heads, and their well-arched interior heads.

(b) The blocked south doorway from the nave to the south *porticus* and the complete original south doorway of the tower (except for its restored imposts and surrounding strip-work) are an early form which can be paralleled, as regards the rebated jambs, by the side doorways of the west porch at Monkwearmouth, and, as regards the combination of a round head on one side with a flat lintel on the other, by fragmentary remains of a south doorway at Jarrow and by complete doorways at Deerhurst.

(c) The plan of a nave with a slightly later west porch is closely similar to that at Monkwearmouth, where also there was a splayed window at first-floor level opening from the church into the upper chamber of the porch.

(d) The fabric of coursed, roughly squared stones, with much larger stones laid in side-alternate fashion for quoining, is typical of the best period of early Northumbrian church-building, as at Jarrow, Escomb, Corbridge and Seaham.

By contrast, Baldwin Brown appears to have been led to assign a date in the eleventh century, by noting particularly:

(a) That the tower-arch is of Norman proportions and detail, including imposts with a quirked chamfer.

(b) That the south doorway of the tower is surrounded

with ornamental strip-work, and that even plain strip-work round openings does not normally appear until the later part of the Anglo-Saxon era.

Reasons are, however, given above for believing that the tower-arch is indeed Norman, but a later insertion in an early Saxon wall; and that, before the restoration of 1871 the strip-work round the south door was of the earlier character still to be seen at Laughton-en-le-Morthen. It remains an open question whether that earlier strip-work was itself a later Anglo-Saxon addition to an originally plain doorway, or whether a simple form of strip-work can be regarded as having been used in quite early times.

In conclusion it may be noted that as long ago as 1886 Bishop G. F. Browne appreciated the similarity between Ledsham and Monkwearmouth; and in an article on the latter church he referred to the existing fabric at Ledsham as a guide to the original form of St Peter's church soon after its erection by Benedict Biscop in 674.¹

Built into the inner face of the north wall of the north aisle are two sections of cross-shaft carved with Anglian vine-scroll and with interlaced bird-like creatures. These clearly give no indication of date for the present fabric but give supporting evidence for the existence of a place of worship on the site from early times.

DIMENSIONS

The walls of the nave are between 2 ft 3 in. and 2 ft 4 in. in thickness and about 22 ft in height, while the internal dimensions of the nave itself are 46 ft by 17 ft 4 in.

Dimensions of doorways and windows

| | Width outside (a) | Width inside (a) | Height outside | Height inside | Height of internal sill above floor |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|---|
| | ft in. | ft in. | ft in. | ft in. | ft in. |
| South window of nave | 1 11 | 2 7 | 4 3 | 6 6 | c. 12 0 |
| Lower south window of tower | 1 2 | 2 8 | 2 3 | 4 0 | 2 7 |
| Upper south window of tower | 1 2 | 2 7 | 2 1 | 3 6 | 12 2 |
| East window of tower | 1 11 | 3 1 | 2 9 | 4 0 | 13 7 |
| South doorway of tower | 2 4 | 2 11 | 5 7 (b) | 5 1 (c) | 0 0 |
| South doorway of nave | 2 0 | 2 4 | 14 0 | 14 2 | 0 0 |

(a) It should be noted that the windows all narrow slightly towards the top. The widths given above are measured at the sill, and are about an inch greater than the widths at the shoulders.

(b) Height above the exterior ground-level.

(c) Height above floor, which is 9 in. above ground.

¹ G. F. Browne, *Notes on the Remains of the Original Church of St Peter at Monkwearmouth* (Cambridge, 1886).

LEDSSHAM

The tower is 12 ft 3 in. from east to west internally, and only 9 ft 8 in. from north to south. Its walls are even thinner than those of the nave, varying between 2 ft and 2 ft 2 in. in thickness.

The tower-arch is 7 ft 4 in. wide and 11 ft 9 in. tall, and the chancel-arch is 8 ft by 15 ft.

REFERENCES

- R. V. TAYLOR, *Ecclesiae Leodienses* (London, 1875).
H. M. TAYLOR, 'Some little-known aspects of English Pre-Conquest Churches', *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. P. A. M. Clemoes (London, 1959), 137-58. Ledsham, 144-52.

LEEDS

Kent

Map sheet 172, reference TQ 826533

ST NICHOLAS

*North wall of nave, above later arcade:
period C*

The small village of Leeds has an attractive setting, in rolling wooded country, about 5 miles east of Maidstone and a little to the south of the main road from London to Folkestone and Dover. Its church of St Nicholas has a remarkably massive Norman west tower, more reminiscent of a castle-keep than a church-tower. The aisled nave has no clear-storey, and in the wall above the lofty medieval arches the removal of plaster in 1879 laid bare the outer faces of two round-headed windows, whose outward-splayed heads were 25 ft or more above the floor. Baldwin Brown (p. 465) records that in these double-splayed windows fragments were found of their wooden mid-wall shutters. He also suggests that they establish the original nave as having been only a little shorter eastward than it now is, but the logic of this argument is hard to understand, for the two windows now visible are so placed as to divide the wall into three roughly equal lengths. On the other hand there is no obvious change of wall structure to suggest that any part of the north wall is of different date from the windows.

The two windows are clearly exposed in the

north face of the north wall but no trace of them is visible within the nave, nor is there any evidence of similar windows in the south wall. The north wall is 2 ft 8 in. thick and about 30 ft high, whereas the south wall is about 3 ft thick. The nave measures internally about 57 ft by 24 ft.

LEICESTER

Map sheet 121, reference SK 583045

Figures 519, 520

ST NICHOLAS

*Nave: period C, but possibly incorporating
earlier fabric*

The interesting church of St Nicholas stands in the heart of Leicester, a little to the east of the Great Central Railway Station, and separated from it by an extensive area of Roman remains. The street beside the east end of the church has the unusual name of Holy Bones, and St Nicholas Street, which runs beside the south of the church, is part of the main road from Peterborough to Birmingham. Immediately to the west of the church, and separated from it only by a narrow footpath, stands the Jewry Wall, at one time thought to be the Roman west wall of the city of *Ratae*, but now established as the west wall of the basilican buildings, much of which must now lie beneath the church. The doorway in the Jewry Wall at the west of the church was not a city gate, but was the entrance to the basilica, approached up a broad flight of steps from the lower western area of shops, streets and baths, now exposed to view between the church and the railway station. Part of the site has recently been used for the erection of modern buildings but in a way which has preserved access to the Roman remains.

It has long been a problem why this section of the Jewry Wall should have remained more or less intact when all the remainder of the area was so thoroughly destroyed. An interesting solution proposed by Dr Kathleen Kenyon is that it was incorporated into an early Anglo-Saxon building, possibly a church erected on this site about the

time when a bishopric was founded in Leicester.¹ Rough foundations, which were found connecting the wall to the church, were dated as post-Roman, but earlier than any part of the present church. Dr Kenyon therefore suggested that the section of wall was incorporated into the west of an early Saxon predecessor of the present church; and that, having thereby escaped the major destruction of the Roman buildings, it was later spared, even although it was not incorporated into the late-Saxon church of which part has survived to this day.

The small Anglo-Saxon aisleless church has suffered many changes since it was built; and it now forms part of a much larger structure, consisting of an aisled nave, a Norman central tower, and an Early English chancel with a Decorated chapel along the whole of its southern side. The modern south aisle opens to the nave through a single arch of immense span, which has cut away almost all the original south wall of the nave. The north aisle is also modern, but replaces an earlier one, which opened to the nave through the surviving Norman arcade of two arches.

The two Norman arches were cut through the Anglo-Saxon wall, leaving a section of it as a pier between them, and leaving above their heads the two double-splayed round-headed window, which serve to fix the church as of late-Saxon workmanship. These small windows have splayed jambs of the same stone rubble construction as the walls in which they stand, but their heads are turned in two concentric courses of tiles, with an outline of similar tiles set round the circumference, closely following the pattern set by the Roman workmanship in the Jewry Wall. At the springing of these arched heads the tiles are not set radially but in a characteristically Anglo-Saxon fashion, with the first half-dozen on each side all canted up at a constant angle to the horizon. By contrast with many other Anglo-Saxon double-splayed windows, for example at Caversfield (Oxfordshire), Swanscombe (Kent), or Woodston (Huntingdonshire), these at Leicester, however, show much more understanding of the proper radial setting of voussoirs of an arch; and in the region

near the crown of the arch the tiles are laid logically along successive radii so that there is no need for the curious wedge which completes the arch in the other examples cited.

The Norman tower, although heavily restored externally in recent times, presents many interesting early features internally, particularly the high doorways above the tower-arches in its east and west walls.

Externally the only major appearance of Anglo-Saxon workmanship is in the west wall of the nave, where the junction between the early work and the modern aisles is clearly shown by straight vertical joints. The north-west quoin has lost all but a couple of its original dressed stones, but the south-west quoin shows what appears to be well-laid, side-alternate quoining of quite large stones up the greater part of its height. The exact sizes of the stones cannot now be measured because their northern extent is obscured by a modern arch, which has been thrown across to the Jewry Wall, no doubt to resist the lateral thrust of the wide internal arch leading to the south aisle.

A round-headed west doorway, about 9 ft wide and visible both internally and externally, now shows no obvious characteristics by which it might be dated with certainty, but its shape suggests that it is part of the Norman adaptation of the church, at the period of the addition of the central tower and the north aisle.

At the north-east of the chancel, in the angle between two later buttresses, is a square quoin of the same type of stone, and of the same character, as the early quoining at the west. This may mark the eastern extent of the pre-Conquest church.

It has recently been suggested that the two double-splayed windows in the north wall of the nave were originally single-splayed and were subsequently brought to their present form by the cutting away of parts of their outer faces. The argument has been carried further by suggesting that the supposed single-splayed original windows, with heads turned in tiles, resembled the seventh-century windows at Brixworth, and that they therefore pointed to an early date for the surviv-

¹ K. M. Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester* (Oxford, 1948), 8, 37, and pl. xxvii. A permanent see was not established in Leicester until 737, but

Cuthwine is known to have been in office there as a bishop in 679 (*V.C.H. Leicestershire*, 4 (1958), 384, and there could well have been a church at an earlier date).

ing north wall of the church.¹ We believe that this argument will not bear close analysis. In the first place, although large, single-splayed windows like those at Brixworth or even those at Ledsham might be taken as evidence of an early date in the Anglo-Saxon era, small, single-splayed windows are found throughout the era and are not particularly characteristic of an early period. Moreover, the exterior faces of both windows, like the

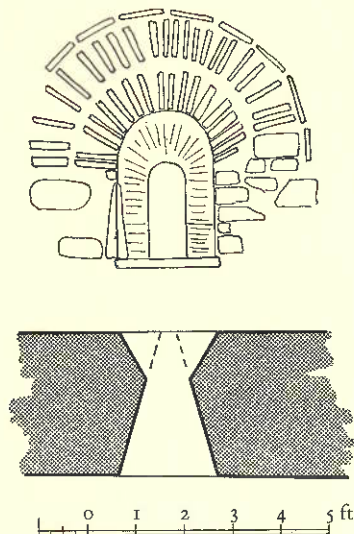


FIG. 174. LEICESTER, ST NICHOLAS

The interior face, and a plan, of the eastern window in the north wall of the nave of St Nicholas's church. The dotted lines show what would be the effect of continuing the internal splay through to the outer face of the wall. See Figs. 519 and 520 for photographs of the inner and outer faces.

interior faces, are arched with two concentric rows of tiles which seem to us to show conclusively that the present double splay existed from the first. For, if the outward splay had been produced by cutting away part of the outer face, then either a complete row of tiles must have been removed, or else the surviving innermost row would be of incomplete tiles, whose inner parts had been hacked away. In fact, a further row of tiles could not be inserted in the outer face of either window without completely blocking it; and careful measurement shows that the tiles of the present inner rows of both windows are intact, since they are of the same length as all the other

tiles. We therefore believe that these windows should be accepted as having been double-splayed from the outset, and as being valid evidence of the late-Saxon character of the part of the wall in which they stand. This does not in any way invalidate Dr Kenyon's hypothesis that the Jewry Wall was incorporated into an early Saxon predecessor of the present church.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 40 ft long internally, and 17 ft 6 in. broad, with rubble walls 3 ft thick and now about 30 ft high, but originally perhaps little more than 20 ft. The double-splayed windows have apertures 11 in. wide and about 2 ft tall, splayed to become 2 ft 1 in. by 3 ft 6 in. in the inner face of the wall and 1 ft 8 in. by 2 ft 3 in. externally. Their sills are at present flat, and about 14 ft above the floor, but there are indications that the jambs extended lower before the Norman arches were cut through the wall.

REFERENCES

- E. ROBERTS, 'St Nicholas, Leicester', *J.B.A.A.* 19 (1863), 247. Windows described but dated as Norman.
C. LYNAM, 'St Nicholas church, Leicester', *ibid.*, 2nd ser., 7 (1901), 285-98. Architectural description, pictures and plan. Windows claimed as Saxon.
C. A. R. RADFORD, K. M. KENYON and V.C.H.; as cited in footnotes.

LEONARD STANLEY

See Stanley St Leonard.

LEATHERINGSETT

Norfolk

Map sheet 125, reference TG 060389

ST ANDREW

Round west tower: doubtfully Saxo-Norman

About a mile west of Holt and beside the road to Fakenham, St Andrew's church has a pleasant setting in a well-kept churchyard. Its round west tower of flints has some courses laid in herring-

¹ C. A. R. Radford, 'The church of St Nicholas, Leicester', *Arch. J.* 112 (1955), 161-3. Also V.C.H., *Leicestershire*, 4 (London, 1958), 385.

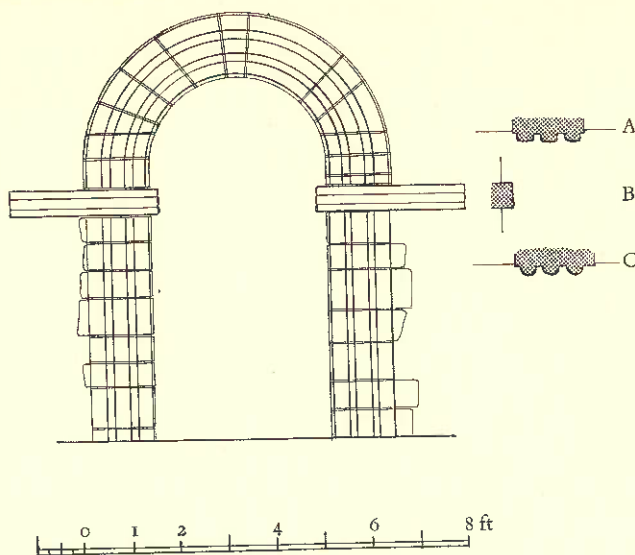


FIG. 175. LEWES, SUSSEX

The blocked doorway saved from the old church of St John-sub-Castro. A, section of the mouldings of the arch; B, section of the mouldings of the imposts; C, section of the mouldings of the jambs.

bone fashion but has no features which would give conclusive evidence of date. Apart from the four Perpendicular windows of the belfry, the windows are small, round-headed openings, whose flint-built jambs and flint-arched heads give a tentative indication of Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman technique, but whose wide interior splays are more indicative of Norman date. The tower-arch is, however, of the cruck-shaped type which is found in the late-Saxon Norfolk churches of West Barsham and Roughton. We have accordingly classified the church as doubtfully Saxo-Norman and have included it here so that it may receive further study.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 9 ft in internal diameter, with walls about 3 ft 8 in. thick and about 50 ft high. The cruck-shaped tower-arch is 7 ft wide with jambs about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft in thickness.

LEWES

Sussex

Map sheet 183, reference TQ 414104

ST JOHN-SUB-CASTRO

Door rebuilt in nineteenth-century church: period C

An unexpected and interesting relic of the past has been preserved in the otherwise drab nineteenth-century flint and brick church of St John-sub-Castro, on the northern slopes of the castle hill at Lewes, close beside the banks of the River Ouse. The church stands in St John's Terrace, off West Street and Offham Road, and the Anglo-Saxon doorway is built into the east wall of an organ chamber on the north side of its chancel.¹

Only the outer face of the doorway has been preserved. Its arched round head is built of thirteen stones of very varying size and shape, cut with markedly non-radial joints, which, like those of the tower-arch at Bosham, are quite horizontal for the first few stones on either side. Both the arch and the jambs are of white stone, carved to represent three attached shafts or rolls, which on the jambs are half-round in section, and which on the arch are more nearly square in form, but with rounded corners.

The imposts project about 3 in. on the soffit and are returned about 3 ft along the wall-face on either side of the door. They are rectangular in section,

¹ The church is wrongly oriented, with its chancel pointing towards the north. The references in the text are

not to points of the compass but to directions relative to the chancel as if it were correctly oriented towards the east.

about 6 in. in height, and are ornamented by two parallel shallow grooves cut in their faces.

Jessep compared this door to the remains in the north wall at Old Shoreham, but we see no real similarity.¹ The structure here is of a single order, enriched by mouldings, whereas the vestiges at Old Shoreham suggest a narrower and taller doorway of one square order outlined by square strip-work of a separate order.

Another vestige of early work at Lewes has been built into the outer south wall of a vestry at the east end of the south aisle.² This is a round arch of a single order of plain, square voussoirs which carry an inscription, in Latin, heavily restored, which now records that a warrior Magnus, of royal Danish blood, lived here as an anchorite, after renouncing his princely station. The stones, which were formerly the chancel-arch, were saved when the chancel was demolished in 1587.³ The arch now has no characteristics which would give a reliable indication of date, but its width suggests Norman rather than Anglo-Saxon work.

DIMENSIONS

The opening of the doorway is 3 ft 9 in. wide and 7 ft 6 in. tall. Jessep gives the width as 3 ft 3 in., but this is the distance between the projecting impostes whereas 3 ft 9 in. is the distance between the jambs. The old chancel-arch is about 8 ft in width and of indeterminate height since it has lost its jambs.

A plan of the church as it stood in 1807 shows a square, unbuttressed west tower, an aisleless nave about 61 ft long internally, by 23 ft in width, and the outline of the ruined chancel about 18 ft by 15 ft.

REFERENCES

- P. M. JOHNSTON, 'The church of St John-sub-Castro', *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 23 (1917), 161-2. Brief description, measured drawing of doorway.
 W. H. GODFREY, 'St John-sub-Castro', *Sussex N.Q.* 9 (1942-3), 25-8 and 53-6. History, description, plan.
 V.C.H., *Sussex*, 7 (Oxford and London, 1940), 37. Picture of old church from south-east, facing p. 38.

¹ H. L. Jessep, *Anglo-Saxon Church Architecture in Sussex* (Winchester, undated), 33.

² The church is wrongly oriented, with its chancel pointing towards the north. The references in the text

LEXHAM, EAST

Norfolk

Map sheet 125, reference TF 860172

ST ANDREW

Round west tower, with nave and chancel in a single rectangular building: period C

There is only a small village at East Lexham, little more than an inn and a house or two, beside the small bridge over the upper reaches of the River Nar; but a little further to the north, beside woods, and within the grounds of a large farm, the church of St Andrew stands picturesquely separated from the farmyard only by a bank and a wall. The whole church is built of flints, with some admixture of stone rubble; and its fabric is clearly visible through a light covering of plaster, except on the south wall of the nave and the chancel, where it is thickly plastered. All four corners of the single rectangular building which forms both nave and chancel have dressed-stone quoins, of which those at the west have every appearance of being original, while those at the east look more like the work of nineteenth-century restorers.

The west wall is curiously joined to the round tower in a way that may be seen elsewhere in Norfolk, for example at Tasburgh. The upper part of the west wall is thin, and meets the curved eastern wall of the tower almost tangentially; the lower part of the wall is thicker, so as to make a solid junction with the sides of the tower; and a lean-to roof, sloping westward, is used to cover the top of the thicker wall, which is shown to be original by its long-and-short quoins.

The round west tower narrows slightly throughout its height and also shows a pronounced taper, almost sufficient to be called an off-set, at about the level of the ridge of the roof of the nave. At its top the tower is capped by a few courses of later brickwork, in the form of a low octagonal parapet. An interesting feature of the belfry stage is that it

are not to points of the compass but to directions relative to the chancel as if it were correctly oriented towards the east.

³ W. H. Godfrey, *Sussex N.Q.* 9 (1942-3), 27.

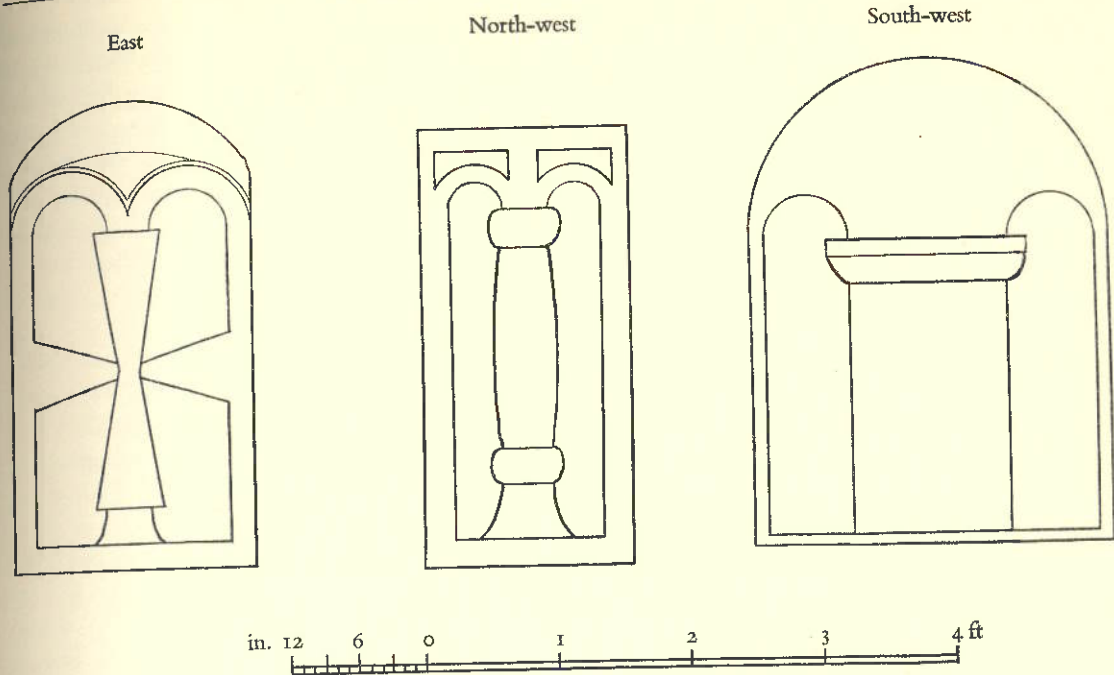


FIG. 176. EAST LEXHAM, NORFOLK
The belfry windows.

has three instead of the usual four windows, and that these are all different in form. That to the east is round-headed in shape and has a stone slab in its outer face, carved with four openings separated by a Maltese cross in stone. That to the south-west is in the form of a double opening, with two separate round-headed lights. These have rubble jambs, and their round heads, also formed in rubble, rest at the centre on a stout cylindrical rubble column. The whole composition is recessed slightly behind the face of the wall, in a sunken panel, with a simple round head. The window to the north-west is formed by the insertion of a rectangular carved stone slab into an opening in the rubble wall. The slab is carved to show two narrow, round-headed lights, separated by a bulbous shaft with a projecting base and capital. The only other external opening is a much-restored or modern window in the west face, to light the ground floor.

Of the interior of the church there is little to record. The tower-arch is pointed and heavily plastered, as are its jambs. Within the belfry, however, in addition to the openings which are visible externally there are, in the east face,

below the stone Maltese cross, two blocked recesses; the upper has a triangular head, and both together probably represent a blocked triangular-headed doorway to an upper chamber.

DIMENSIONS

The nave and chancel together measure internally 55 ft 6 in. by 17 ft 6 in., and their walls are 2 ft 6 in. to 2 ft 9 in. in thickness. The tower is 12 ft in diameter internally, with walls about 3 ft 6 in. in thickness.

LIMPLEY STOKE

Wiltshire

Map sheet 166, reference ST 783603

Figure 521

ST MARY THE VIRGIN

Nave walls: period C or earlier

This interesting church stands high above the River Avon, about mid-way between the villages of Limpley Stoke and Freshford. Its pre-Conquest

nave appears to have escaped notice until after the First World War, when Mr C. E. Ponting, Diocesan Surveyor, was asked to enlarge it by the addition of an aisle. Up to that time, the church had consisted of a west tower and an aisleless nave and chancel, to which there had been added a small vestry of galvanized iron, entered from the nave through an original south doorway.

Mr Ponting based his appreciation of the pre-Conquest nature of the nave primarily on the character of this tall, narrow doorway, and he accordingly arranged for its preservation in his scheme for the addition of the desired new south aisle (see Fig. 521).

The fabric of the nave is of rubble, with quoins of large stones laid in side-alternate fashion. Both the chancel and the tower are of roughly dressed stone, also with side-alternate quoins, which in the case of the tower are of particularly large size; but there does not on this account appear to be any good ground for supposing that any part of the tower is earlier than the fifteenth-century date which is suggested by its belfry windows. The nave stands on a plain square plinth, while that of the later chancel is chamfered, and the tower apparently has none.

The chief early feature of the church is the tall, narrow, south doorway, which now forms part of the arcade between the original nave and the twentieth-century south aisle. The arch, imposts, and jambs are all of through-stones, and there seems no reason to doubt that the opening was originally cut straight through the wall; since the present rebate for the hanging of a door has clearly been roughly cut *in situ* in a manner quite foreign to the workmanship of the doorway itself. The jambs, without bases, are of megalithic construction, with stones up to 55 in. in height, but without any of the horizontally laid bonding stones that distinguish the 'Escomb technique'. The imposts, which are returned about 18 in. along the outer face of the wall, are hollow-chamfered, with small roll-mouldings above and below the chamfer. The arch is distinctly taller than one-half its diameter, and this effect has been obtained, not by stiling, but by striking the arch from a centre above the line of the imposts so that the curve represents appreciably more than a semicircle and therefore narrows as it approaches

the imposts. The seven voussoirs are well cut and closely jointed, but with rather non-radial joints.

The arch is outlined on the south face of the wall by a strip-work hood-moulding of square section, which ends at each side against the imposts, on slightly larger stones that give an impression of being much-weathered animal heads, similar to those at Deerhurst, but smaller and simpler.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 33 ft long by 13 ft wide internally, with walls 2 ft 2 in. thick and about 12 ft high. The tall, narrow, south doorway is only 2 ft 4½ in. wide, and no less than 8 ft 9 in. high.

REFERENCE

C. E. PONTING, 'Limpley Stoke church', *Wilts. A.N.H. Mag.* 47 (1935-7), 601-2.

LINCOLN

Map sheet 113, reference SK 975711

ST BENEDICT

Tower (rebuilt c. 1670): period C3

The picturesque little church of St Benedict stands on the west side of the High Street, behind the city's garden war memorial, and close to the Brayford Pool, which still has something of the appearance of a medieval sea-port. The present church consists of the Early English chancel and its north aisle; these have been blocked at the west, and the Anglo-Saxon tower has been rebuilt against the new wall, and in line with the arcade between the chancel and its aisle.

The tower, built of small, roughly squared stone, has a simple parapet above a belfry stage, which contains four double windows. The individual openings have arched round heads, supported on the outer sides on square jambs without imposts and at the centre on through-stone slabs which rest on slender, octagonal, mid-wall shafts. The jambs are each built of four or five stones larger than those of the walling and apparently running through its full thickness. Baldwin Brown (p. 466) records that 'there are no other signs of Saxon features or technique in this

very picturesque old building'; but over the blocked chancel-arch there is a blocked opening with jambs which are built in 'Escomb fashion' and each of which still retains two tall upright stones separated by a massive horizontal slab.

It would, however, be dangerous to base any serious argument on the construction of any part of this church, for the present fabric is largely a rebuilding from the seventeenth century, when the nave was either destroyed in the Civil War or so badly damaged as to require its demolition. The tower now stands beside the chancel, and after such a drastic removal and reconstruction it is probably unsafe even to regard the general proportions of the present tower as giving a reliable guide to its original form. Its present rather squat proportions may be a faithful copy of the original or may alternatively either have arisen from motives of economy or have been based upon conscious copying of the similar squat pre-Conquest tower of St Margaret's church, which was demolished about 1780.¹

LINCOLN

Map sheet 113, reference SK 974708

Figure 522

ST MARY-LE-WIGFORD

West tower and west wall of nave: period C3

The tall, simple, Anglo-Saxon tower of St Mary's church is one of the most obvious landmarks of 'downhill' Lincoln, standing in the angle between the High Street and the Great Northern Railway, so as to meet the eye of travellers, whether by road or rail. This church and that of St Peter-at-Gowts, about half a mile further south on the same side of the High Street, formed the basis of Professor E. A. Freeman's picturesque if inaccurate illustration of the independence of the Lincolnshire workmen, who dared to erect the churches

in their own characteristic Anglo-Saxon style while the new minster was rising in the style of the conquering Normans on the hill above.² This picture was based on the assumption that these two towers were those of the churches built by an Anglo-Saxon, named Colswein, of whom the Domesday Book records that 'outside the city he has 36 houses and 2 churches to which nothing belongs, which he built on the waste land that the king gave him and that was never before built upon'. The question of Colswein is referred to more fully under St Peter-at-Gowts, but here it is important to refer to an immediate difficulty, which arises from the inscribed stone that is built into the west face of the tower of St Mary's, beside the head of the west door. This stone was illustrated by Canon Wordsworth in 1879 and its inscription may be rendered as follows:³

Eirtig had me built and endowed to the glory of
Christ and St Mary.

The inscription is in Anglo-Saxon, cut on the upper gabled triangular portion of a stone whose lower rectangular part contains a Romano-British memorial inscription in Latin. It not only seems to dispose of any suggestion that the church was built by Colswein, but also gives some indication that it was built before the Conquest, when the use of Anglo-Saxon would have been more probable. This indication is supported by the use of the wen sign for W, as on the sundial at Kirkdale; and, as will be seen below, by the absence of Norman features in the building itself.

The church now consists of a Transitional Norman or Early English chancel, with a north chapel; a nave with Early English north aisle and nineteenth-century south aisle; and a tall, square, unbuttressed west tower.

The fabric of the tower is of stone rubble with facings of dressed stone, and quoins laid in side-alternate fashion in a character which gives little indication of date. The tower is of two unequal stages, the shorter belfry stage crowned by a later

¹ J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1948), 134-5. Also pl. 11 and p. 142 for St Margaret's church.

² E. A. Freeman, *English Towns and Districts* (London, 1883), 210-11.

³ J. Wordsworth, *A.A.S.R.* 15 (1879-80), 16-17. A translation and representation of the original lettering is

given by Baldwin Brown, 467; and by J. W. F. Hill, *loc. cit.* 137. A photograph of the stone showing the well-preserved condition of the lettering has recently been published in *The Parish Church of St Mary-le-Wigford, Lincoln* (Gloucester, undated), 4.

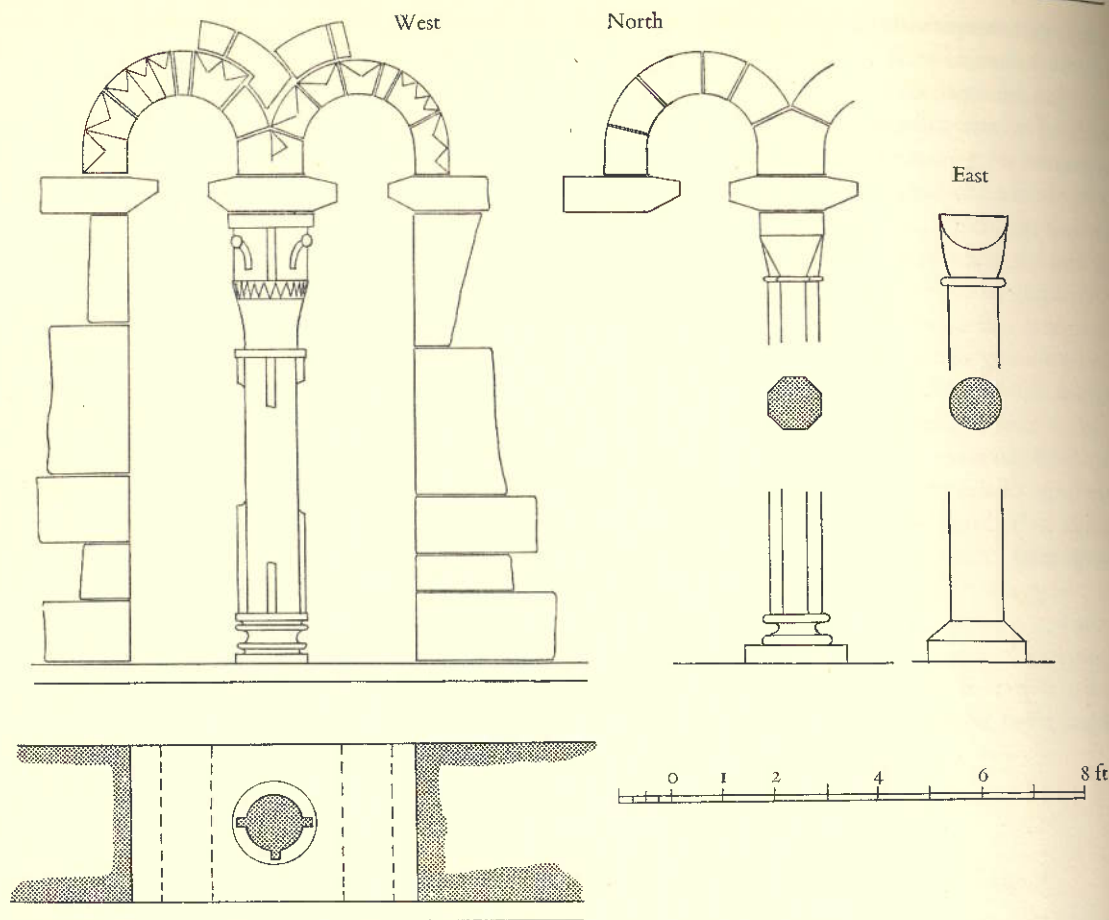


FIG. 177. LINCOLN, ST MARY-LE-WIGFORD

Details of the belfry windows. The complete elevation and plan at the left show the interesting details of the western window, in particular the keels which run up the faces of the mid-wall shaft, the elaborate base and capital, and the incised ornament on the voussoirs of the arches. The fragmentary sketches on the right show the simpler treatment of the north and east windows. The south window seems to us to be largely a restoration and is therefore omitted from the figure. The west window has been shown slightly too tall; its height should be 9 ft. 6 in.

embattled parapet and divided from the lower stage by a square string-course and an appreciable off-set.

The four, tall, double belfry windows have arched round heads, supported at the sides on projecting chamfered impostes and at the centre on through-stone slabs. The square jambs are each built of four or five dressed stones, laid with an appreciable feeling of Escomb technique, but continuing only part of the way through the wall. The mid-wall shafts have capitals which, although elaborate, are Anglo-Saxon rather than Norman in character; those on the west and south are conical below and cylindrical above, with volutes at the corners, and with a band of triangular orna-

ment to enrich the junction between the two surfaces; that on the north is square above, chamfered below, and with the angles chamfered again so as to produce an octagonal plan; that on the east is closest to the Norman tradition, somewhat of cushion form, but with flattish lower faces in place of the spherical faces of a Norman cushion capital. The north window has an octagonal mid-wall shaft; the other shafts are circular, but with the addition, in the south and west windows, of a raised rib or keel which ran down the front of the cylinder but is now partly weathered or broken away. All the mid-wall shafts have bases, all different; that in the west window is of remarkable elaboration, circular in plan and carved from a

single stone to represent a series of circular plates of different diameter placed one above the other.

Before leaving the belfry windows it should be noted that, while in all the faces these are arched with dressed-stone voussoirs, the western window is unique in that its two arched heads carry lightly incised ornament, in the form of a continuous zig-zag which is produced by a series of V's placed side by side. The smaller voussoirs each carry a single V, but some voussoirs are larger and carry two, or even three V's, and some are also inscribed with radial lines which separate the V's and look like radial joints as though to give the impression that the whole head was constructed of voussoirs of uniform size.

In the tall lower stage the north and east faces have no external openings, but high up in the south face a single tall, round-headed, internally splayed opening has its round head cut from a single rectangular stone, and its jambs each formed of five stones laid in 'Escomb fashion'. In the west face, a clock occupies the highest place, with three openings below it: a round-headed window not unlike that in the south face, a medieval or modern window of two lights under a square drip-label, and a round-headed west doorway. The round-headed window may be accepted as being contemporary with the belfry; for its irregularly shaped voussoirs are ruled with radial lines in imitation of regularly jointed voussoirs, and the outer part of the archivolt face is dressed back slightly so as to leave a semicircular outline, concentric with the round head of the window. The west doorway has suffered considerably in modern restorations, from which time must date its unfortunate hood-moulding, enriched with dog-tooth ornament; as well as the sharply incised checker-board ornament on its imposts. But if these modern features are forgotten, the doorway becomes a feature of some dignity; it is exceptionally tall for its width, and is of simple construction. Fundamentally it is cut straight through the wall, of a single square order, with imposts which project on the soffit only, and are chamfered below. Ornament has then been provided by cutting a hollow, quarter-round moulding round the exterior arris of the jambs

and the arched head, and by cutting checker-board ornament on the vertical faces of the imposts. Externally the checky ornament looks like restoration but internally it is almost certainly original, and its weathered condition indicates clearly that the original door was hung on the inner face of the wall, leaving the whole soffit of the doorway exposed to the weather.

The west wall of the original nave projects 2 ft on either side of the tower, with large quoin-stones laid in side-alternate fashion. The walls of the tower are not in bond with those of the nave, and they give a general impression of being of rather later construction.

Within the nave the principal early feature is the very large tower-arch, 10 ft 1 in. wide and 20 ft 7 in. high, with plain square jambs of through-stones, square chamfered imposts, and a round arch of a single square order, turned in well-laid voussoirs which are not through-stones. The imposts are enriched with incised chequer pattern, with alternate squares more deeply cut, a motive which has already been noted on the imposts of the west door.

High up in the wall above the tower-arch a round-headed doorway with square jambs opens to the first floor of the tower, but from the nave the details of its construction are hidden by a covering of plaster. A carved stone built into the east face of the south jamb of the tower-arch bears interesting interlacing ornament as well as an animal's face.¹

DIMENSIONS

The tower is roughly 13 ft square internally (12 ft 9 in. east-west, by 13 ft 3 in. north-south), with walls about 3 ft 6 in. thick and about 72 ft high, excluding the later medieval battlements.

The west doorway is 4 ft 2 in. wide and 13 ft 6 in. tall, and the tower-arch is 10 ft 1 in. by 20 ft 7 in. The doorway above the tower-arch is 2 ft 2 in. wide by 5 ft 2 in. tall, with its sill about 27 ft above the floor. The nave is 18 ft 11 in. wide internally, and about 51 ft long, with side walls 2 ft 7 in. thick and about 25 ft tall. About 2 ft of the original side walls of the nave remain at the west as responds to the later arcades.

¹ J. W. F. Hill, *loc. cit.* pl. 7 and p. 138.

The upper window in the west wall of the tower tapers slightly towards the top; its aperture is 1 ft 1 in. wide at the sill but only 1 ft at the shoulders, and 3 ft 11 in. tall; it is splayed to become 3 ft 7 in. by 5 ft 9 in. in the inner face of the wall. The upper south window has an aperture 10 in. wide and 5 ft 5 in. tall, splayed to 3 ft 3 in. by 8 ft 6 in. It runs across one of the modern floor-levels. Both these windows have their interior jambs and heads formed of the same rubble fabric as the walls.

The belfry windows are 5 ft 4 in. wide overall and 9 ft 6 in. tall. Their mid-wall shafts are 12 in. in diameter, and the raised keel on the western shaft is of 2 in. square section.

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- E. A. FREEMAN, *English Towns and Districts* (London, 1883), 210-13.
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- E. VENABLES, 'Remarks on Mr Brock's article', *ibid.* 25-8. Freeman's theory demolished by reference to the records of St Mary's Abbey, York.
- J. W. F. HILL, *Medieval Lincoln* (Cambridge, 1948), 135 ff.

LINCOLN

Map sheet 113, reference SK 973703

Figure 523

ST PETER-AT-GOWTS

West tower and west wall of nave: period C3

The church of St Peter-at-Gowts stands on the east side of the High Street less than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of Lincoln's other two surviving pre-Conquest churches, which also stand beside this busy thoroughfare, formerly the Roman Ermine

Street, and one of the principal Roman roads from London to the north. The Anglo-Saxon character of the tall towers of St Peter-at-Gowts and St Mary-le-Wigford was first pointed out in 1849 by Professor E. A. Freeman,¹ who later suggested that they were in fact built by an Anglo-Saxon named Colswein, after the Conquest but before the compilation of the Domesday Book, on waste land, which was never before built upon but which the Book records as having been given to him by the Conqueror.² One argument against

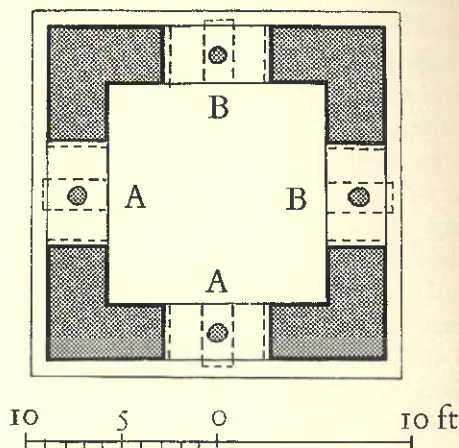


FIG. 178. LINCOLN, ST PETER-AT-GOWTS

Plan of the belfry stage of the tower. The west and south capitals, A, A, are of the elaborate type illustrated at A in Fig. 179, and the north and east capitals, B, B, are of the simpler type illustrated at B in Fig. 179.

associating these two churches with Colswein has been given under St Mary-le-Wigford, but it is perhaps desirable now to summarize the more general argument first set out by Canon Venables³ and now conveniently given in Dr J. W. F. Hill's *Medieval Lincoln* (pp. 133-4 and 161). It is known from the records of St Mary's Abbey in York that Colswein's son Picot gave to the abbey a church of St Peter, which may reasonably be assumed to be one of those which his father built. The records of the abbey also establish, however, that until the middle of the fifteenth century the abbey presented to the living of the church of St Peter in Baggerholme, a church which is known to have

¹ E. A. Freeman, *History of Architecture* (London, 1849), 211. It is interesting that Freeman's original opinion was more reliable than his later elaboration.

² E. A. Freeman, *English Towns and Districts* (London, 1883), 210-13.

³ E. Venables, *J.B.A.A.* 46 (1890), 25-8.

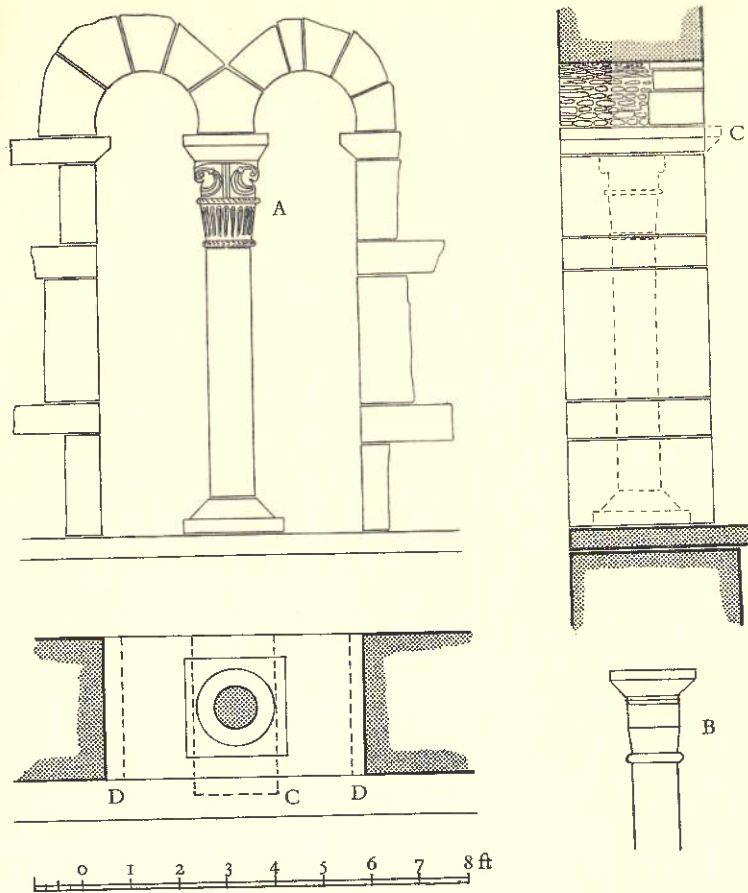


FIG. 179. LINCOLN, ST PETER-AT-GOWTS

Details of the belfry windows. The elevation, section, and plan show in detail the construction of the western belfry window. That on the south is similar, while those to the north and east have much simpler capitals on their mid-wall shafts, as shown at B. Note that the impost on the jambs of the windows do not project from the face of the tower whereas the mid-wall slabs project boldly. This distinction is shown at C and D in the plan and is also shown in the section, where the full lines show the southern jamb while the dotted lines indicate the mid-wall shaft and the through-stone slab.

stood near the present Monk's Lane to the east of the city. It may thus be taken as reasonably certain that Colswain's church of St Peter stood on the east of the city, not in the High Street, and it would not be unreasonable to expect that his other church stood beside it, particularly since it is known that there were in that district other early churches which were demolished before the end of the eighteenth century.

Turning next to the church itself, we find at St Peter's a tall simple tower of the Lincolnshire type, built like that at St Mary's of small stones, but better dressed and laid with closer joints. Dressed stone is used for facings and quoins; and, while the quoins of the tower are laid in regular

side-alternate fashion, those of the west wall of the nave are in the long-and-short technique. The tower ends above in a simple parapet, and the belfry stage, like that at St Mary's, is separated from the much taller lower stage by a square string-course, and a pronounced off-set. The four double belfry windows are like those of St Mary's in having arched round heads which rest at the sides on chamfered imposts and at the centre on through-stone slabs; but they differ in that the square jambs are built of through-stones, which are laid very regularly in 'Escomb fashion'. The tall, mid-wall shafts have simple, conical bases, which rest on square blocks placed on the string-course. In the east and north windows the shafts

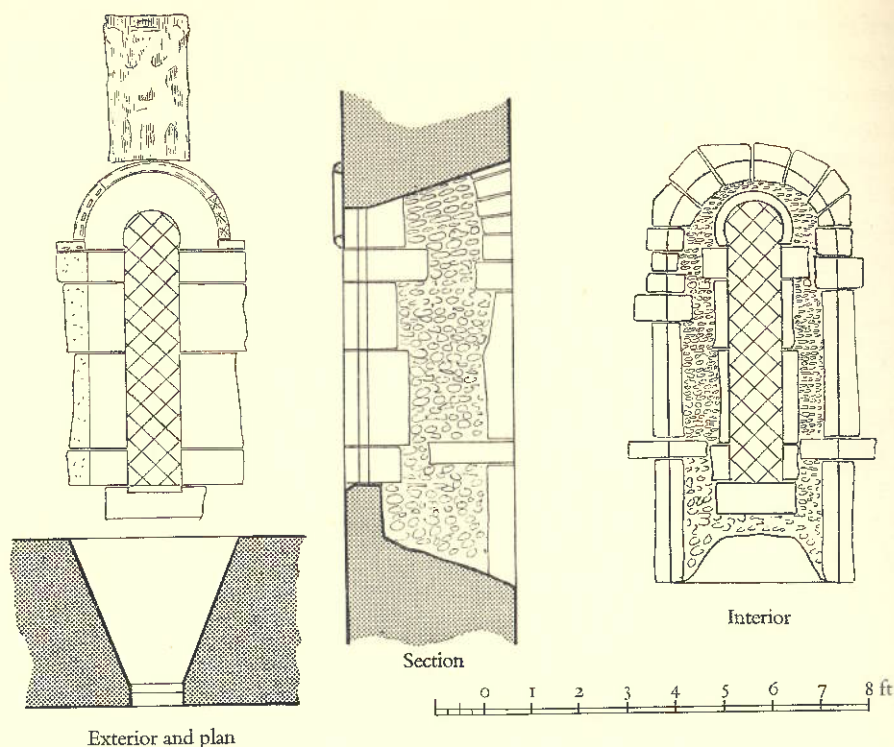


FIG. 180. LINCOLN, ST PETER-AT-GOWTS

The west window on the second floor. The construction of this window closely resembles that of the window of the south transept at Stow, both externally and internally. Note particularly the use of long-and-short technique in the construction of the internal salient angles.

have simple capitals consisting of a conical section below and a cylinder above, but the west and south capitals are ornate, with a label at the top, volutes at the corners and their conical lower section decorated by a band of tall upright palmette leaves; this lower section is separated from the upper section by a band of cable-ornament and from the shaft itself by a broad fillet of wheat-car ornament.¹

Below the belfry the tower has no external openings on its north or east faces and only a single, tall, round-headed, internally splayed window about the middle of the south face. The west face has a similar window near its top, just below an ancient carved slab, now much weathered, but probably representing Christ in Majesty (Hill, p. 139). The detail of this window has been hotly

argued, on the one hand as definitely Norman in character, and on the other hand as equally definitely Anglo-Saxon.² The interior of this window does not appear to have been taken into account in connexion with the question of its date, but it gives strong support for a pre-Norman date, for the arrises of the jambs are executed in carefully laid long-and-short quoining, which may be closely paralleled in the interior of the window in the south transept at Stow (see Figs. 180 and 290).

Below this window there follows a clock-face, and then a much-restored or entirely later window, and finally a round-headed doorway, whose enriched tympanum was described by Baldwin Brown (p. 468) as 'a distinctive Norman feature'. It is, however, the work of nineteenth-century restorers; Hill's plate 10 shows a reproduction of

¹ Baldwin Brown illustrates the south capital (fig. 192 X). Hill gives a photograph of the west capital (pl. 9) and records (p. 139) that Sir Alfred Clapham had communicated a written opinion that the carving 'is very definitely un-Norman and whatever its date is in the Saxon

tradition'. The upright palmette leaves are closely similar to those at Carlton-in-Lindrick, Coleby and Stow.

² E. P. L. Brock, *J.B.A.A.* 46 (1890), 23-4, for the Anglo-Saxon side of the case; J. T. Irvine, *ibid.* 47 (1891), 308, for the Norman arguments.

a painting by de Wint in which there is only a featureless vestige of a blocked doorway; while Professor Freeman recorded in 1849 that the doorway had 'recently been restored in the Norman style to the possible future confusion of all history'.¹ The doorway now has plain square jambs cut straight through the wall, with massive plain imposts which are chamfered below and project only on the soffit. Parts of these may be original, but the pseudo-Norman hood-moulding and tympanum are the work of the nineteenth-century restorers as is also the closely jointed, round-arched head.

At the ground the tower rests on a tall plinth of two chamfered orders, in contrast to St Mary's, where the tower has no plinth. The nave of St Peter's has a quite different plinth, of one square order, which can be seen to be overlaid by the tower and its plinth. As at St Mary's the nave projects about two feet on either side of the tower, but here it is certainly appreciably earlier than the tower, not only because the two are not in bond, but also because of their different plinths and because the nave has well-defined long-and-short quoining, in sharp distinction from the side-alternate quoining of the tower.

Internally the impressive tower-arch is a notable feature, a little narrower and a little taller than that of St Mary's. Its plain square jambs and plain arched head, of a single square order, are not of through-stones but its tall, narrow proportions leave little doubt about its pre-Norman character. Its chamfered imposts have no ornament.

Above the tower-arch, in the west wall of the nave, there is a triangular-headed doorway leading to an upper floor of the tower; its jambs have been chamfered, perhaps at a later date, but its details are somewhat obscured by plaster and by its position behind one of the beams of the roof of the nave.

A visit to the upper floors of the tower gives strong support for the pre-Norman character of its construction. As has already been mentioned, the jambs of the west window on the second floor have their interior arrises quoined in well-defined long-and-short technique; and the same is true of the south window on the first floor. The

triangular-headed doorway opening towards the nave has jambs of large stones set in something akin to 'Escomb fashion' and its head is formed of pairs of stones sloped together. The jambs of the belfry windows are, however, the most impressively archaic and un-Norman feature, entirely built of through-stones, some of which are very large indeed and all of which are laid in carefully executed 'Escomb technique'. The arched heads of these windows are not of through-stones.

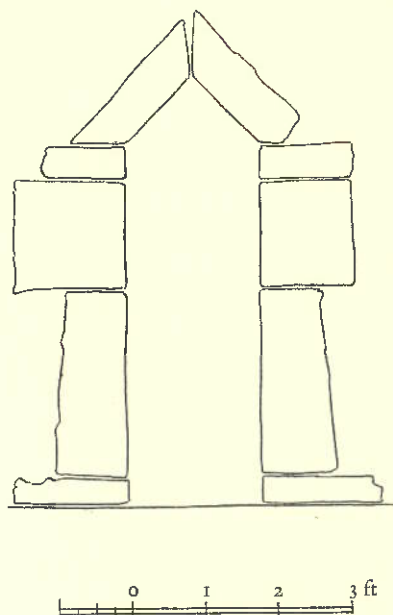


FIG. 181. LINCOLN, ST PETER-AT-GOWTS
The west face of the upper doorway from the tower to the nave.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is roughly 11 ft square internally (11 ft 2 in. east-west, by 10 ft 7 in. north-south), with walls about 3 ft 6 in. thick and about 72 ft high, excluding the later ashlar parapet.

The internal width of the original aisleless nave must have been about 18 ft, and a plan of about 1850 published by Hill (p. 139) shows its length as about 28 ft. A rebuilding in 1853 and a lengthening and enlarging in 1888 swept away an early north arcade and chancel-arch which were described as 'very heavy early Norman work'² from which it is perhaps reasonable to infer that

¹ E. A. Freeman, *History of Architecture*, 213 n.

² *A.A.S.R.* 19 (1887-8), 332.

the chancel-arch shown in the plan of about 1850 was that of the Anglo-Saxon church.

The tower-arch is 9 ft 1 in. wide and 21 ft high. The arch is distinctly stilted, not horseshoed, the height to the top of the imposts being only 15 ft 6 in. Buckler's plan, before the nineteenth-century alterations, showed the chancel-arch about the same width,¹ and his elevation of the tower-arch carried the note 'chancel-arch same width, stilted, but not so tall, same design'.

The triangular-headed doorway above the tower-arch is 1 ft 9 in. wide and 6 ft tall, with its sill about 26 ft above the floor. The south window on the first floor has its aperture 1 ft 4 in. wide and 5 ft 6 in. tall, splayed to an opening 3 ft 7 in. by 8 ft 8 in. in the inner face of the wall. The west window on the next floor is 1 ft 1 in. wide by 5 ft 4 in., splayed to 3 ft 6 in. by 8 ft.

The belfry windows are about 5 ft 6 in. wide from jamb to jamb, and about 9 ft 6 in. tall. Their mid-wall shafts are 11 in. in diameter.

REFERENCES

These have been given fully in the footnotes. See also under St Mary-le-Wigford.

LINDISFARNE (OR HOLY ISLAND)

Northumberland

Map sheet 64, reference NU 125418

Ruins of abbey church of St Peter.

Parish church of St Mary

*North-east quoin of nave in St Mary's church:
probably not pre-Conquest*

A visit to Holy Island offers many attractions, not only for the natural beauty of the island and the sea-shore and for the excitement of driving over the hard sands which are exposed for two or three hours on either side of low tide, but also as a pilgrimage to the home from which Christianity re-entered the northern kingdom when the earlier mission of Paulinus from the south had been brought to an end by the victory of the heathen King Penda of Mercia in 632. King

Edwin had then been slain, and Paulinus had fled to the south; but about two years later King Oswald, later martyr and saint, sent to Iona for help, which he received in the form of Aidan's mission. The monastery established by Aidan on Holy Island flourished for over two hundred years, its most famous head being perhaps St Cuthbert who, after ruling for two years from 685, returned to a life of complete seclusion on one of the Farne Islands, a few miles to the south, off the coast of Bamburgh. The monastery was the scene of the first of the Danish raids on the coast of England, when, on 7 June 793, they sacked the buildings and slew many of their inhabitants; but it was not until nearly a hundred years later that the exposed site was abandoned and, after about seven years of wandering, the church was set up about 882 in Chester-le-Street; whence it was again moved in 995 to Durham.

The ruined abbey now to be seen on Holy Island may be assumed to be on the site of Aidan's foundation, but the fabric dates from after the Conquest, when a cell of the Benedictine Monastery at Durham was established there.

Although none of the fabric of the pre-Conquest abbey has been found, the exploration of the site has produced a great number of carved stones from the burial ground of the early abbey, including cross-shafts, tomb-slabs, and small carved stones generally called pillow-stones, many of which are to be seen in the museum beside the abbey. The principal treasures preserved from the abbey are, however, the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, now in the British Museum, and St Cuthbert's coffin and its contents, now in the library of Durham Cathedral.

The parish church of St Mary, close to the west of the ruined abbey, has an aisled nave and an aisleless chancel, mainly of Norman and Early English construction. The Norman north aisle of the nave is, however, clearly a later addition to an earlier aisleless fabric, for the north-east quoin of the aisleless nave is clearly visible, showing the east wall of the aisle built against it with a straight joint. Of this quoin Baldwin Brown wrote (p. 468): 'the parish church has at the north-east angle of the nave what looks like a long-and-short quoin.'

¹ J. C. Buckler, British Museum Add. MS. 36438, fos. 491 and 480.

Mr Peers is inclined to accept it with some hesitation, and the writer on a revisit noted the alternation of upright stones and flat, somewhat like the work at Heddon-on-the-Wall'. Unfortunately, like Heddon-on-the-Wall, the quoin is visible only on the eastern face, but its construction seems to us much less regular than that at Heddon. There are in all about ten large stones of which the two uppermost are upright pillars while those below do not appear to present any regular pattern, some being upright pillars and others laid on their sides, but not in a regular alternation.

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 Various authors, *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe (Oxford, 1956).

LONDON

Map sheet 160, reference TQ 335807

ALL HALLOWS-BY-THE-TOWER

Part of south wall: period A2

The church of All Hallows, standing beside Great Tower Street immediately opposite the entrance to Tower Hill underground station, was not suspected of containing any fabric of earlier than Norman date until, in December 1940, the church was burnt by incendiary bombs, and a round Anglo-Saxon arch, formerly concealed behind the organ, was exposed in the south wall of the nave, near its western end.

During the same night of destruction substantial fragments of an Anglo-Saxon cross-shaft fell from the adjoining wall, where they had been used as common building-stones by the later masons. These pieces, which have been fully described and illustrated by Kendrick and Radford, represent over three feet of shaft, with cabled edges, figure-sculpture, vine-scroll, animal-patterns, interlace, and an inscription, the detail

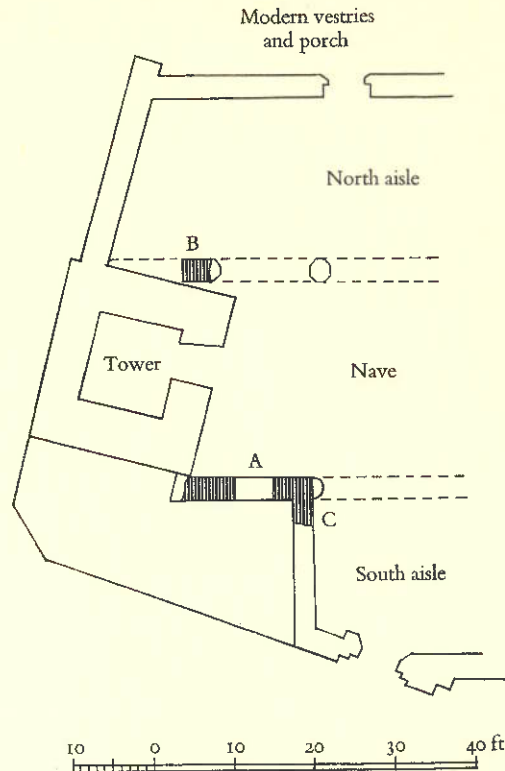


FIG. 182. LONDON, ALL HALLOWS-BY-THE-TOWER

This plan is only roughly to scale. It shows at A the newly discovered Anglo-Saxon arch. At B is the piece of wall which might determine the original north-west angle of the church, and at C is a possible side wall of a south porticus to which the arch A may have given access.

being such that there seems to be little doubt in assigning it to the second quarter of the eleventh century.

The arch itself has been compared with those at Brixworth, which are also turned in Roman tiles, with considerable disregard for radial setting; and on the strength of this comparison the arch has been assigned a seventh-century date.¹ Although now known as All Hallows, the church had in medieval times a second dedication to St Mary, and it is also traditionally known as Barking Church. There is therefore now a strong presumption that the original church, of whose fabric the small section of wall containing the round arch alone remains, was connected with the abbey at Barking, founded for his sister Ethel-

¹ T. D. Kendrick and C. A. R. Radford, *Ant. J.* 23 (1943), 14-18; T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), 83-5.

LONDON

burga by Earconwald, Bishop of London, who died about 694.

The arch, which is visible on both sides of the wall, is turned in a single order of tiles outlined by a course set round the circumference. The jambs, which appear to have been of square section like the arch itself, are of roughly squared stone rubble and tiles. The opening was about 4 ft wide and about 10 ft high. The section of wall is about 12 ft in length, and on the opposite side of the nave a piece of western quoining of similar tiles suggests that the original nave was of the same width as at present, i.e. about 24 ft internally.

LONDON

Map sheet 170, reference TQ 300795

ST PETER, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

*Remains of the church and claustral buildings
erected by Edward the Confessor: period C3*

Important discoveries of vestiges of Edward the Confessor's church of St Peter were made within the presbytery of Westminster Abbey in 1866, and within the nave in 1930. These served to establish that the internal length of the eleventh-century church was over 320 ft, not much short of the length of the present abbey, if Henry VII's eastern chapel be excluded.

The Confessor's eleventh-century church falls outside the scope of this book, for its style was Norman, although it was built before the Conquest. For a full account of the discoveries the reader is therefore referred to the original papers. It is sufficient here to note that the scale of the work indicates the standards which had been attained in pre-Conquest England.

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- L. E. TANNER and A. W. CLAPHAM, *ibid.* 83 (1933), 227-36. Critical account of all the discoveries. Plan and large-scale plan.

LOPHAM, SOUTH

Norfolk

Map sheet 136, reference TM 040817

Figure 524

ST ANDREW

*North wall of nave, and possibly west wall:
period C3*

The Norman tower of the church at South Lopham, about 11 miles east of Thetford, is of a scale almost suitable for a cathedral or an abbey. This impressive tower stands between an aisleless Decorated chancel with north vestry, and a tall nave whose Perpendicular clear-storey windows, south aisle, and south porch seem clearly to date it to the fifteenth century. But a blocked Norman north doorway in the nave gives an immediate indication of an earlier origin; while a circular, double-splayed window, above and to the west of the doorway, suggests that this part of the wall may be of an even earlier date, and that the Norman doorway may be a later insertion.

The church provides important material for the study of East Anglian architecture both before and after the Conquest. Whereas the tower is a clear example of Norman work of the early part of the twelfth century, the circular, double-splayed window in the north wall of the nave is of a type which contrasts sharply with the circular windows in the tower. Moreover, the main fabric of the tower, like that of the nave, is of flints, and it is therefore possible to make useful comparisons between the details of the two buildings.

The first feature to be noted on the tower is that all salient angles, whether on buttresses, pilasters, or windows, are faced in dressed stone, in sharp contrast to the technique so common in East Anglian pre-Conquest churches, where both quoins and decorative pilasters are formed in the flint fabric of the wall.

Secondly, in a comparison between the round, unsplayed openings near the top of the tower and the round, double-splayed north window of the nave, it should be noted that in the latter the ordinary flint fabric of the wall continues right up to the opening, even over its head, whereas

the heads of the Norman circular windows have been arched with large, roughly dressed stones, properly laid as voussoirs, with reasonable attention to radial setting.

Finally, it should be noted that the north wall of the nave is of larger flints than those in the walls of the tower, and that an appreciable amount of rough stone and broken tile has been incorporated with the flints in the north wall.

It accordingly seems clear that there is a real change of technique between the workmanship of the nave and that of the tower; and that the circular, double-splayed window of the nave, like so many others in Norfolk, can truly be regarded as of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, built either before the Conquest or else so soon after that the earlier techniques had not been superseded by the Norman methods.

The double-splayed window has its actual aperture, about 12 in. in diameter, pierced through an oak frame, which has survived intact in the middle of the wall. Round the circumference of this frame there can still be seen a few members of a series of holes which have been thought originally to have served for holding a network of strings, to exclude birds, at a time when the opening was not glazed; or alternatively as a means of attaching a translucent sheet of cloth, in place of glass. The external splay of the window, and the area of wall beside it, are lightly covered with what appears to be ancient plaster, through which the flints may be clearly seen in places. The circular opening widens to become 2 ft 6 in. in diameter in the outer face of the wall, with its centre about 17 ft above the ground, and about 8 ft from the western quoin. The interior of the nave is heavily plastered, so that no constructional detail is visible, but the opening in the inner face of the wall is a circle 3 ft in diameter, with its centre about 18 ft above the floor, and about 5 ft 6 in. from the western angle.

The north-west quoin of the nave has been obscured by the later addition of a diagonal buttress, but a few pieces of what appear to have been an earlier tile quoining may be seen in the north wall close beside this later buttress, and above its head there is a section of stone quoining

which contains a large flat stone clasping the angle of the north and west walls, about 22 ft above the ground, at what appears to have been the top of the original wall. A somewhat similar stone may also be seen at about the same level in the position of the original south-west quoin.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 19 ft 5 in. wide internally, and about 44 ft long, with walls about 2 ft 6 in. thick, and originally about 22 ft high, before the addition of the Perpendicular clear-storey.

REFERENCE

C. R. MANNING, 'South Lopham church', *Norf. Arch.* 14 (1898-1900), 57-62.

LULLINGSTONE

Kent

Map sheet 171, reference TQ 529651

Remains of small church: period uncertain

About 6 miles north of Sevenoaks, a peaceful private road leads from Eynsford along the west bank of the River Darent to Lullingstone Castle. Extensive remains of a Roman villa have been excavated beside, and partly beneath, this road; and remarkable discoveries have recently been made by the patient fitting together of plaster from the ruined walls of the Romano-British building. The gradual accumulation of evidence has provided reasonable certainty that three rooms in the house were separated off in the second half of the fourth century in order to provide a vestibule, an antechamber, and a Christian chapel.¹ This building falls outside the scope of our book, but it is of such importance as an instance of a Romano-British Christian chapel that the evidence for that interpretation of the remains should be summarized here. The piecing together of the plaster showed that one end of the chapel had been decorated with a painted arcade of six bays, supported on columns, between which were robed figures in the upright early Christian attitude of prayer, with outspread arms. On an adjoining wall of the chapel was a

¹ G. W. Meates, *Lullingstone Roman Villa* (London, 1955), 126-55.

circular floral wreath surrounding the Christian chi-rho symbol, and in the ante-chamber was a second chi-rho, also within a wreath, but in this case including in addition the letters alpha and omega. The whole villa had been destroyed by fire; and evidence from finds of coins allowed fairly precise dating of the preparation of the chapel and of its subsequent destruction to within the period from 350 to 400.

Just to the west of the villa, and a little higher above the stream, the remarkable discovery was announced in 1958 of a pagan burial chamber beneath the walls of an Anglo-Saxon church. This little church, at one time belonging to a separate parish of Lullingstane, was a ruin in the eighteenth century, having been deserted since 1412, when the bishop of Rochester made provision for the few remaining parishioners to be received at the adjoining parish church of Lullingstone.¹ In recent times, the existence of this ruined church had become forgotten until it was unearthed in connexion with work on the adjoining villa, less than fifty yards away. Then it was found that the Anglo-Saxon church had been built over a Romano-British funerary temple of about 300. The temple consists of a small square structure within an outer square, and the three walls of the chancel of the Anglo-Saxon church are built on, or just enclosing, the corresponding walls of the inner temple. The westward extent of the church had not been determined by excavation when we visited the site in 1959. No characteristic features had been found that would serve to justify a confident assertion that the church is of pre-Conquest date.

The church was of plain flint construction, about 16 ft wide internally, in agreement with Thorpe's observation. When he wrote in 1788 it was 37 ft in length, with side walls standing to a height of 7 ft, and its gabled end still 18 ft high. He recorded that the walls contained Roman brick as well as flint and that the end wall was chiefly of brick.

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J. HAWKES, 'Pagan burial temple unearthed in Kent', *Observer* (Sunday, 28 October 1958), 13. Details of the Romano-British temple and of the burial chamber beneath it.

LUSBY

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 114, reference TF 340679

ST PETER

Side walls of nave and chancel: period C

The small village of Lusby, in the Lincolnshire Wolds, roughly midway between Horncastle and Spilsby, has a somewhat problematical church, which has been drastically altered in later times, but nevertheless still contains much of the original Anglo-Saxon fabric. It now consists of an aisleless nave and chancel, with a modern vestry at the west. The chancel is clearly of two dates, of which the eastern is later, and the western is contemporary with the nave. The nave has clearly at some time been shortened at the west; Baldwin Brown (p. 469) says that it has been shortened by about 30 ft, but no evidence now appears to justify so precise a statement. It seems to us more likely that only a short length has been cut from the side walls of the nave, such as might have been involved in a collapse of a west tower, with consequent breaking of the west wall of the nave. Without excavation of the disturbed area beside the modern vestry it would be difficult to be more precise; but the two surviving doorways would fit such an explanation, on the plausible assumption that they were originally near to the west end.

The fabric of the nave, and of the original western half of the chancel, is of large roughly squared grey stone rubble, with much larger stones for the quoins and the plinth. This plinth, of three chamfered orders, has an overall height of 25 in., and it runs along both side walls of the nave, returning round the eastern angles, and then running along the original western half of both walls of the chancel.

Of the blocked, round-headed, south doorway, Baldwin Brown says that 'half the south doorway

¹ J. Thorpe, *Customale Roffense* (London, 1788), 122 and 126-8.

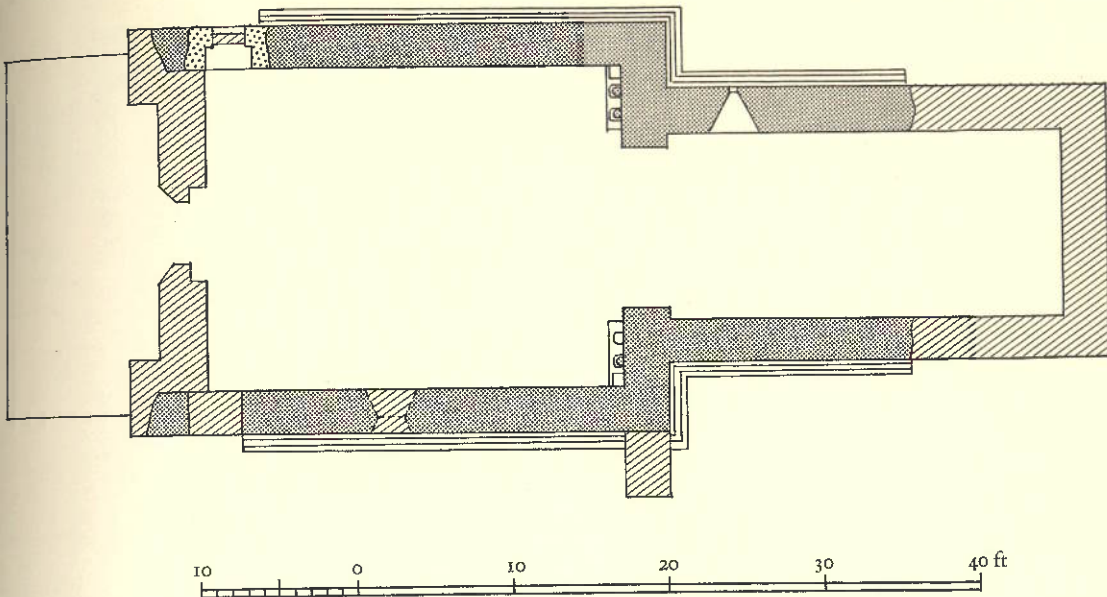


FIG. 183. LUSBY, LINCOLNSHIRE

has been shorn off, but enough remains to show that the jambs were constructed Escomb fashion'. In fact, it is only on the inside that the doorway appears to have been cut in two by the building of the new west wall so as to cover its western half. Externally, the doorway is complete, although perhaps somewhat restored; and the jambs are not good examples of 'Escomb technique'; for, with one exception, all their stones are laid on their faces. The doorway is tall for its width, with plain square jambs, massive blocks of stone for imposts, and an arched head of two plain square orders, both of which are laid flush with the face of the wall. It is of interest to note that, whereas the outer order has reasonably radial joints, the inner order is laid with very wedge-shaped springers and keystone, while the other voussoirs are almost parallel-sided. The inner order is of a whitish stone which contrasts sharply with the grey stone of the main fabric. In the outer order only the keystone is of the white material, but above it a further stone of the same material has been set upright instead of flat and has been rudely carved with a small Crucifixion, which is now much weathered.

About half-way along the south wall, and high up near the top, one jamb of a blocked window is to be seen. Externally it is not now possible to

say with any certainty what was the nature of its head, but internally the window has survived as a recess with a flat head.

The north wall of the nave has a small Norman doorway near its west end, cutting away the plinth, and thus showing the priority of the plinth to the doorway (Baldwin Brown, p. 391). The most interesting part of the north wall of the nave is, however, the north-east quoin, which is of massive side-alternate construction, with stones averaging 18 in. in height and extending horizontally along the adjoining wall faces about 30 in. in one direction and 18 in. in the other. Beneath this quoin the triple, chamfered plinth is carried neatly round the corner, and is then equally neatly turned round the re-entrant angle at the junction between the nave and the chancel. The treatment on the south side of the church appears to have been similar, but it is much obscured by a massive medieval buttress.

The south wall of the chancel is quite plain; but the north wall has a tall, narrow, keyhole window whose monolithic jambs slope slightly inwards, so that the window narrows towards the top. A small rebate is cut on the outer arris; and some slight ornament is provided in the form of a small cross cut on the head, above a lightly incised groove, which runs concentrically round the head

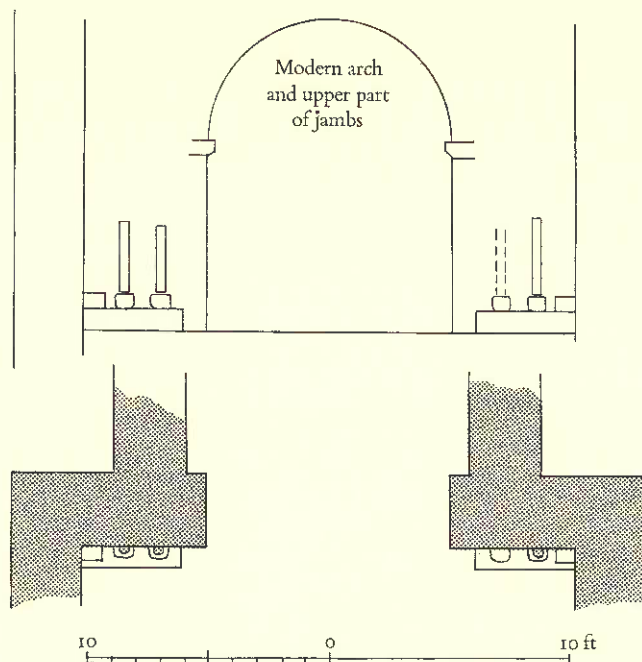


FIG. 184. LUSBY, LINCOLNSHIRE

Elevation and plan to show the arrangement of shafts and bases beside the chancel-arch. The upper part of the wall appears to have been wholly rebuilt, and the arch, imposts, and upper parts of the jambs are modern.

and is then carried downward on the jambs and turned outward like the curls of a sweeping moustache. The window has a shallow monolithic sill, and its jambs show several dowel-holes on their outer faces. Internally there is no appearance of early work, the round arch and splayed jambs being apparently quite modern.

In the interior of the nave, interest centres on the fragmentary remains of what must have been a rather remarkable chancel-arch. Unfortunately the whole of the upper part of the wall, including the arch and its imposts, seems to have been rebuilt; the lower parts of the jambs contain some through-stones, and may be original. But on the wall facing the nave there are remains of pilaster-strips, which must formerly have outlined the arch, so as to make it a most striking feature. On the south, these remarkable remains are clearly visible beside and behind the pulpit; on the north, they are hidden behind the organ, but with patience can be found to be of the same type and perhaps even more complete. It appears from these survivals that the chancel-arch was flanked by two sets of three-quarter-round vertical

pilaster-strips and that a square strip ran up the angle against the side wall of the nave. These features rest on a tall square plinth, which runs from the side wall of the nave not quite as far as the jamb of the chancel-arch. Above the plinth, the three-quarter-round pilaster-strips rest on bulbous bases which may best be described as cubes with their edges rounded off; and on the south side one pilaster-strip is represented by a surviving monolithic section a little over 3 ft in height, while the position of the other is marked by a tall vertical cavity from which the keel which bonded the pilaster into the wall has been torn away.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is now 26 ft 7 in. long internally, and 20 ft wide. The chancel is 25 ft 3 in. by 11 ft 11 in.; but originally its length must have been only about 12 ft 6 in. The walls are about 2 ft 10 in. thick. The blocked south doorway is 3 ft 7 in. wide and 8 ft 6 in. tall; and the chancel-arch is 10 ft 2 in. in width. The keyhole window has an aperture 5 in. wide by 2 ft 1 in. tall.

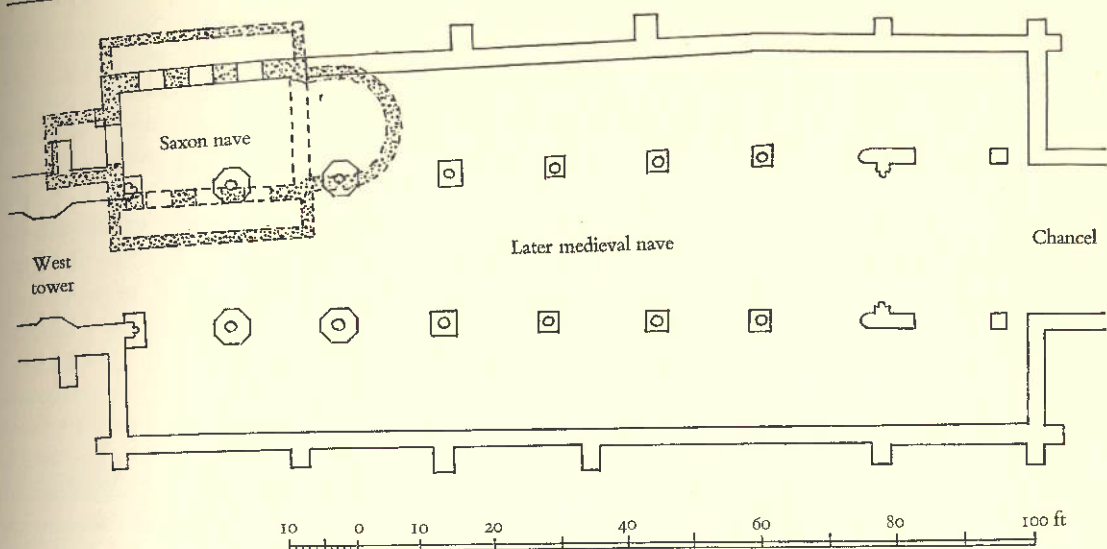


FIG. 185. LYDD, KENT

Plan to show the position of the pre-Conquest church in relation to the church which exists today. There is at present no conclusive evidence known to us in support of the apsidal form indicated for the chancel.

LYDD

Kent

Map sheet 184, reference TR 042209

ALL SAINTS

*West and north walls of a formerly aisled nave
with a clear-storey: period C*

The imposing parish church of Lydd, in the heart of Romney Marsh, is justly described locally as the Cathedral of the Marsh. Its tall Perpendicular tower, over 130 ft high, serves as a landmark over a wide radius, and its spacious nave, chancel, and aisles are mainly of the Early English period, with fine Perpendicular windows inserted later.

It is therefore surprising to find preserved in the north-west angle of the north aisle of this medieval church a fragment of the main walls of a much earlier Anglo-Saxon predecessor, comprising externally lengths of about 30 ft of north wall and 14 ft of adjoining west wall, in rough rubble construction, with wide mortar joints. The early church of which these fragments formed a part was evidently small, but clearly of unusual and interesting design, with aisles and clear-storey, a western annexe of some sort, and probably an apsidal chancel.

The lower part of the north wall is about 2 ft 6 in. thick; and it contains three round-headed arches of simple square section, now blocked, but evidently once opening to an aisle, of which no trace is now apparent. The arches themselves, about 4 ft in span and 10 ft high, are turned in undressed flat stones, laid with characteristic late-Saxon disregard for radial setting. They are supported on piers about 8 ft high and 3 ft wide, also cut square through the wall, with roughly shaped impost, but otherwise no dressed stone facings. Above the arcade, the wall as seen from outside shows a pronounced off-set, no doubt to support the roof of the aisle; and in the thinner upper wall, with its sill about 14 ft above the floor, a single clear-storey window has survived, placed like those at Brixworth over one of the piers. It is round-headed and double-splayed, with its actual opening about 1 ft wide by 2 ft 6 in. high, and placed a little nearer to the outer face of the wall than to the inner.

In the west wall a much wider arch of the same general character but about 6 ft 6 in. wide and 11 ft 5 in. high originally opened from the nave. Mr Micklethwaite,¹ who first published an account of the remains in 1898, suggested that this western arch might have opened to an apse, in which case

¹ *Arch. J.* 55 (1898), 343-5.

he visualized an aisled basilican church with apses at both ends.

The results of a much more detailed examination and measurement of the ancient fabric were published by Mr F. C. E. Erwood¹ in 1921 and by Canon G. M. Livett² in 1930. Whereas earlier plans had left undetermined the eastern extent of the early nave, Mr Erwood described how, within the present north aisle, there is clearly visible the vertical junction between the original Anglo-Saxon walling and the thirteenth-century Early English wall continuing it eastward. At this vertical junction there is not only a change in thickness from the Anglo-Saxon to the Early English walling but there are clearly visible, both internally and externally, marks which show the former existence of walls branching to north and south to form respectively the east wall of the Anglo-Saxon north aisle and the dividing wall between the Anglo-Saxon nave and chancel. Canon Livett showed further that, while the main body of the Anglo-Saxon north wall is 2 ft 6 in. thick, the piece immediately at the east is 3 ft thick, thus showing clearly that the later builders did not remove the whole of the southward dividing wall. On the outer face he made a small excavation to expose the foundations, as a result of which he was able to establish, first, that the northward wall forming the east of the Anglo-Saxon aisle was only about 1 ft 7 in. thick, and secondly, that the main Anglo-Saxon wall did not continue further eastward either in a straight line or in an arc of a circle to form an apse as Mr Erwood had suggested, but that instead there had been a set-back of about a foot. Canon Livett therefore presented the picture of an aisled rectangular nave continued eastward as a chancel, which was about a foot narrower on either side than the main body of the nave, and was separated from it by a chancel-arch of a single span set in the dividing wall. By analogy with the early Kentish churches and with the basilican churches of Brixworth and Wing, Canon Livett suggested that the chancel would almost certainly have been apsidal in form, with short lengths of parallel walling before its semicircular or polygonal eastern end.

At the western end equally interesting discoveries were made; where Baldwin Brown's plan (p. 321) shows a later buttress and the fifteenth-century tower overlapping respectively the north and south jambs of the original western opening, Mr Erwood noticed that the inner faces of the buttress and the tower were in fact aligned with the soffit faces of the jambs and that the buttress, which is clearly much too small to serve any useful structural purpose, is really a medieval covering applied to a small ragged piece of Anglo-Saxon walling which originally ran westward from the nave. While the south and west faces of this buttress are wholly of later workmanship, the inner part of the north face is clearly original fabric bonded into and forming a right angle with the Anglo-Saxon west wall. Mr Erwood was thus led to suggest that the western opening originally led from the nave into a west porch or annexe, the remains of whose north wall are now represented by the dwarf buttress, while the north wall of the Perpendicular tower stands on the line of the old south wall of the Anglo-Saxon porch. As a further refinement Canon Livett pointed out that all the Anglo-Saxon arches, those in the north wall as well as this in the west, are set back slightly on their jambs, and that, if the inner faces of the walls of the west porch had been aligned with the jambs as was suggested by Mr Erwood, the springing of the arch would have been concealed behind these walls. He was therefore led to suggest that the side walls of the porch were set back about four inches from the jambs so that a properly proportioned view of the arch, imposts, and jambs would be obtained from within the porch. He pointed out further that this assumption would lead to a thickness of 2 ft for the side walls of the west porch, a thickness which seemed reasonable by comparison with the 2 ft 6 in. of the main walls, and 1 ft 7 in. of the end wall of the original north aisle.

These very fruitful studies of the fabric as it stands above ground have therefore served to show the general form of the original early church and to fix precisely the size of its nave as 26 ft in length internally by 16 ft in breadth. It is,

¹ *Arch. J.* 78 (1921), 216-26; reprinted in *Arch. Cant.* 37 (1925), 177-90.

² *Arch. Cant.* 42 (1930), 61-92.

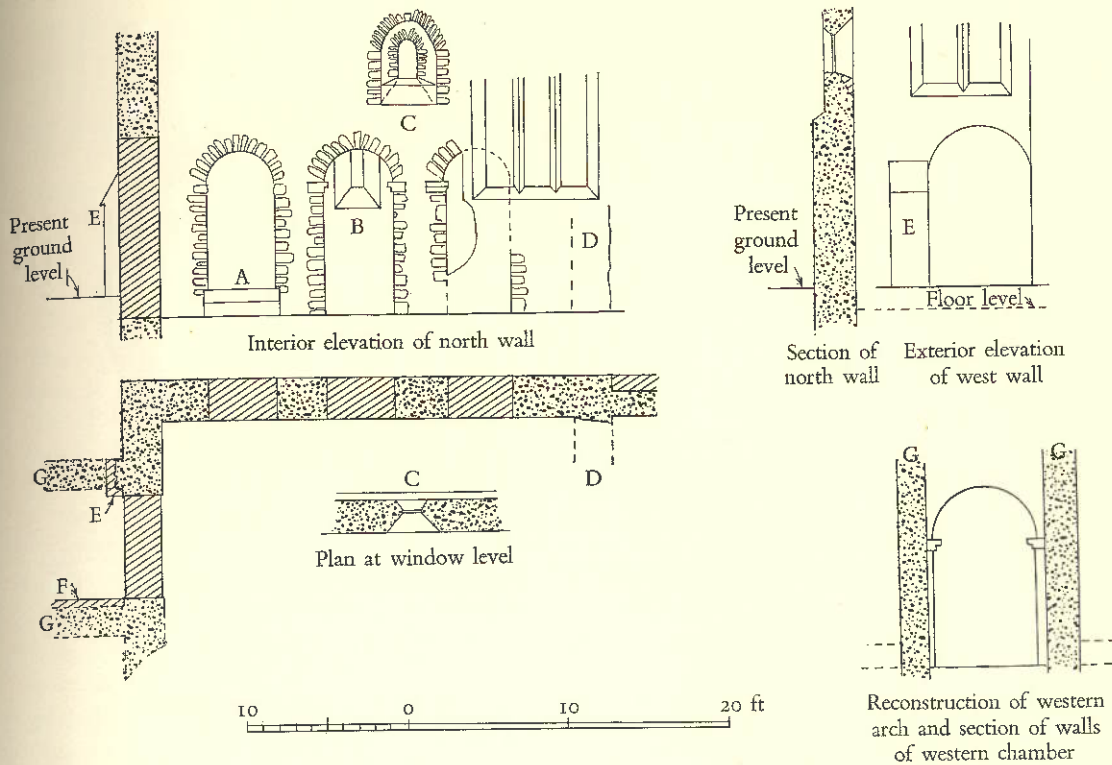


FIG. 186. LYDD, KENT

Details of the pre-Conquest fabric. A, modern steps inside blocked pre-Conquest arch; B, blocked window inside blocked pre-Conquest arch; C, original double-splayed pre-Conquest window; D, indications of return wall, marking original eastern extent of pre-Conquest nave; E, modern buttress; F, north face of wall of medieval tower; G, probable position of lateral walls of western porch or *porticus* of pre-Conquest church.

however, clear that excavations ought to be made in the churchyard to the north and the west, and in the aisle to the east, in order to establish whether any foundations remain to confirm the size and nature of the aisles, the chancel, and the western annexe of the early church.

Mr Erwood referred to documentary evidence for the existence of a settlement here in the eighth century; and he argued that the structural evidence provided by the existing fabric was in accord with its having been built between 775 and 825. The principal objection to so early a date for the existing fabric is the presence of the double-splayed window, a feature which would normally be taken as evidence for placing the building in period C. Mr Erwood argued that the window

had been much altered and was no longer a well-defined example of the type. We agree with Canon Livett in regarding this window as sufficient evidence for dating the fabric as a whole in period C, that is to say not before the middle of the tenth century.¹ This does not, of course, in any way prejudice a decision on the question of the existence of an earlier structure on the same site.

It remains to note the north-west quoin of the early structure. From the ground up to the level of the off-set this is of larger stones, no doubt inserted in the ragged hole which would be left when the western wall of the north aisle was demolished. Mr Erwood regarded the upper part of the quoin as having also been rebuilt,

¹ A closely reasoned argument for discounting the evidence of the double-splayed window has recently been set out by E. D. C. Jackson and E. G. M. Fletcher,

'The pre-Conquest Basilica at Lydd', *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd ser., 22 (1959), 41-52. We nevertheless adhere to the opinion stated in our text, above.

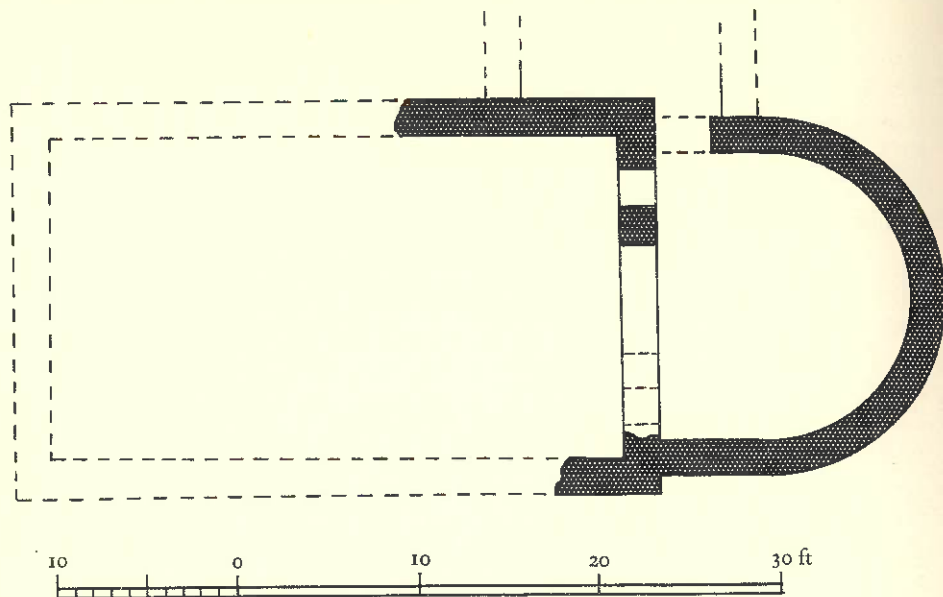


FIG. 187. LYMINGE, KENT
Plan of the fragmentary foundations of the Anglo-Saxon church.

whereas Canon Livett, with whom we agree, regarded the upper walling and the quoin as being original.

The carefully drawn plan of the present church first published by Canon Livett showed as one of its most interesting features the remarkably irregular setting out of the whole of the Early English nave, in striking contrast to the accuracy with which the Early English chancel and chapels are laid out. Canon Livett advanced arguments, which are outside the scope of this work, for believing that the reason for this irregular layout of the nave was that the builders incorporated in their ambitious scheme not only the nave of the little Anglo-Saxon church but also the nave and chancel of a much larger Norman church which stood close beside it on the south-east.

REFERENCES AND DIMENSIONS

These have been fully given in the footnotes and in the text.

LYMINGE

Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 161408

ST MARY

Foundations of nave and apse separated by triple arcade: period A1

About 4 miles north of Hythe, close beside the medieval parish church of St Mary and St Eadburga at Lyminge, a complex series of ruins covering a considerable part of the churchyard formed the subject of one of the long controversies so dear to the hearts of the Victorian archaeologists. The enthusiastic and learned Rector of the parish, Canon Jenkins, presented a case for the former existence of an unusually large and ambitious early Saxon church, with three parallel halls, each ending in an eastern apse. In the end more cautious views prevailed and the ruins were accepted as those of a small church of the early Kentish type, beside the more extensive remains of a Roman bath-house, from which much of the material for building the church had probably been taken. The arguments of the old controversy are fully set out in *Archaeologia Cantiana* and the account which follows is therefore confined to the conclusions which were finally accepted.

The ruined church was part of a nunnery whose foundation by St Ethelburg forms one of the many romantic stories of early Christianity in England. Ethelburg, daughter of Ethelbert, the

first Christian king of Kent, was married in 625 to Edwin, king of Northumbria, who at the time of his marriage was a pagan, but who agreed that she might bring her priests with her to the north. The story of the mission of Paulinus and the conversion of Edwin is too well known to need repetition; but, after the defeat and death of Edwin in 632, at the hands of Penda, king of Mercia, Paulinus and Ethelburg returned to Kent, where her brother Edbald was still reigning as king. There, soon after 633, she founded a nunnery at Lyminge under her own rule as abbess. The church of St Mary, whose ruins are to be seen beside the south doorway of the later medieval church, is part of that nunnery.

The ruined early church consisted of a rectangular nave, separated from an apsidal chancel by a triple arcade, whose central arch, about 6 ft in width, stood between two outer arches, each only about 2 ft wide. There was apparently a north door near the west of the chancel, perhaps opening to a north *porticus*, which in early Kentish churches often overlapped nave and chancel, and which here is now almost entirely covered by the later church. The walls, of Roman brick and rubble, are about 2 ft thick; the nave is about 18 ft wide and of uncertain length; while the chancel is about 16 ft in width and 14 ft in depth, with a short section of straight wall between the nave and the semicircular eastern termination.

The plan is similar to a number of other early Kentish churches, particularly St Pancras at Canterbury, St Andrew at Rochester and St Mary at Reculver.

DIMENSIONS

These are fully given in the text.

REFERENCES

- R. C. JENKINS, 'The basilica of Lyminge', *Arch. Cant.* 9 (1874), 205-23.
 R. C. JENKINS, 'Remarks on the early Christian basilicas', *ibid.* 10 (1875), ci-ciii.
 R. C. JENKINS, 'Observations on the remains of the basilica of Lyminge', *ibid.* 18 (1889), 46-54.
 R. C. JENKINS, 'Historical notes relating to the church in Lyminge', *J.B.A.A.* 43 (1887), 363-9. Notes of the

many charters which refer to the Anglo-Saxon church.

- J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, 'Something about Saxon church building', *Arch. J.* 53 (1896), 293-351. Lyminge, 313-14; with plan as now accepted.
 C. R. PEERS, 'On Saxon churches of the St Pancras type', *ibid.* 58 (1901), 402-34. Lyminge, 419-20; with plan as now accepted.

LYMINSTER

Sussex

Map sheet 181, reference TQ 023047

ST MARY MAGDALENE

Nave and possibly part of chancel: possibly period C1

About a mile north of Littlehampton, the church of St Mary Magdalene at Lyminster stands, on a tongue of higher land in otherwise flat meadows, beside the lower reaches of the Arun, once practically an arm of the sea, and the *Portus de Arundel* of Anglo-Saxon times. A few hundred yards to the north of the church is a 'knucker-hole', a deep fissure in the chalk, with never-failing water; this has been associated locally with a dragon-legend, and the ribbed twelfth-century coffin slab near the porch is traditionally described as that of the 'knight who slew the dragon'.

This church at Lyminster is one of a considerable group of Sussex churches whose claims to a pre-Conquest date are dismissed by Baldwin Brown (p. 456) on the ground that none of them possesses any clearly defined Anglo-Saxon feature such as the double-splayed window at Poling. We are, however, inclined to accept the claim, first put forward by P. M. Johnston in 1903, that Lyminster does possess one such positive feature and a number of minor confirmatory features.¹ The history of the parish begins with the will of Alfred the Great, who left it to his nephew Osferd.

The present church is built of flint, with quoins of brown local sandstone, laid in side-alternate fashion. It now consists of a twelfth-century west tower, a nave with late-Norman or Transi-

¹ P. M. Johnston, *Sussex Arch. C.* 46 (1903), 195-230. In addition to the architectural description Johnston also

gives an account of the local traditions associated with the church.

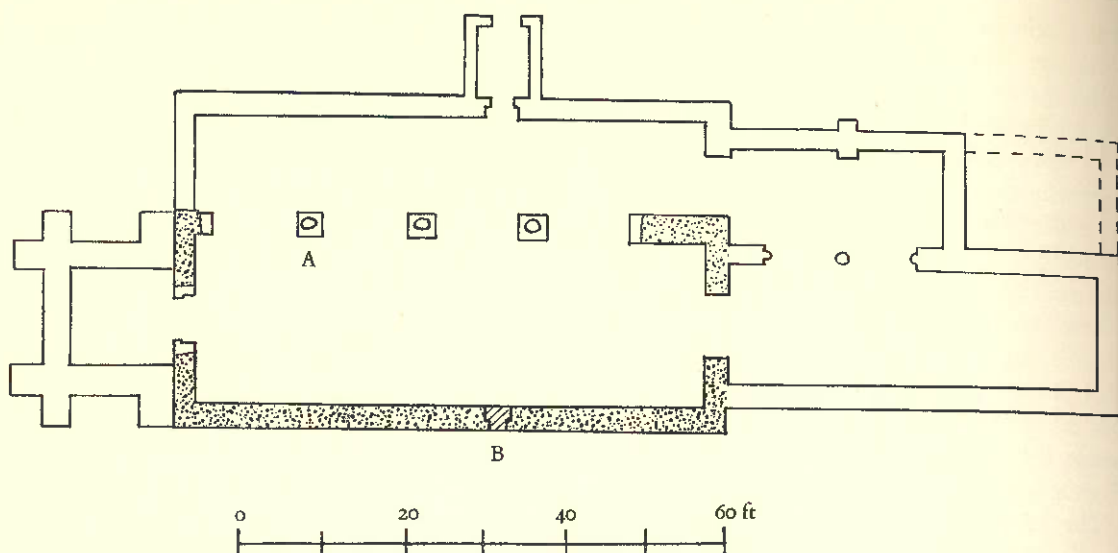


FIG. 188. LYMINSTER, SUSSEX

A, position of Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman window above westernmost pier of Transitional-Norman arcade;
 B, blocked early Norman doorway with head of earlier doorway above it (see Fig. 189).

tional north aisle and a chancel with a modern vestry on the north, partly covering the site of a ruined Lady Chapel, which originally ran along the whole north side of the chancel. It is indeed true that there is no long-and-short quoining, nor any double-splayed windows; but the walls of the aisleless nave and chancel are only 2 ft 7 in. thick, and they are about 20 ft high in their original state. This indication of early date would not be sufficient in itself; but a definitely Anglo-Saxon feature is provided by the blocked doorways, which are visible in the south wall of the nave. The lower of these is definitely Norman, with jambs and round head of Caen stone; but the round head of the taller and earlier doorway, largely cut away by its Norman successor, is of the same brown sandstone as the quoins of the nave. When Johnston described the church in 1903, the inner face of this doorway had recently been exposed from under a coating of plaster; and it had for the first time become apparent that the stones of the arched head passed straight through the wall, without any rebate for the hanging of a door. The proportions of the doorway, moreover, confirm its Anglo-Saxon character; while the Norman doorway beneath is about 4 ft wide and 6 ft high, the opening of the Anglo-Saxon doorway is about 3 ft in width and 9 ft in height.

Within the church, the first impression is one of abnormal length; the chancel and the nave are each about three times as long as they are wide, a feature which is perhaps to be explained by the use of the church both for the parish and for a nunnery, so that the chancel would have been built of sufficient size to serve as the conventual church.

The second striking feature is the chancel-arch, with its two pairs of imposts and its unusual height. An explanation of the double imposts may be that the arch was raised 5 ft when the walls of the nave were raised in 1170; or alternatively the lower imposts may have served for a screen, to separate the conventual church from the parishioners' nave. Neither the arch nor the jambs contain through-stones; but the arch itself is unusual in that its individual stones each cover many degrees of the span of the arch while being appreciably less than 1 ft in radial thickness.

In the interior face of the north wall of the nave, above the westernmost pier of the arcade, the arched head of an early window has survived; while most of its narrow outer face may be seen within the north aisle. In the exterior face, the round head is cut from a single stone, and its jambs are built from a number of fairly small

stones. Its interior widely splayed round head is well turned in about a dozen voussoirs, with the crown of the arch about 17 ft above the floor. This is a window which could be early Norman but could equally well date from the tenth century. Taking all the evidence together, we have felt it reasonable to regard the Anglo-Saxon south door-

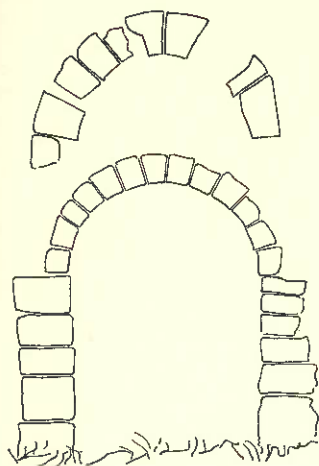


FIG. 189. LYMINSTER, SUSSEX
The blocked doorways in the south wall
of the nave.

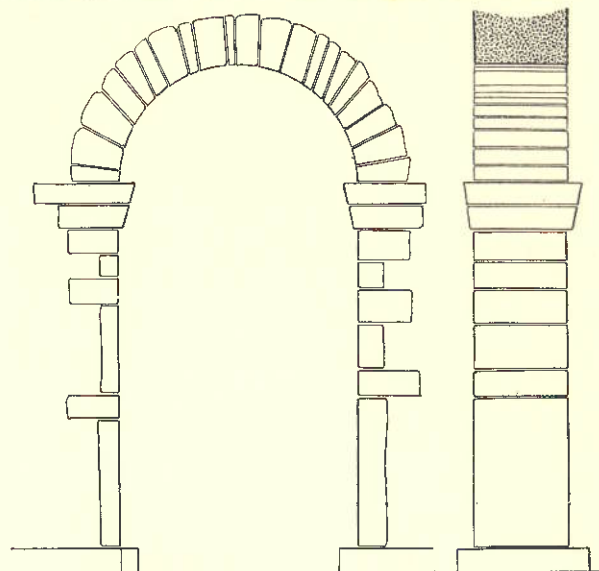


FIG. 190. MARKET OVERTON, RUTLAND
Details of the tower-arch.

way as fixing the thin walls of the nave to a period before the Conquest.

DIMENSIONS

The internal dimensions of the nave are 63 ft 5 in. by 21 ft, and of the chancel 46 ft 6 in. by 14 ft 6 in.; the walls are 2 ft 7 in. thick; and, before being raised in 1170, those of the nave were 20 ft high.

The chancel-arch is 8 ft 4 in. wide and 19 ft 3 in. tall. The blocked south doorway is about 3 ft wide and 9 ft tall.

MARKET OVERTON

Rutland

Map sheet 122, reference SK 886165

Figure 525

ST PETER AND ST PAUL

Tower arch: period doubtful

In this small village, pleasantly situated on high land, about 5 miles north of Oakham, in a spacious church which is otherwise almost wholly of the Decorated period, there survives a tower-arch which has been part of an earlier, Anglo-Saxon, fabric.

Fragments of pre-Conquest carved stones are built into the lower exterior walls of the tower, and the uprights of the stone stile at the north-west corner of the churchyard appear to be Anglo-Saxon baluster shafts. The church is within the confines of a Roman camp, and important Anglo-Saxon material has been recovered from a pre-Conquest cemetery nearby.

The round-headed tower-arch and its jambs are square in section; and they are wholly constructed of stones that pass through the full thickness of the wall. The jambs, of alternate upright and flat

stones, rest on boldly projecting square-sectioned plinths, which are returned round both faces of the wall. The imposts, each constructed of two large flat superimposed stones, project boldly from the soffit of the arch and are sloped back at an angle, so as to meet the soffit faces of the jambs. The arch itself is of well-cut voussoirs neatly laid with radial joints. Baldwin Brown placed the church in his Period C, but without recording any reason. Since the church stands within three miles of Ermine Street, in a district which has yielded many Roman remains, there seems good ground for thinking that the arch is basically Roman; and that, in default of other evidence, the church of which it formed part might have been built in any Anglo-Saxon period from the earliest to the latest.

DIMENSIONS

The arch is 6 ft 7 in. wide and slightly over 14 ft tall, in a wall that is only 2 ft 8 in. thick. Each impost is 1 ft 3 in. thick, and the square plinths, 8 in. tall, project 7 in.

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V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, 'An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Market Overton', *Arch.* 62 (1911), 481-96.
V.C.H., *Rutland*, 1 (London, 1908): 95-106, Anglo-Saxon remains; 110, Roman Camp; 2 (London, 1935): 143-5, church described, with plan.

MARTON

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 104, reference SK 840817

Figure 526

ST MARGARET

West tower, nave, and part of chancel: period C3

The Roman road from Lincoln to Doncaster, now a minor road known as Tillbridge Lane, crosses the Trent by ferry between Marton and Littleborough, probably the site of the Roman *Sege-lorum*. The church of St Margaret stands in the centre of Marton, immediately beside the modern highway from Lincoln to Gainsborough, and within a quarter of a mile of the Roman road. It

now consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with south porch, and an aisleless chancel. The fabric is of rubble, plastered externally, and with dressed stone for the quoins and facings.

The west tower is a good example of the tall, gaunt, unbuttressed structure so characteristic of the later Anglo-Saxon period in Lincolnshire, with two unequal stages separated high up by a square string-course and an off-set. A medieval embattled parapet with pinnacles at the corners crowns the belfry stage, which has four tall double belfry windows, with capitals of advanced design, on slender mid-wall shafts. The square jambs are each built of five or six dressed stones. The round heads of the individual windows of each pair are cut in square stones, with an ornamental roll carried round the arris of the head; and they are supported on boldly projecting through-stones, whose hollow chamfers are recorded by Baldwin Brown (p. 470) as an Anglo-Saxon rather than a Norman feature.

The walling of the lower stage is almost wholly of thin pieces of stone rubble laid in herring-bone formation, with occasional single or multiple courses of the same rubble laid horizontally. On this ground, as well as by virtue of the design of the capitals of the belfry windows, Baldwin Brown regarded the tower as of post-Conquest date, though Anglo-Saxon in form (p. 470). For reasons set out in detail under Diddlebury, we do not accept herring-bone masonry as necessarily implying a post-Conquest date; and we therefore accept the pre-Conquest features of Marton church at their face value.

With regard to ornament, this lower stage is severely plain, even when judged by the standards set by other Lincolnshire towers; for it has only two openings, both of which are in the west face. On the ground-floor level, a west doorway no doubt originally occupied the position now usurped by a pointed medieval arch, into which in modern times a narrow round-headed window has been inserted. An original window still remains to light the first floor. It is a narrow, internally splayed window, with each of its jambs built of five dressed stones; and its round head is cut from a single stone whose upper face is also curved to accommodate a hood-mould similar to those at Coleby, Glentworth, and Stow.

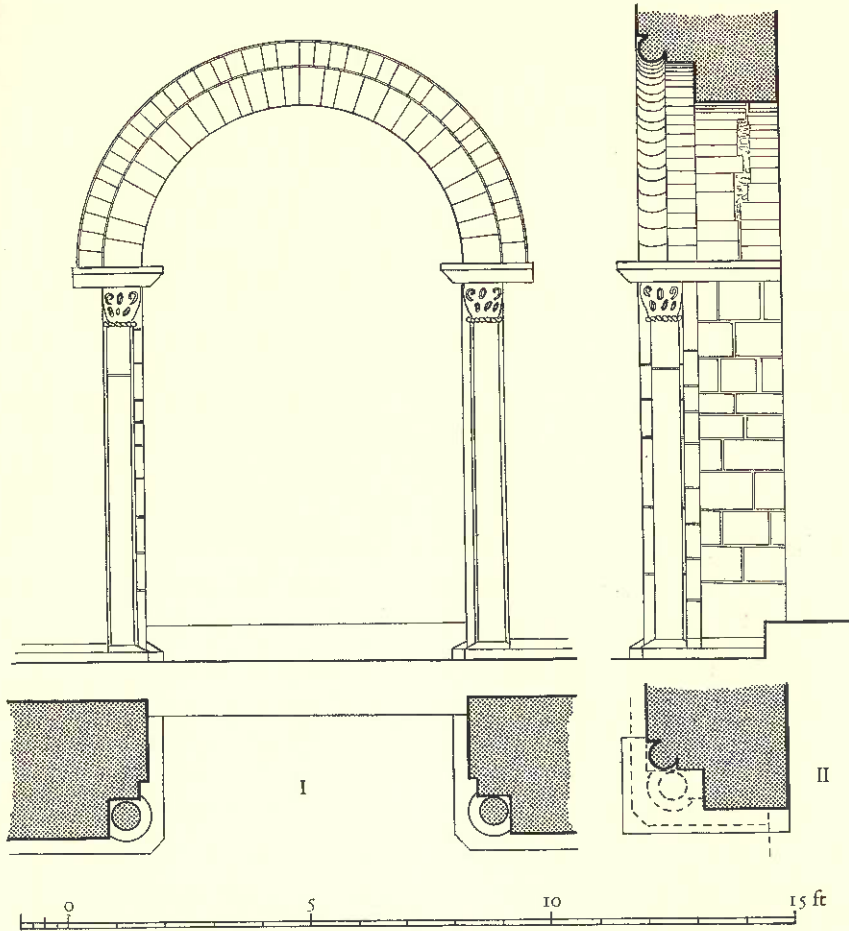


FIG. 191. MARTON, LINCOLNSHIRE

Details of the chancel-arch. It will be noticed that the arch and the jambs are constructed without any use of through-stones. The plan I shows the arrangement of the jambs, angle-shafts and bases. The full lines in the plan II show the outline of the impost and the lowest voussoir of the arch; the dotted lines show the outline of the jamb and thus indicate clearly how the roll-moulding of the arch is illogically placed in relation to the angle-shaft which should support it.

Above this window a small stone, carved with what seems to represent a head, has been built into the face of the wall, under a projecting flat ledge.

At about the level of the first floor it will be noticed that the tower narrows somewhat, the walls sloping inward to an extent which is quite noticeable. On the east face of the tower, above the level of the present low-pitched roof, the line of the older and more steeply pitched Anglo-Saxon roof may be seen, with its apex not far below the belfry stage. Within the area of this gabled roof-line, there may also be seen a doorway which originally opened to the upper floor of the tower. It is now blocked; but its flat lintel and its stone jambs are clearly visible.

The original west wall of the nave may also be seen, forming part of the east wall of the tower and projecting sideways from it like buttresses, whose sloping tops match and continue the line of the old roof-gable, and whose vertical outer faces each show a straight joint where the later west walls of the aisles were built against the original quoins of the Anglo-Saxon nave. Similar straight vertical joints may be seen at the east end of the nave between the original quoins of the aisleless nave and the later east walls of the aisles. The surviving quoins are all built of rubble, like that of the walls, without any use of dressed stone.

The western part of the south wall of the chancel shows herring-bone masonry similar to that of the

tower, and may be accepted as of the same date, both for this reason and also because it rests on a simple square plinth like that beside the tower-arch in the west wall of the nave. The eastern parts of the chancel walls are later extensions, as may be seen not only by the change in fabric but also by the way in which the plinth under the south wall turns north where it originally ran under the east end of the chancel.

Within the church, the principal early structural features are the arches to the tower and chancel. Like so many others of this period in Lincolnshire, the tower-arch and its jambs,

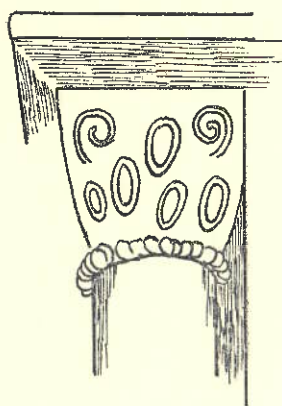


FIG. 192. MARTON, LINCOLNSHIRE
Detail of the north capital. The south capital is similar but is not original.

although square in section and with simple chamfered impost, are not of through-stone technique. The chancel-arch, however, is unmistakably Anglo-Saxon, although of very advanced design; the main structure of the arch and of its jambs is of plain square section and passes through about three-quarters of the wall thickness; but the remaining quarter is then occupied by a decorative feature which is formed by setting an angle-shaft in a shallow recess in the west angle of each jamb and by carrying a roll-moulding round the west face of the arch. The characteristically Anglo-Saxon feature of this treatment of the arch is that the angle-shaft is not arranged logically beneath the roll-moulding, but is placed beneath

the outer angle of the impost, where it serves to support nothing. This is an illogical treatment which is paralleled exactly in the tower-arch at Broughton in Lincolnshire, and approximately in the west doorway at Kirk Hammerton in Yorkshire. The chancel-arch is, nevertheless, a fine composition, of a quality and scale unusual for a parish church. In addition to the decorative features already mentioned it has chamfered imposts and elaborate capitals of cushion shape,¹ with incised ornamental ovals and volutes; while the fillets separating the capitals from the shafts are enriched with twisted cable-ornament. The shafts rest on bases in the form of slightly convex flattish fillets. The bases in turn rest on a shallow plinth of square section, while the jambs have a chamfered plinth.

The Norman north arcade and its Early English southern counterpart, each of two arches, are cut through the original Anglo-Saxon walls, only 2 ft 6 in. thick, of which short sections remain at each end.

Built into the north wall of the chancel is an Anglo-Saxon carved stone about 9 in. by 14 in. with an early representation of the Crucifixion. The arms of the cross widen from the centre, the attenuated figure is draped, and the feet are nailed separately to the cross. The general treatment is somewhat reminiscent of the Crucifixion at Wormington in Worcestershire.

Seven pieces of broken cross-shaft, carved with interlace, are built into the west wall of the south aisle.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 33 ft 9 in. long internally, by 16 ft wide, with side walls between 2 ft 3 in. and 2 ft 6 in. in thickness and about 19 ft in height. The chancel is 10 ft 9 in. wide and is now 29 ft long, but was appreciably shorter. The tower is 8 ft 9 in. (east-west) by 9 ft (north-south) internally, with walls about 3 ft 4 in. thick and about 50 ft high, excluding the later parapet.

The tower-arch is 5 ft 10 in. wide and 11 ft 4 in. high, and the chancel-arch is 6 ft 7 in. by 11 ft 6 in.

¹ G. Baldwin Brown (1925), 409, fig. 193(3). The south shaft and capital are reconstructions, but those on the north are original.

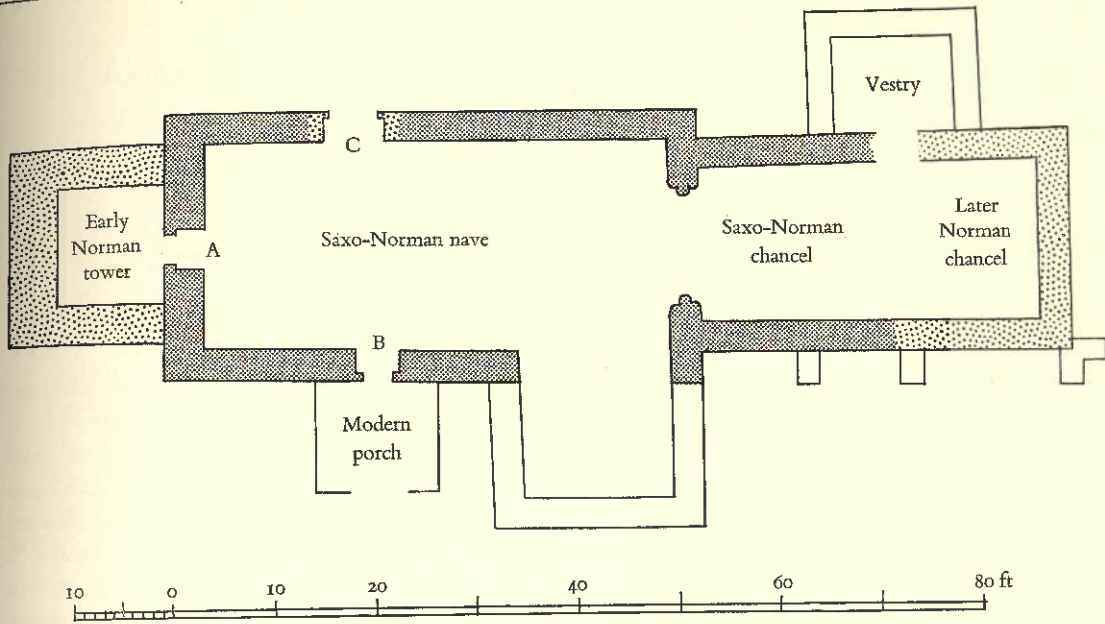


FIG. 193. LONG MARTON, WESTMORLAND

A, Saxo-Norman west doorway; B, Saxo-Norman south doorway;
C, Norman north doorway, now blocked and containing a window.

REFERENCES

- Editorial, *A.A.S.R.* 9 (1867-8), lxxii. Note of considerable recent restoration, including repair and strengthening of the chancel-arch.
- Editorial, *ibid.* 21 (1891-2), lxxiv. Note of further repairs. Anglo-Saxon carved stones seen outside, where plaster had fallen off. Anglo-Saxon crucifix discovered, hidden by organ.
- Editorial, *ibid.* 29 (1907-8), lxvii-lxix. Repair and underpinning of tower. Many structural details. Small Anglo-Saxon crucifix rediscovered and moved to its present position.

MARTON, LONG

Westmorland

Map sheet 83, reference NY 666240

ST MARGARET AND ST JAMES

*Nave with west and south doorways: possibly
period C3*

About 3 miles north-west of Appleby, and within half a mile of the Roman road from Brough to Penrith, Long Marton church is now a little

remote from its village, and is pleasantly situated beside open fields. It is a simple structure consisting of a square west tower, an aisleless nave with south transept and south porch, and an aisleless chancel with north vestry. The fabric is of red sandstone, and the nave has quoins of very large blocks laid in mixed side-alternate and face-alternate fashion.

A later eastward extension of the chancel is of Norman date, as may be seen from the simple string-courses along its external faces, and from the vestiges of a triplet of round-headed east windows, now replaced by a Decorated window of three lights. The west tower is also Norman, as may be seen from its belfry windows, which have been restored on three faces, but are original on the north. The tower is clearly built up against an earlier west wall, thereby obscuring a somewhat elaborate west doorway; it therefore follows that the nave, with its tall, narrow south and west doorways, is earlier than the Norman west tower, just as the original chancel must be earlier than its Norman eastward extension. The wide Norman north doorway of the nave is quite different from the south and west doorways; and it is also clearly a later addition.

The two original doorways of the nave have elaborately carved tympana reminiscent in a more primitive way of the tympanum at Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire.¹ These doorways, although rebated for the hanging of doors and although constructed without the use of through-stones, are of simple and primitive character. We find it impossible to agree with the Royal Commission in regarding them as being of the same date (c. 1100) as the wider and lower north doorway of straightforwardly Norman form. We are therefore inclined to regard the earlier fabric of the nave and the western part of the chancel as Saxo-Norman, and possibly even pre-Conquest.

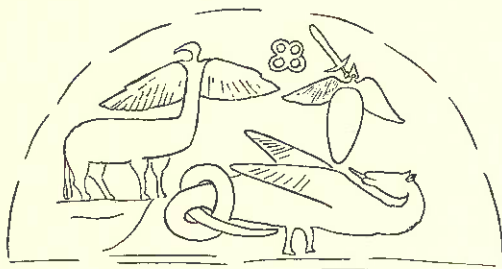


FIG. 194. LONG MARTON, WESTMORLAND
The tympanum of the south doorway.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is roughly 40 ft by 20 ft and the original chancel roughly 18 ft by 17 ft, but both are irregularly laid out.

REFERENCES

- R.C.H.M., *Westmorland* (London, 1936), 167-9. Nave and original chancel dated c. 1100. Good pictures of tympana, pl. 139; and of church from south-west, pl. 140. Plan, 168.
- C. E. KEYSER, *Norman Tympana* (London, 1904), lxxii and figs. 143-4.

MASHAM

Yorkshire, North Riding

(See Vol. II, p. 734)

MELTON MAGNA

Norfolk

Map sheet 125, reference TG 140060

Figure 527

ALL SAINTS

*Side walls of nave, and perhaps chancel:
period C*

The recent history of the two churches of Great Melton, about 6 miles west of Norwich, is almost unbelievable; both were in use until 1713, when the parishes and livings were combined; at the beginning of the nineteenth century All Saints was partially ruined while St Mary's was in use and in good condition, but in 1883 All Saints was rebuilt, considerably enlarged, and brought back into use; and at the same time St Mary's was pulled down, except for its west tower, which still stands in a ruined state.

Interesting early references to Great Melton are contained in an Anglo-Saxon will, and in Domesday Book.² About the middle of the eleventh century, Edwin, a king's thegn, left Melton to St Benedict at Holme after his death and that of his brother; but the will never took effect, for the Conquest intervened. Later in the will it is specified that the land at Melton is to go to the church which Thurward owned, and the land which Edwin owned is to go to the church. Domesday Book shows that two estates were involved at Melton; one (which was to go to Holme) was held by Edwin; and the other (which was to go to Thurward's church) was held by his nephew Ketel.

In 1849 an Anglo-Saxon origin was claimed for All Saints, on the grounds of its tile quoins and its double-splayed window. The latter seems to have disappeared in the rebuilding of 1883, but the south-eastern quoin of the nave seems to have survived with very little alteration. The two eastern quoins of the chancel are also of flint and tile, but they appear to have been much more heavily restored.

¹ No early fabric has survived at Hoveringham except the tympanum. For a description of it, see A. W. Clapham (1930), 135 and pl. 59.

² D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930), no. xxxiii. It is interesting to wonder whether at the time of the will there were already two churches at Melton.

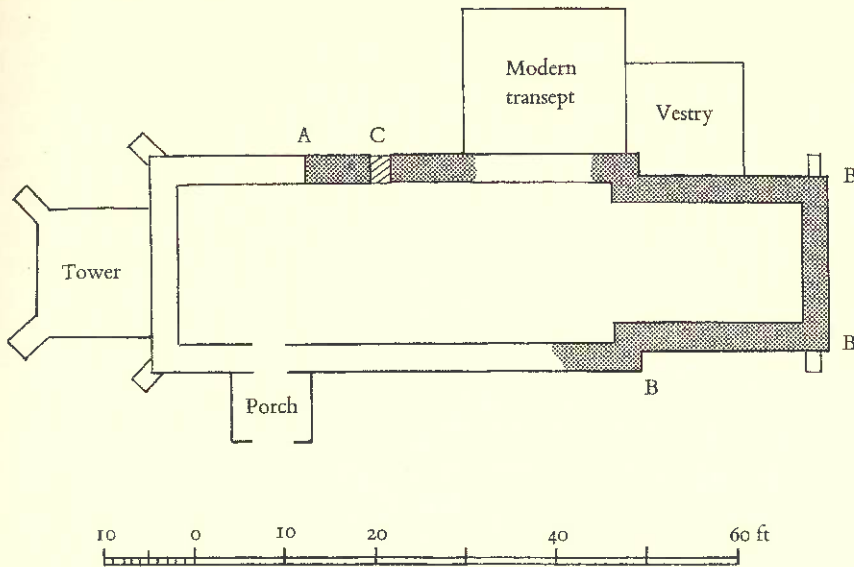


FIG. 195. MELTON MAGNA, NORFOLK

A, straight vertical joint probably defining the original westward extent of the nave; B, quoins of flint and tile; C, blocked narrow round-headed doorway with head of tiles and jambs of flint and tile (see Fig. 196).

A very positive indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship is, however, provided by a blocked, round-headed doorway 2 ft 6 in. wide and 6 ft high, which has survived in the north wall of the

nave. The head of this doorway is arched in tiles, which are laid in 'Tredington fashion', with complete disregard for radial setting; and its jambs have no imposts, and are formed of flints with occasional bonding tiles. There seems no reason to think that any part of this feature is a restoration; unfortunately its inner face is not visible, being wholly covered by modern plaster.

About 7 ft to the west of this blocked doorway, the north wall shows some signs of a vertical straight joint and a change in fabric, probably indicating the end of the original walling.

DIMENSIONS

The original nave appears to have been about 30 ft long internally, and about 18 ft wide; and the chancel about 18 ft by 13½ ft. The north wall of the nave is 3 ft 3 in. thick and the surviving south-east quoin is about 18 ft high.

REFERENCES

- R. LADBROOKE, *Views of the Churches in Norfolk* (Norwich, 1821-34). Ladbroke's picture clearly shows St Mary's in good condition and All Saints a ruin.
- J. GUNN, 'Ecclesiastical architecture in Norfolk supposed to be of the Saxon period', *Arch. J.* 6 (1849), 359-63. Melton Magna claimed as Saxon because of its double-splayed window, 363.
- J. C. COX, *Norfolk*, 2 (London, 1911), 137.

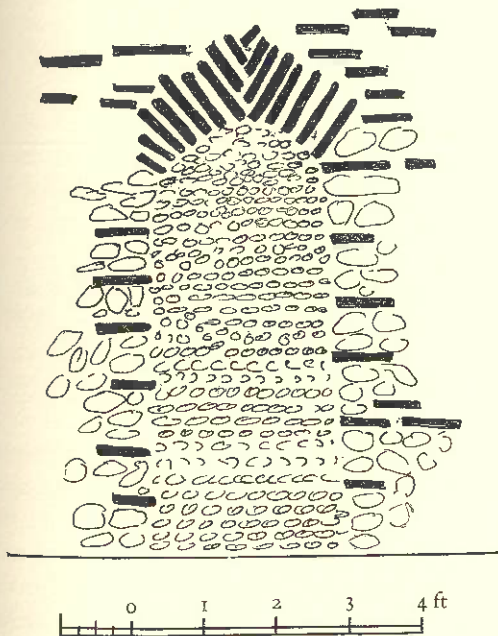


FIG. 196. MELTON MAGNA, NORFOLK

The blocked north doorway of the nave. Note the non-radial setting of the tiles round the head of the doorway, and the use of tiles for bonding the flints of the jambs.

MERSEA, WEST

Essex

Map sheet 162, reference TM 008125

ST PETER AND ST PAUL

*Lower part of west tower: rather doubtfully
period C3*

West Mersea has a picturesque waterfront at the most southerly point of Mersea Island, with an extensive view across the Blackwater Estuary to the Flats of St Peter. The church now consists of an aisleless chancel, a nave with a south aisle, and a sturdy west tower, which Baldwin Brown (p. 470) records as falling within period C3 and as presenting evidence of the overlap between Anglo-Saxon and Norman techniques.

Interesting evidence of the importance of the church at West Mersea in the tenth century is provided by a group of wills, all of which were made in the second half of the century by members of one family. Ealdorman Ælfgar granted an estate at Mersea to Stoke-by-Nayland after the death of his daughter Æthelflaed. She granted an estate at Fingringhoe to St Peter's church at Mersea, and she also granted the estate at Mersea to Stoke after the death of her sister Ælfflaed and her husband Brihtnoth. Ælfflaed's will included the estate at Mersea 'and the woodland at Totham which my father granted to Mersea' in a list of estates granted to Stoke by her ancestors after her death; she also confirmed the grant of lands to the church at Mersea by saying: 'And I grant to Mersea after my death everything which my lord and my sister granted, that is Fingringhoe and the six hides on which the minster stands.'¹ It should be noted that six hides is a big endowment, suggesting that the church was served by a small community rather than a single priest.

The tower of the church is built of flattish stones, laid sometimes in herring-bone courses and sometimes flat, in walls whose thickness of 3 ft 8 in. gives a presumption of Norman work. On the other hand, the quoins of the plain unbuttressed

walls are reinforced with courses of Roman tiles, and a small circular west window in the upper floor is clearly double-splayed; while internally the round tower-arch, of a single square order, has plain square jambs, and imposts which are formed of three oversailing square courses. The details of the construction of the arch are, unfortunately, hidden by plaster. Baldwin Brown states that the north and south windows of the ground floor 'seem originally to have been double-splayed' but we could see no evidence in support of this theory.

The belfry windows, each of two lights, have fourteenth-century trefoiled heads, and the tower is finished above with a plain medieval parapet.

DIMENSIONS

The internal dimensions of the tower are 14 ft 3 in. from east to west and 13 ft 6 in. from north to south, with walls 3 ft 8 in. thick.

REFERENCES

- R.C.H.M., *Essex (North-East)*, 3 (London, 1922), 230-1. Plan, 230.
W. R. POWELL, 'The making of Essex parishes', *Essex R.* 62 (1953), 7 and 16.

MIDDLETON-BY-PICKERING

Yorkshire, North Riding

Map sheet 92, reference SE 782854

ST MARY

West tower (except belfry), and west wall of nave; possibly also side walls of nave, above later arcades: period C, probably C2, or earlier²

Western quoins of earlier and narrower nave: period uncertain, probably C1, or earlier²

The Vale of Pickering is bounded on the north by extensive moors, at the foot of which, only a mile and a half to the north-west of Pickering, the church of St Mary stands, in the angle between the main road to Helmsley and a small road leading up to the moors. The church, built of roughly dressed greyish brown stone, now com-

¹ D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930), nos. II, XIV and XV.

² See also p. 423, column 2.

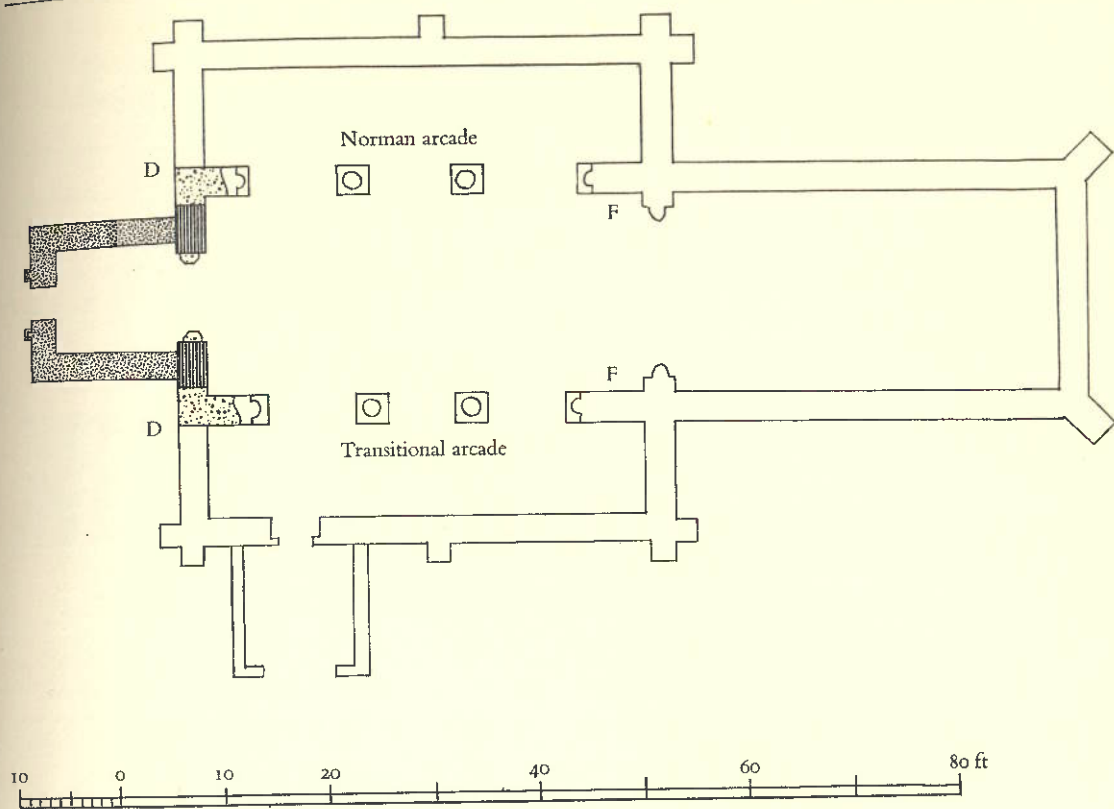


FIG. 197. MIDDLETON-BY-PICKERING, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)

The plan shows how the Norman and Transitional arcades of the nave are aligned with the megalithic side-alternate quoins (D) at the west of the nave. The walling over these arcades and at the east (F) may all be part of the Anglo-Saxon nave, but there are no features at present visible to settle this question with certainty.

prises a west tower, an aisled nave with south porch, and an aisleless chancel. The lower part of the tower and the west wall of the nave certainly date from before the Conquest, while the main walls of the nave, above the twelfth-century arcades, may also be of the same period.

The tower is of two unequal stages, of which the lower occupies about two-thirds of the total height and ends above on a square string-course. The upper belfry stage, of much more carefully dressed stone, is an Early English addition, with pointed windows of two lights in each face. The tower stands on a simple plinth of square section, above which its Anglo-Saxon lower stage rises sheer to the string-course above; the only ornament in its otherwise gaunt faces is provided by the west doorway, a stone cross built into the west wall above it, and two small, very plain, rectangular windows in the south face. The fabric of the tower is of roughly coursed rect-

angular blocks of stone averaging about 6 in. in height and between 1 ft and 2 ft in length; while the quoins, including those on the east of the tower, above the nave, are laid regularly in side-alternate fashion throughout the whole height of the lower stage, using exceptionally large stones, many of which measure over 2 ft in height and over 3 ft along the wall-face.

The north face of the tower is entirely plain; and the upper floors of the interior are lit only from the south, by the two small, rectangular windows, which are of unusual construction, but which have every appearance of being original. The lower window, about 1 ft 6 in. wide and 3 ft 10 in. tall, is formed wholly within the normal coursing of the wall, with a flat monolithic sill and a similar lintel, and with jambs each of which consists of five massive through-stones that bond deeply into the adjacent face of the wall. The upper window is more ambitious, though smaller,

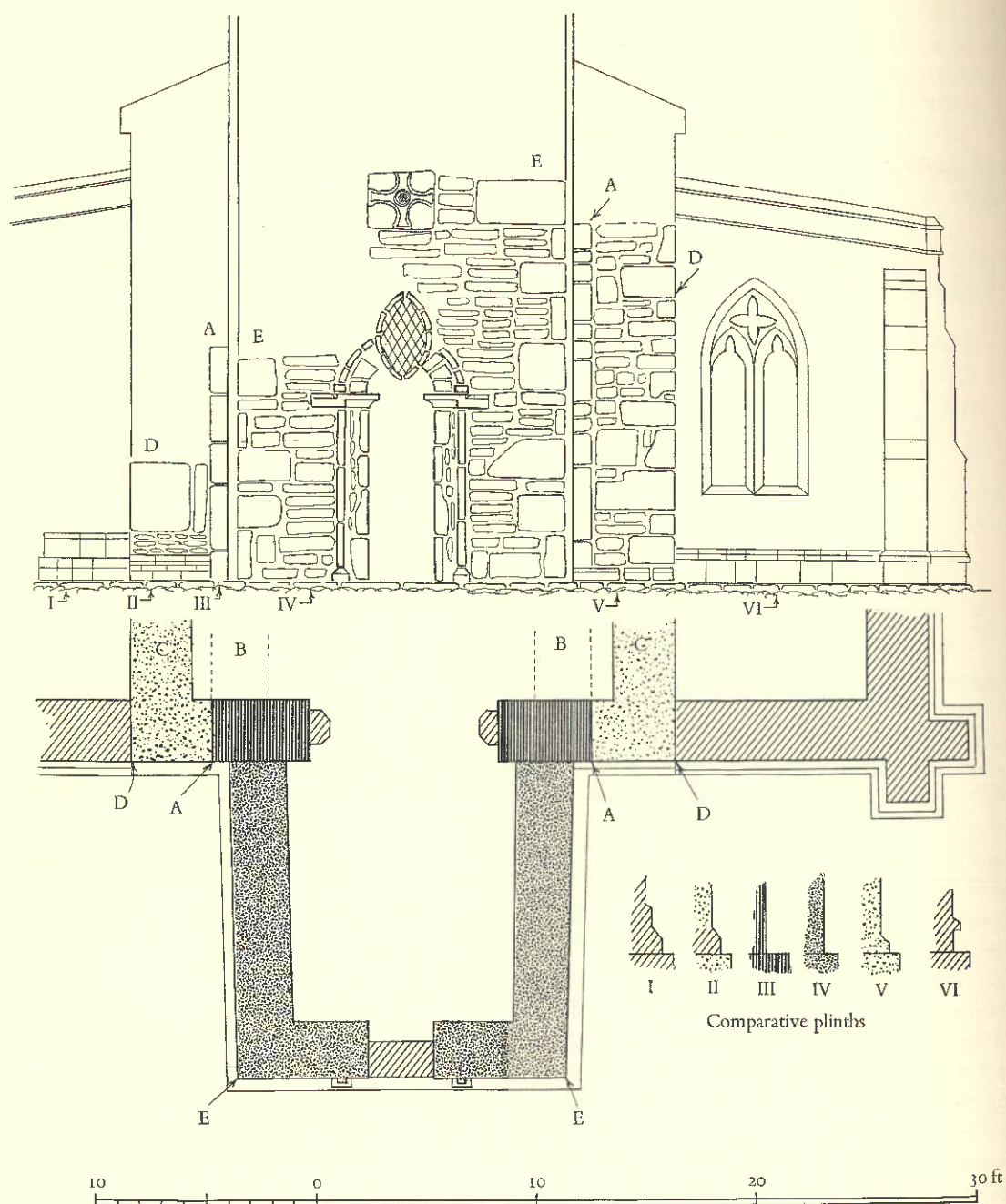


FIG. 198. MIDDLETON-BY-PICKERING, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)

Plan and elevation of the west end. A, quoins of the earliest and narrowest nave. These are mainly of upright stones, and they are markedly in contrast to the quoins D and E; B, conjectural side walls of the narrow nave, as defined by the quoins A; C, side walls of the second and wider Anglo-Saxon nave, as defined by the existing arcades and by the quoins D; D, megalithic side-alternate quoins of the second nave; E, megalithic side-alternate quoins of the tower, of strikingly similar character to that of the quoins D.

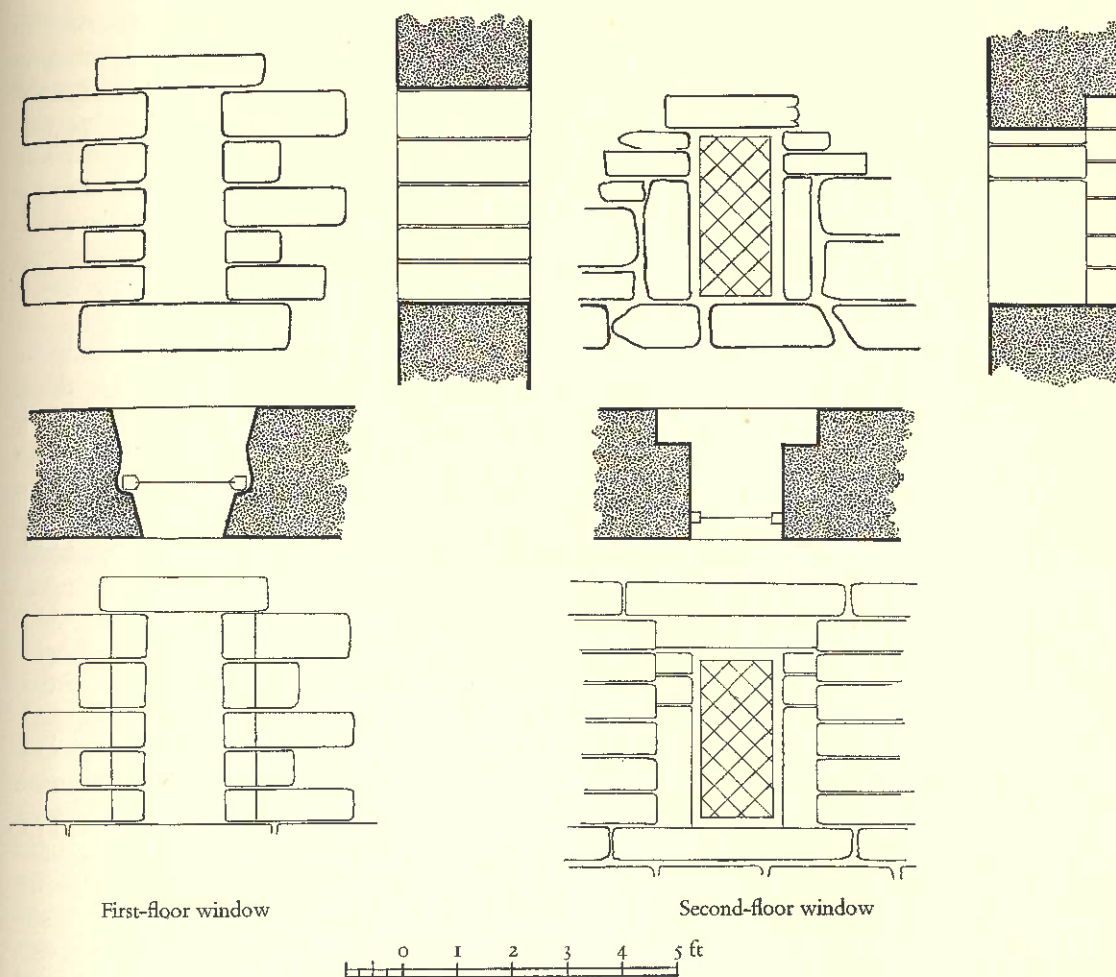


FIG. 199. MIDDLETON-BY-PICKERING, YORKSHIRE (N.R.)

Details of the windows in the south face of the tower. In order to avoid undue complication in the elevations and the section of the first-floor window the wooden window-frame has been omitted, although it is shown in the plan. The outer faces and sections are shown above the plans, and the inner faces are shown below.

about 1 ft 8 in. by 3 ft 2 in., also with a monolithic flat sill and a similar lintel; but with square jambs, each of which consists of an upright stone below, surmounted by two flat stones to bond it into the face of the wall. Both windows narrow towards the top, but this feature is particularly marked on the lower one. From the upper chambers of the tower the inner faces of the windows may be seen. There is little to add about the lower window, except that its jambs have originally been slightly splayed inward and have later been somewhat rudely cut to form a housing for the present wooden window-frame. The upper window is, however, more elaborate internally as well as externally; the stones of its outer face

do not extend through the full thickness of the wall, but all stop short 7 in. from the inner face. A square rebate 7 in. wide is at this stage formed beside the head and the two jambs; while the sill continues straight through the wall.

Returning to the exterior, we should next note the principal feature of the tower, namely the tall, narrow, western doorway, which is still a most impressive composition in spite of the cruel defacement which it suffered later by the insertion of a vesica-shaped window through the upper part of its head. The jambs and round-arched head are of simple square section, formed of stones apparently passing straight through the wall; the jambs are each formed of four massive

slabs set on edge, without the usual alternation of flat stones to bond the uprights back into the wall; while the imposts serve not only to provide this bonding at the top of the jambs but also to unite the inner main fabric of the doorway to the outlining framework of pilaster-strips and hood-mould. The imposts project boldly, both on the soffit and also westward from the wall-face, with a square section above, swept back in a hollow chamfer to meet the wall-surface beneath. This hollow chamfer is stopped against the pilaster-strips, beyond which the imposts continue along the wall face, but in the form of labels, with a straight chamfer above and a square section below. Only the lower half of the round-arched head of the doorway and of its surrounding hood-mould now remains, the upper half having been cut away when the doorway was blocked and the vesica-window inserted, probably in late-Norman times. But enough remains to show that the head was turned in perhaps ten, well-shaped, through-stone voussoirs of which five remain, outlined by the hood-mould, of square section, which springs from square corbels projecting above the imposts. Below the imposts, the line of the hood-mould is carried downward by pilaster-strips, each formed of three tall stones. The pilasters project from the wall-face and rest at the foot on boldly projecting, square, chamfered bases, which themselves rest on the main plinth. It is interesting to note that the stones of the jambs are somewhat irregularly shaped and that the spaces intervening between them and the pilaster-strips have been filled by comparatively small flat stones set on edge, with wide mortar joints. The doorway is of a barbaric but impressive type reminiscent of the Northumbrian double belfry windows that are outlined by strip-work; it contrasts sharply with the much more sophisticated work in the west doorway at Hovingham, also in the Vale of Pickering, and only ten miles away, to the south-west.

About 7 ft above the imposts of the door an Anglian cross carved in relief on a stone nearly 3 ft square is built into the face of the wall, supported below on a projecting rectangular corbel. The cross itself is formed of the bold sweeping

curves which are characteristic of early Anglian work; and its centre is ornamented by incision to form a circle of petals radiating from a small central hole, a composition not unlike, but perhaps simpler and earlier than, the free-standing cross-head at Lastingham, illustrated by Collingwood and dated by him before the middle of the ninth century.¹ A similar cross is to be seen built into a similar position above the west doorway at Hovingham.

The interest of the fabric of the church is by no means exhausted by the study of the tower alone; for the two sections of the west wall of the nave projecting on either side of the tower set their own problems of a particularly intractable nature. In the angles between the nave and the tower the immediately adjoining sections of the west wall of the nave, about 10 in. in length to north and south, are formed of large, upright stones which appear to be the quoins of an original Anglo-Saxon nave, and are so described in the *Victoria County History*.² But, about 4 ft on either side of these quoins there are further quoins which the *Victoria County History* ascribes to Norman builders of the twelfth century, in spite of their obviously close similarity to the quoins of the tower. It seems to us that the west wall of the nave for over 4 ft on either side of the tower must be accepted as contemporary with the tower, or very nearly so, both on account of the general similarity of the walling and also because of the side-alternate quoining already referred to, so similar to that of the tower and so unlike Norman workmanship. Further support for this interpretation is given within the church, where the Norman north arcade and the later Transitional south arcade are both seen to be cut through walls only about 2 ft 6 in. thick, with appreciable lengths of walling at the east and west in the alignment of the external quoining.

We accordingly believe that the architectural history runs along the following lines. The earliest church was the narrow, rectangular, aisleless nave, now represented by the quoins that are close to the side walls of the tower. It was first enlarged by the addition of the west tower,

¹ W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses* (London, 1927), 110.

² *V.C.H., Yorkshire, North Riding*, 2 (London, 1923), 459.

which is clearly built straight up against its west wall, without any bonding into it. Soon thereafter the nave was widened by over 3 ft on each side, so as to become an aisleless structure of the size now defined by the space within the arcades of the present nave. So the church remained until, after the Conquest, the arches were cut through the existing side walls, and the church began to assume its present form. The widening of the original narrow nave might have been contemporary with the building of the tower, and cannot have been much later, principally because of the marked similarity of the fabric and of the quoining. Our reason for suggesting that the widening followed the building of the tower is that, whereas the tower and the original narrow nave both stand on a plain flat plinth of undressed stones, the southern part of the extended west wall stands on a double plinth, which consists of a plain flat lower course and a chamfered upper course. It seems to us unlikely that, if both walls had been built at the same time, there would have been this difference in their plinths. On the north of the tower, the wider part of the nave has a tall chamfered plinth of three courses; but this should be disregarded in any consideration of the early fabric, since it is a much later insertion into the wall, as may be seen both from its sharp and unweathered condition, and also from the disturbed character of the face of the wall for about 1 ft above the plinth (Fig. 198).

From within the church it does not appear possible to gain much further information about the early structure. The blocked west doorway is hidden by a thick coating of plaster, and the original tower-arch has been replaced by one of Early English form. There is, however, the evidence of wall thicknesses, the tower-arch being in a wall 2 ft 8 in. in thickness and the nave arcades in walls only slightly more than 2 ft 6 in. There was probably also a doorway above the tower-arch, leading into the upper floor of the tower, for a vestige of this remains in the form of a rectangular window.

Baldwin Brown (p. 470) dates the church in his period C3; and, in referring to the belfry, he says 'the belfry openings have been modernized, but we may assume normal mid-wall work in the original condition'. In fact, the whole belfry

dates from the thirteenth century and the dating of the Anglo-Saxon fabric should not be influenced by assumptions about what might have been present before the medieval rebuilding. The assignment of the tower to the eleventh century seems to us too late in view of the complete absence of late features. The only difficulty which we see in placing Middleton tower in period C1 or earlier is the former presence in its fabric of three Anglo-Saxon cross-shafts which, after careful removal in 1948, are now displayed in the church. These are all of relatively late date, probably well into the tenth century, and it is for this reason that we have been led to propose a date in period C2 for the tower and the widened nave, and an earlier date for the original nave.

But the carved stones might have been built into the tower in much later repairs, and might therefore give no valid criterion for dating it. On that basis we would regard the Anglo-Saxon part of the tower as a pre-Danish porch of period B, and the earlier nave as of period A.

DIMENSIONS

Internally the tower measures 12 ft from east to west and 10 ft to 10 ft 5 in. from north to south; and its walls are about 2 ft 8 in. thick, the west wall being a little thicker. The nave is 41 ft 6 in. long by 19 ft 3 in. wide, with walls about 2 ft 6 in. thick. The blocked west doorway is 2 ft 10 in. wide, between jambs; and 8 ft 4 in. high from the sill to the top of the imposts, the total height to the crown of the arch having been about 9 ft 9 in.

The original narrow nave must have been about 12 ft wide internally, a width which is not unreasonable if compared with the 11 ft of the eastern apsidal chapel at Hexham.

The lower window of the tower is 1 ft 6 in. wide and 3 ft 10 in. tall externally, splayed internally to become 2 ft 8 in. by 3 ft 10 in. Its sill is 17 ft above the ground. The upper window is 1 ft 8 in. wide and 3 ft 2 in. tall externally; its faces all pass straight into the wall without any splaying but its interior face is rebated and is 2 ft 10 in. wide by 3 ft 9 in. tall. Its sill is about 30 ft above the ground. The total height of the Anglo-Saxon lower stage of the tower is about 37 ft.

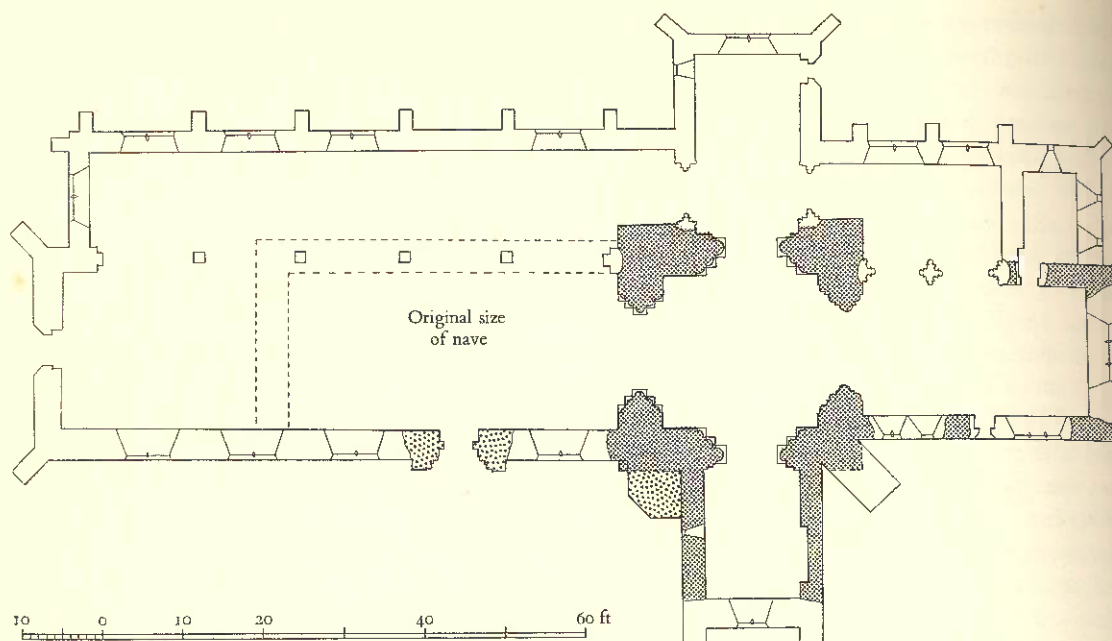


FIG. 200. MILBORNE PORT, SOMERSET
Plan of the existing fabric, showing how the nave was lengthened in 1867.

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- V.C.H., Yorkshire, North Riding*, 2 (London, 1923), 458-9. Plan, 459.
A. GROVE and P. A. ILLINGWORTH, *Middleton Church* (Bradford, 1939; with supplement, 1949). Good description of the church and of the cross-shafts, with notes on their removal from the fabric of the tower.

MILBORNE PORT

Somerset

Map sheet 178, reference ST 676186

Figure 528

ST JOHN THE EVANGELIST

Chancel and possibly crossing: period C3

About 3 miles east of Sherborne the road to Shaftesbury passes through Milborne Port, which is now a small country township, but which in Anglo-Saxon times was a town with a fair. Its fine cruciform church, with central tower, stands to the south of the road, with an open view to the west across the stream.

The nave was extended westward 28 ft in 1867, when the north aisle and north transept were also rebuilt, but otherwise the church dates mainly from about the time of the Conquest. Baldwin Brown (p. 470) dismisses it as a 'fine Norman church with unmistakable reminiscences of Anglo-Saxon pilaster strips', while on p. 428 he adds that the chancel 'has blocked Norman windows in the north and south walls but the west part of the exterior wall on the south is treated in its upper section with what looks like an attempt to enrich with pilaster strips a casually selected piece of walling. There seems no sense or fitness in the arrangement and it must be regarded as in the nature of a freak.' This seems to do the chancel much less than justice, for its walls have clearly been much disturbed for the insertion of two Early English windows near the transept and a large Decorated window of three lights near the east; so that there is every reason to believe that the strip-work originally formed a complete system of panelling above the string-course which still runs the full length of the south wall. The panelling, moreover, is far from being random work; it consists of two stages, of which the upper is shorter and more closely spaced than

the lower, with roughly two pilasters to each bay of the lower, on much the same system as at Bradford-on-Avon; but here, by contrast, both storeys are rectangular, with pilasters supporting a horizontal string-course and without the semi-circular arches which appear at Bradford-on-Avon in the upper arcade (see Fig. 202).

The lower pilaster-strips rise, at about 12 ft 6 in. above the ground, from a string-course of moulded section, reminiscent of the capitals on the north doorway at Corhampton. They are spaced at about 4 ft between centres, with square corbel-like bases resting on the string-course; and their square capitals are superimposed on the intermediate string-course, which they support. The second storey of pilasters springs straight from this intermediate string-course, without bases; and each pilaster has a capital of rhomboid shape, separate from, and below, the string-course which they support. These upper capitals are enriched with carving, some traces of which have survived in the form of an upright leaf-ornament. The intermediate and upper string-courses are much plainer than the lower; the upper one is fundamentally square in section, and the intermediate one is slightly sloped back from above to below, with the capitals of the lower pilasters standing forward from it. The whole design occupies a little less than half the vertical extent of the building; and when it was complete it must have been a striking architectural composition, in every way qualified to rank with that at Bradford-on-Avon as one of the decorative achievements of the late tenth or early eleventh century. That the design was worked out with considerable attention to detail is also shown by the nature of the walling; for, whereas the lower part of the wall is of plain rubble fabric, the upper part containing the panelling is of something approximating to ashlar, with the string-courses logically fitted into the coursing. The pilasters are not formed of separate stones, but are cut on walling-stones which are almost without exception of much longer extent along the wall-face than the breadth of the pilasters; indeed one stone is sufficiently long to carry two adjoining pilasters. No evidence has survived to show what form of treatment was given to the east end, but

traces of the panelling of the north wall survive, and can be seen within the north vestry, and also on the short section of the wall which remains external to the vestry.

The original nave must have been considerably modified by the Normans, as is shown by the insertion of their fine south doorway; but parts of the Anglo-Saxon west front survived until 1867, in spite of the insertion of a large Perpendicular west window and west doorway. This old west front was swept away in 1867, when the nave was lengthened and the north aisle added; but happily a photograph was preserved and published in 1893 by A. Reynolds,¹ who said: 'I much regretted taking it [the old west front] down, but to lengthen the nave westward 28 ft we were compelled to do so. I feel sure of its Saxon origin, as is evidently shown in the photograph.' The photograph shows a rubble wall with vestiges of triangular-headed arcading on either side of the inserted Perpendicular window. Parts of the west wall appear to be thinly covered with plaster, and the south wall is almost wholly obscured by ivy; but the lower part of the south-west quoin has dressed stone facings apparently of a megalithic type, and with a suggestion of long-and-short technique. The lower part of the west wall is also divided into compartments, by broad pilasters of plain square section, like those at Bibury, in Gloucestershire, or Hambledon, in Hampshire.

As at the neighbouring abbey at Sherborne, the ground plan at Milborne Port gives evidence of Anglo-Saxon rather than Norman design, for the central crossing is wider in plan than the nave, and markedly wider than the transepts or chancel. This is a peculiarity of pre-Conquest cruciform churches and is particularly well shown by Stow, Lincolnshire, and Norton, County Durham; it is, however, a feature foreign to Anglo-Norman designs. The south wall of the south transept has been rebuilt, but the east and west walls are original as can be seen by the fabric and by the survival of sections of string-course like that in the chancel.

The structure of the tower is also of interest; for the lowest, original, stage, against which the roof-gables abut, is mainly of rubble fabric like

¹ A. Reynolds, *P. Dorset N.H.A.S.* 14 (1893), 70-4; especially fig. 1.

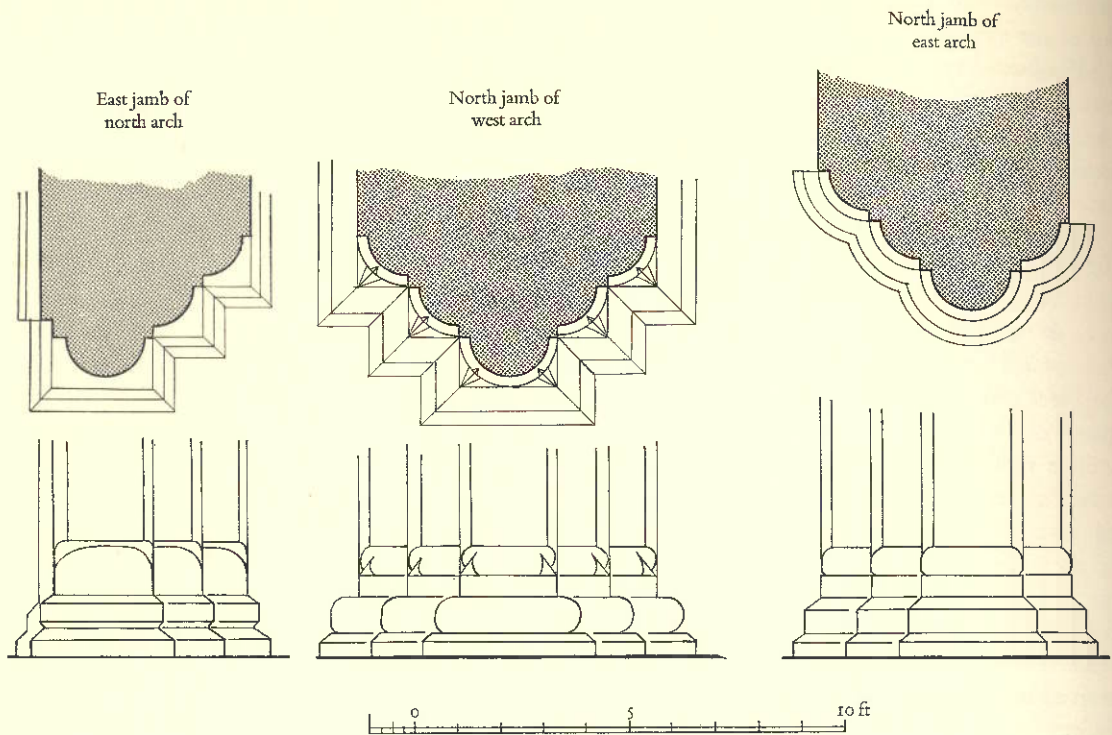


FIG. 201. MILBORNE PORT, SOMERSET

Elevations and plans of the jambs and bases of the tower-arches.

that of the chancel, while the next succeeding stage is of Norman ashlar fabric with traces of round-headed arcading on its north face. The interesting Norman stair-turret, which is built into the angle between the nave and the south transept, also points to a pre-Conquest date for the main structure of the crossing, for the Normans were well able to provide a spiral stairway within the fabric of a tower, and it seems likely that the reason for their providing a separate turret here was that they took over an existing tower without a stair, added their own upper storey to it, and at the same time added the stair turret as a means of access. The present uppermost belfry stage is a further addition of the fifteenth century.

Internally, the crossing is at first sight typically Norman, with walls 5 ft or more in thickness, and with jambs and arches of recessed orders. All four piers have survived; but the east and west arches were replaced in pointed form in the fourteenth century, while the original arches have survived to north and south, but have been slightly deformed to elliptical shape. On closer inspection,

however, neither the jambs nor the arches will be found to be of typically Norman form. Both jambs and arches show the Anglo-Saxon feature of a half-round soffit roll; and the quarter-rolls of the outer orders on all the jambs and on the surviving arches are reminiscent of the Anglo-Saxon work at Langford, Oxfordshire. By contrast with Langford, however, the arches here are of separately constructed orders, not of through-stones. The shafts have bulbous bases, standing on plain square plinths; and the capitals are not at all of Norman cushion-shape, but instead are conical-shaped collars, carved with foliage that is reminiscent of the interesting pre-Conquest stones at Sompting, Sussex. The stems of the foliage strongly suggest pre-Conquest interlacing ornament.

A further remarkable feature of these capitals is that, while those of the western arch towards the nave are carved in stone, most of the others are partly of stone and partly of plaster, while those of the arch to the south transept are wholly of plaster. The plaster was claimed as Anglo-Saxon by Sir Alfred Clapham, but Dr G. Zarnecki has

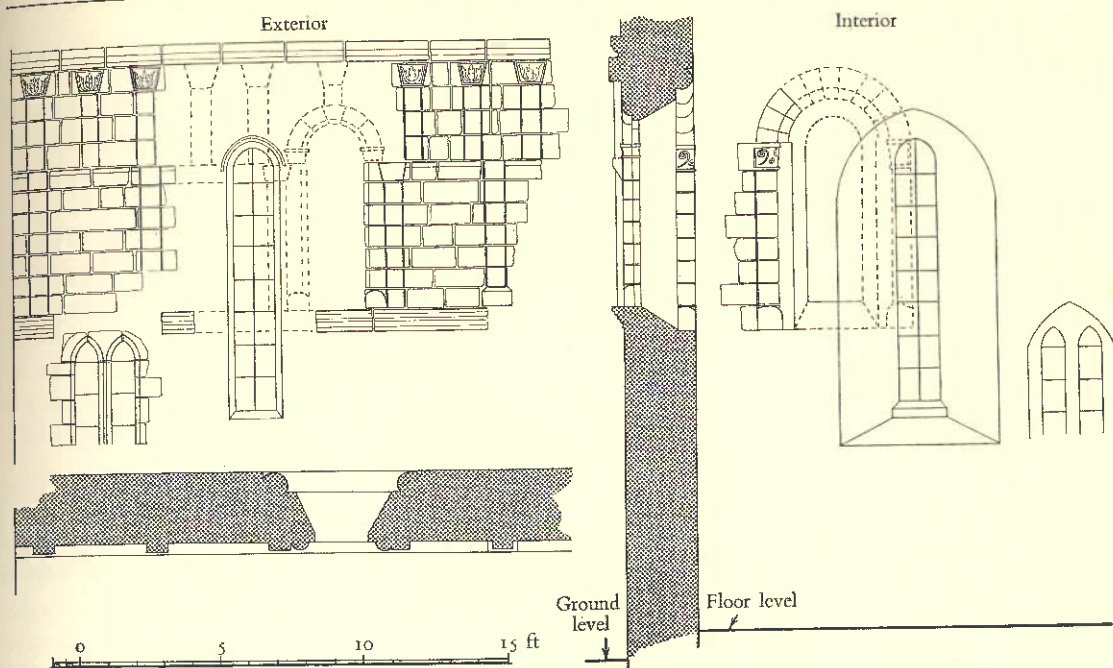


FIG. 202. MILBORNE PORT, SOMERSET

Interior and exterior elevations, plan, and section to show how the vestige of the window in the south wall is related to the exterior panelling. The full lines denote stone-work *in situ*. The broken lines are our suggested reconstruction.

told us that recent investigation has convinced him that it is a nineteenth-century restoration.

It is appropriate next to refer in some detail to the remains of windows which have survived in the side walls of the chancel. In the north wall, visible only within the chancel, is the round-arched head of a window, with angle-shafts and flattish cushion capitals. At first sight it seems clearly Norman in detail, though its position almost at the top of the wall casts some doubt on so late a date. On the south side a single eastern jamb has survived in a corresponding position. Of this jamb it has been asserted that it falls directly behind an undisturbed area of the exterior pilaster-work; and that it therefore cannot have been part of a window, but must instead have belonged to decorative interior arcading, probably Norman in date.¹ Careful measurement inside and out has satisfied us that the angle-shaft on the interior was indeed part of a window, of the same size and shape as its companion on the

north; and that its outer face formed an integral part of the exterior arcading. The nature of its exterior head cannot now be settled beyond doubt, but we believe that the reconstruction shown in Fig. 202, with an arched head, would best fit the known facts.² It should be noted that this reconstruction provides a sensible interpretation of a feature of the exterior arcading which is otherwise anomalous, namely, the carved foliage on one capital of the lower tier of arcading and the quarter-round character of its shaft. This shaft and its capital form the eastern jamb of the window, and their special treatment therefore becomes intelligible; they are unique because the western jamb has been destroyed by the insertion of the tall Early English lancet. The details of the carving on the surviving capitals on the interior and exterior faces of this window seem to us to be in close relation to the carving on the capitals of the crossing, and to the carving on the upper capitals of the exterior arcading.

¹ *P. Somerset A.N.H.S.* 60 (1914), 47 n.

² We are much indebted to Dr G. Zarnecki for calling attention to errors in an earlier suggested reconstruction which we prepared and in which we showed this window

with a monolithic head (*Wilts. A.N.H. Mag.* 58 (1962), 163). Reference should be made to that paper for larger-scale sections of the string-courses.

In conclusion, we may perhaps summarize how the structure and the details at Milborne Port are to be related to other known and accepted examples of Anglo-Saxon architectural and decorative art. The typically Anglo-Saxon plan, with its central space or crossing wider than any of its four arms, has already been mentioned; it has a notable parallel at Stow, Lincolnshire, and another closer at hand, at Sherborne, Dorset. The major architectural decoration, namely, the panelling, has a close parallel at Bradford-on-Avon, a church with which there may well have been direct associations, since the nuns at Shaftesbury were recorded in Domesday Book as having property in Milborne, while Ethelred had given them the monastery at Bradford in 1001 as a refuge in time of danger from the Danes and as a hiding place for the bones of Edward the Martyr.¹ The details of the decoration on the capitals seem to us to have close parallels in the fragments built into the walls at Sompting, Sussex, while the section of the arches has an approximate parallel at Langford, Oxfordshire. Finally, the use of plaster for sculpture is mentioned particularly by Clapham, who cites as a parallel example the broken fragments that have been recovered from Anglo-Saxon levels at Glastonbury.²

DIMENSIONS

The importance of Milborne Port as an example of late-Saxon architecture is made clear by the scale of the building, set out in summary in the following tables.

In accordance with our reconstruction, the windows of the chancel would have had exterior faces between 1 ft 6 in. and 2 ft in width, and about 5 ft in height. Their sills would have been about 12 ft 10 in. above the ground, and the interior splays would have produced openings about 3 ft 6 in. wide by 9 ft high on the interior wall-face.

REFERENCES

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- A. REYNOLDS, 'Saxon Milborne', *ibid.* 15 (1894).
- C. E. PONTING, 'The church of St John the Evangelist, Milborne Port', *P. Somerset A.N.H.S.* 60 (1914), 46-54. Church described as wholly Norman or later.
- F. J. ALLEN and G. W. SAUNDERS, 'The problematical early work at Milborne Port church', *ibid.* 80 (1934), 25-31. Careful statement of the case for regarding the early work as pre-Conquest. Good illustrations.
- H. M. TAYLOR, 'Pre-Conquest Churches of Wessex', *Wilts. A.N.H. Mag.* 58 (1962), 156-70. Milborne Port, 162-5.

Principal dimensions of the fabric

| | East-west | | North-south | | Wall thickness | Wall height (approximate) |
|----------------|-----------|-------|-------------|-----|----------------|---------------------------|
| | ft | in. | ft | in. | ft in. | ft |
| Present nave | 69 | 3 (a) | 19 | 6 | — | 22 |
| Chancel | 28 | 4 | 17 | 0 | 2 8 | 22 |
| Crossing | 19 | 3 | 19 | 3 | c. 5 0 | 40 |
| South Transept | 11 | 9 | 16 | 0 | 2 6 (b) | 22 |

(a) The original nave was about 28 ft shorter.

(b) The south wall is 3 ft 6 in. thick, but it has probably been rebuilt.

Arches of the crossing

| | Clear width between shafts of jambs | | Height to top of imposts | Height to crown of arch |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| | ft | in. | ft in. | ft |
| East arch | 9 | 1 | 11 6 | — |
| West arch | 10 | 1 | 11 6 | — |
| North and South arches | 6 | 11 | 11 6 | c. 15 |

¹ J. M. Kemble, *Cod. Dip.* no. 706.

² A. W. Clapham, *Romanesque Architecture in England* (London, 1950), 21-2.

MILTON-ON-SWALE

OR

MILTON REGIS

Kent

Map sheet 172, reference TQ 909654

HOLY TRINITY

North walls of nave and chancel: problematical

When we first visited this church, about a mile north of Sittingbourne, it stood some distance from houses, with an open vista across the low land to the north and east towards the Swale and the Isle of Sheppey. When we visited it again in 1960, a housing estate had almost enclosed the church. In Anglo-Saxon days the Swale was an important waterway which provided sheltered passage for traffic which had come from the continent to Richborough and thence by inland waterways to the west of the Isle of Thanet on its way to London. Milton was therefore conveniently near to an important shipping route, and also to the important Watling Street which led from Canterbury and Dover to London. The proximity of the place to roads and waterways seems to have been a liability as well as an asset, for in 892 the Danes under Haesten made a camp here, when the Great Army was at Appledore, on the other side of Kent;¹ and Milton was burnt by Earl Godwin's forces in 1052 when he returned from exile.²

There is little now surviving in the fabric of the church to fix any part of it with certainty as a survival from before the Conquest, but the north walls of the nave and chancel are clearly of some antiquity. They are of big brown uncut flints and occasional Roman tiles, laid in rather random fashion, but with some herring-bone courses. The whole of an originally aisleless nave and chancel remains, with a wide aisle added later on the south, a vestry on the north of the chancel, and a very large west tower about 25 ft square internally.

REFERENCE

F. GRAYLING, 'The churches of Sittingbourne and Milton', *Arch. Cant.* 23 (1898), 150-60. Milton, 157-60. The north windows of nave and chancel originally had square heads supported on oak lintels, 158.

MINSTER-IN-SHEPPEY

Kent

Map sheet 172, reference TQ 956730

ST MARY AND ST SEXBURGA

North and south walls of nave: possibly period A2

The abbey church at Minster stands on the highest land, near the north of the Isle of Sheppey, whence one may look over the Thames to the Essex coast by Shoeburyness, or south across the Minster marshes and the Swale towards the mainland of Kent. Here, after the death of her husband Erconbert, King of Kent, in 664, Queen Sexburga founded a religious house for over seventy nuns and became its first abbess about 670. The parts of the early fabric which have survived are characteristic of the earliest Anglo-Saxon style of building, and it is therefore possible that they are survivals from Sexburga's original church.

In the Middle Ages, the nuns' church and the parish church stood side by side, the latter in the form of a very wide south aisle to the earlier church on the north. The nuns' church was later extended by building a wider chancel, with its walls in line with those of the nave and extending considerably beyond the east end of the parish church; but now the nuns' church has become a northern appendage to the parish church, and its chancel has been greatly shortened.

The present church therefore consists of a large west tower, the early nave, the widened but fore-shortened chancel, and the parochial church on the south, on a parallel alignment and opening into the earlier church through an arcade of pointed arches. The parochial church itself has a nave with a south porch and a chancel. The fabric of the early church, as may be seen in the exterior

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, see D. Whitelock, *E.H.D.* (1955), 185.

² *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas, and S. I. Tucker (London, 1961), 125.

of the north wall, is mainly of stone rubble, with some tile and some flint.

The early nave has been sadly mutilated by the insertion of great arches opening east and west, by the insertion of Perpendicular windows on the north, and by the cutting of the arcade of three arches through its south wall into the parish church; but four of its original windows have remained in part, and although not one is complete, yet the parts are such that it is possible from them to build up a picture of a complete whole.

In the south wall, the complete interior head of the western window has remained, showing that internally the windows had wide openings, with round heads arched in flat, tile-like pieces of brownish stone. Further to the east, a second window survives only in outline in the plaster, showing a tall, wide opening reminiscent of the windows at Brixworth, Northamptonshire. In the north wall no trace is visible internally, but externally the western halves of two windows may be seen from the vicarage garden, to the west of the Perpendicular windows which have cut away the rest of them. These survivals show that the outer faces had jambs of small flat stones, and round heads arched in two concentric rows of radial tiles, with a single row set round the circumference. Moreover, since the surviving halves are each about a foot across, the whole exterior openings must have been about 2 ft wide.

The exterior face of the north wall also presents an original north-east quoin, extending up the whole height of the wall, and constructed of the rubble fabric of the wall, strengthened with bonding courses of tile. A broad stone string-course, now much weathered, may also be seen running westward from the west jambs of the two windows. Confirmation that this is indeed the survival of an early string-course is to be found internally on what was originally the exterior south face of the south wall of the nuns' church but is now the interior north wall of the parish church. Here, immediately above the pointed head of the arch beside the Rood-screen, is a well-preserved section of plain, square string-course.

The walls of the early church are thin and exceptionally high. There is no appearance of a

change of texture in the north exterior face, and, as no clear-storey has been added, there is no reason to doubt that their present height is original.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 49 ft 10 in. long internally and 26 ft wide, with side walls 2 ft 8 in. thick and about 37 ft high. About 11 ft of the south wall remains intact at the west of the arcade which opens to the parish church. The windows are placed in the south wall about 11 ft in clear from the angles of the east and west walls.

The windows had apertures about 2 ft wide and at least 5 ft high. Internally they were splayed to become 5 ft wide and at least 7 ft high, with their heads about 21 ft above the floor.

The section of string-course in the south wall is 4 ft 6 in. in length, 9 in. in vertical section, projecting 6 in. from the wall-face, and about 16 ft above the floor. The sections on the north wall are much weathered but are consistent with having originally been the same, and they are similarly placed.

REFERENCES

- J. P. HARRISON, 'Saxon remains in Minster church, Isle of Sheppey', *Arch. J.* 41 (1884), 54-7. Architectural description, with picture of exterior of one of the north windows. Brief history.
J. CAVE-BROWN, 'Minster-in-Sheppey', *Arch. Cant.* 22 (1897), 144-68.

MISERDEN

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 157, reference SO 936089

Figures 529, 530

ST ANDREW

*Remains of doorways in side walls of nave:
period C3*

The village of Miserden has an attractive position in the wooded, upper valley of the River Frome, about 7 miles north-east of Stroud, and within 3 miles of the Roman road from Cirencester to Gloucester. The church of St Andrew stands on a

steep hillside overlooking the river, but its archaeological interest has unfortunately been largely destroyed by drastic restoration in 1866.

The main fabric of the nave is of small, undressed rubble; but big stones are used in the western quoins, particularly the north-west, which is laid in side-alternate fashion. The chancel is of bigger rubble, more carefully squared; and it seems to present no early features, unless perhaps its eastern quoins are old fabric re-used.

The visible Anglo-Saxon remains now consist of the heads of the north and south doorways of the nave, with later medieval pointed openings inserted beneath them. The remains of the north doorway comprise the imposts, the main arch, and a hood-moulding. The imposts are flat stones, which are ornamented with three horizontal mouldings, and which project both from the face of the wall and also from the soffit of the doorway. They are somewhat rudely fashioned; and, whereas that on the east extends some way from the opening, so as to stop the hood-moulding and to run about 6 in. beyond, that on the west does not extend even far enough to stop the hood-moulding; moreover, its lower and upper faces are far from parallel, so that it tapers markedly towards the west. The arched round head, now blocked, is turned in large voussoirs laid with more than customary disregard for radial joints; and the head is outlined by a square-sectioned hood-mould, which on the left rests logically on the impost, but on the right continues a short distance down beside it.

The remains of the south doorway are obscured by plaster, which covers the whole face of the wall inside the south porch; but there still remains exposed to view the semicircular curve of a hood-mould, similar to that of the north door, but here resting logically, on both sides, on imposts of the same form as those on the north.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is about 45 ft long internally, and 18 ft 4 in. wide, with side walls 2 ft 3 in. thick and 16 ft high.

The doorways seem to have been 2 ft 9 in. wide and about 7 ft 6 in. tall. They are placed about 16 ft 6 in. from the western angles of the nave.

MONK FRYSTON

Yorkshire, West Riding

Map sheet 97, reference SE 505297

ST WILFRID OF RIPON

West tower, except later belfry. Possibly also side walls of nave, above later arcades: period C3

Monk Fyryston Hall stands in parkland about 7 miles west of Selby, on the north of the main road from Leeds, with the church of St Wilfrid on the opposite side, standing pleasantly away from the noise of the traffic, beside a raised private road.

The church, built of a warm cream-grey limestone, now consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with north and south porches, and an aisleless chancel. The three lower stages of the tower are all of roughly coursed, undressed rectangular blocks of stone, with quoins of larger blocks laid in face-alternate fashion. These quoins are hidden on the lower part by the later buttresses, but are visible higher up. The fourteenth-century fourth stage is of quite different construction, in dressed stone, with Decorated belfry windows of two lights in each of its four faces.

The lowest stage, representing about half the total height of the tower, has had later windows inserted, and buttresses added at the corners, so that it presents no original features except the simple, square-sectioned string-course which divides it from the second stage. The much shorter second stage has in each of its three external faces an original double belfry window whose two round heads, each cut in a square stone, are supported in the centre by the usual arrangement of through-stone slab and mid-wall shaft. The outer edges of the heads rest, without imposts, on square jambs built of dressed stones that do not appear to pass through the full thickness of the wall. The mid-wall shafts have square bases and simple capitals of rather unusual form; they are square in plan throughout their height, and are tapered by means of hollow chamfers on each face so as to reduce their cross-section from the large square which supports the through-stone slab to the small square which is separated from the mid-wall shaft by a circular fillet.

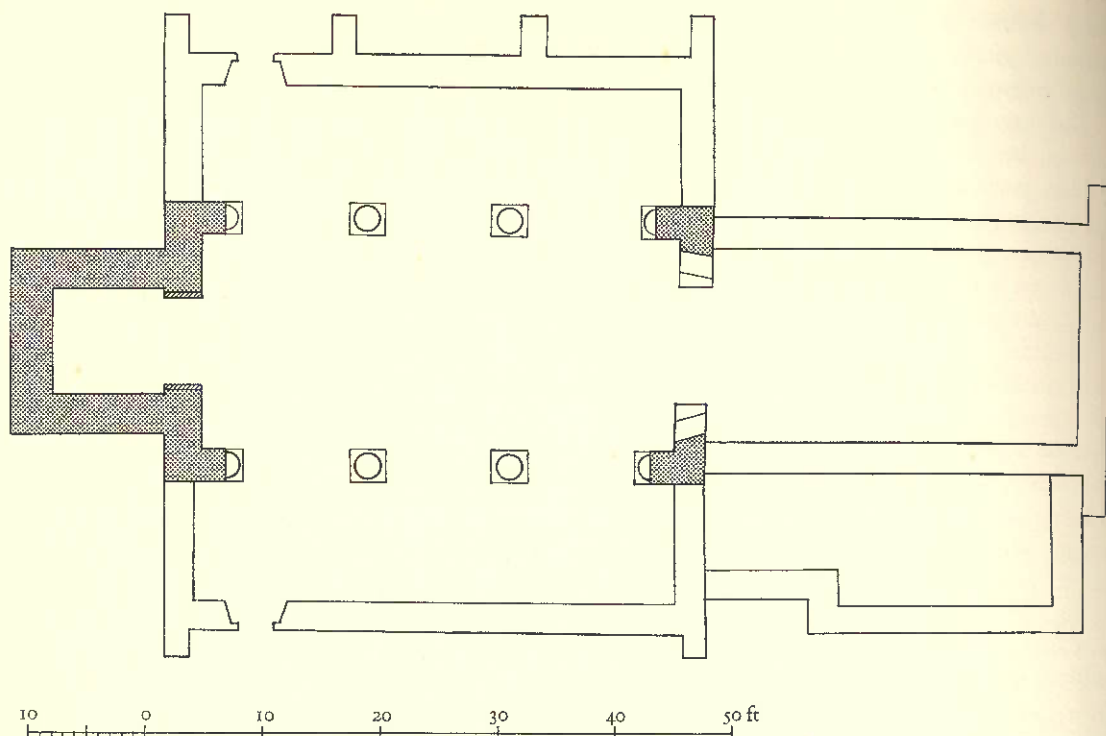


FIG. 203. MONK FRYSTON, YORKSHIRE (W.R.)

A similar belfry window is visible in the east face of the tower, but now within the nave. The heads of its two lights are, however, of pointed form, possibly the result of modern restoration.

Above the Anglo-Saxon belfry stage is a second square string-course, like the one below the belfry, but differing from it by being supported on a series of simple chamfered corbels. At first sight this string-course has a Norman look, but on the whole we are inclined to accept it as part of the original fabric.

The third stage, only a few feet in height, has no openings of any sort; and it is separated from the medieval belfry stage by a third square string-course, supported by corbels like that below.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is 9 ft 6 in. (east-west) by 8 ft 11 in. (north-south) internally, with walls about 3 ft 6 in. thick and about 35 ft in height to the top of the Anglo-Saxon fabric.

The nave is very irregularly laid out but is roughly 40½ ft long internally by 18½ ft wide, with walls 2 ft 9 in. thick and now about 26 ft

high, but probably about 20 ft before the addition of the later clear-storey. There are appreciable sections of solid walling as east and west responds to the north and south arcades.

MONKWEARMOUTH

County Durham

Map sheet 78, reference NZ 402577

Figure 531

ST PETER

West wall of nave; and porch raised in successive periods to become a west tower: periods A 2 to C 3

GENERAL HISTORY

A brief account of Benedict Biscop's foundation of the joint monasteries of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow has already been given in connexion with the church of St Paul at Jarrow, so that it will be sufficient here to recall that St Peter's church at Monkwearmouth was consecrated in 674 and that,

by the time of the death of Abbot Ceolfrid in 716, the joint abbeys of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow were recorded as comprising about six hundred brethren. It is therefore easy to appreciate that the principal churches of these two foundations would both be buildings of considerable size and elaboration. It is also reasonable to assume that St Peter's church at Monkwearmouth would have been a building on much the same general lines as the church of St Paul at Jarrow, which was destroyed in 1782, but whose plan has been preserved with reasonable certainty in eighteenth-century drawings and descriptions. We know from Bede and from the anonymous *Life of Ceolfrid* that Abbot Eadwine was buried in the porch of entry (now the base of the west tower) and that his body and Abbot Sigfrid's were later translated to an eastern *porticus* where Benedict Biscop had himself been buried. We also know from Bede that the monastery had a second church dedicated to St Mary, and an oratory dedicated to St Lawrence, 'which was opposite the dormitory of the brethren'.¹

After Bede's detailed account of the foundation and early development of the great monastery, there is little to be found about its history until the continuation of Symeon's record tells of the burning of St Peter's church by Malcolm, King of Scotland, in 1070. Thereafter the story follows closely the pattern of Jarrow, with the Anglo-Saxon monk Aldwine from Winchcombe in Gloucestershire re-establishing the ruined monastery in 1075, and its newly started growth then being suddenly arrested in 1083, by the summons of the small community of monks to Durham by Bishop William de Carleph, to replace the secular canons whom he had ejected from his new great abbey. On 26 May 1083 the twenty-three monks of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth left

their ancient buildings, which until the Dissolution then continued as small cells, occupied by a few monks seconded for the purpose from Durham.²

After the Dissolution, the church was used by the parish, and the monastic buildings are thought in part to have formed, or to have been used to build, the old hall of Monkwearmouth, which perished by fire in 1790.³ A drawing made by Grim in 1704, and now preserved in the British Museum, shows monastic buildings forming the east side of a courtyard at the south of the church, while an old print of 1785 shows the church standing in open country beside the adjoining harbour, but already partly buried by mounds of ballast dumped by the shipping.⁴

Thereafter the story is of continued neglect and decay; until in 1855 the doorway of the west porch, having become completely buried and forgotten, was rediscovered by excavation, and interest in the church was reawakened. A general repair was begun in 1866, with advice from the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland; and most important accounts of the discoveries then made were published by the supervisory committee and by the Rev. R. J. Johnson.⁵ It is interesting to record that a full account of the church and its history published in 1886 by the Rev. J. R. Boyle⁶ called forth heated criticism of the suggestion that any part of the surviving fabric could date from before the Conquest; and this notwithstanding that so experienced an observer as Father D. H. Haigh had claimed it as pre-Conquest in 1845, and M. H. Bloxam had accepted it as such after personal inspection.⁷

At the beginning of last century there were still farm buildings beside St Peter's church, and the

¹ Bede, *Lives of the Holy Abbots* (Everyman's Library, no. 479) (London, 1954), 349-54.

² Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelm. Ecclesiae*, and *Hist. Regum*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series, 75, I and II), I (London, 1882), II (London, 1885). Monkwearmouth, burnt by Malcolm, II, 190; arrival of Aldwine, I, 112-13; removal to Durham, I, 122.

³ R. Hyslop, *St Peter's Church, Monkwearmouth* (Gloucester, undated), 40.

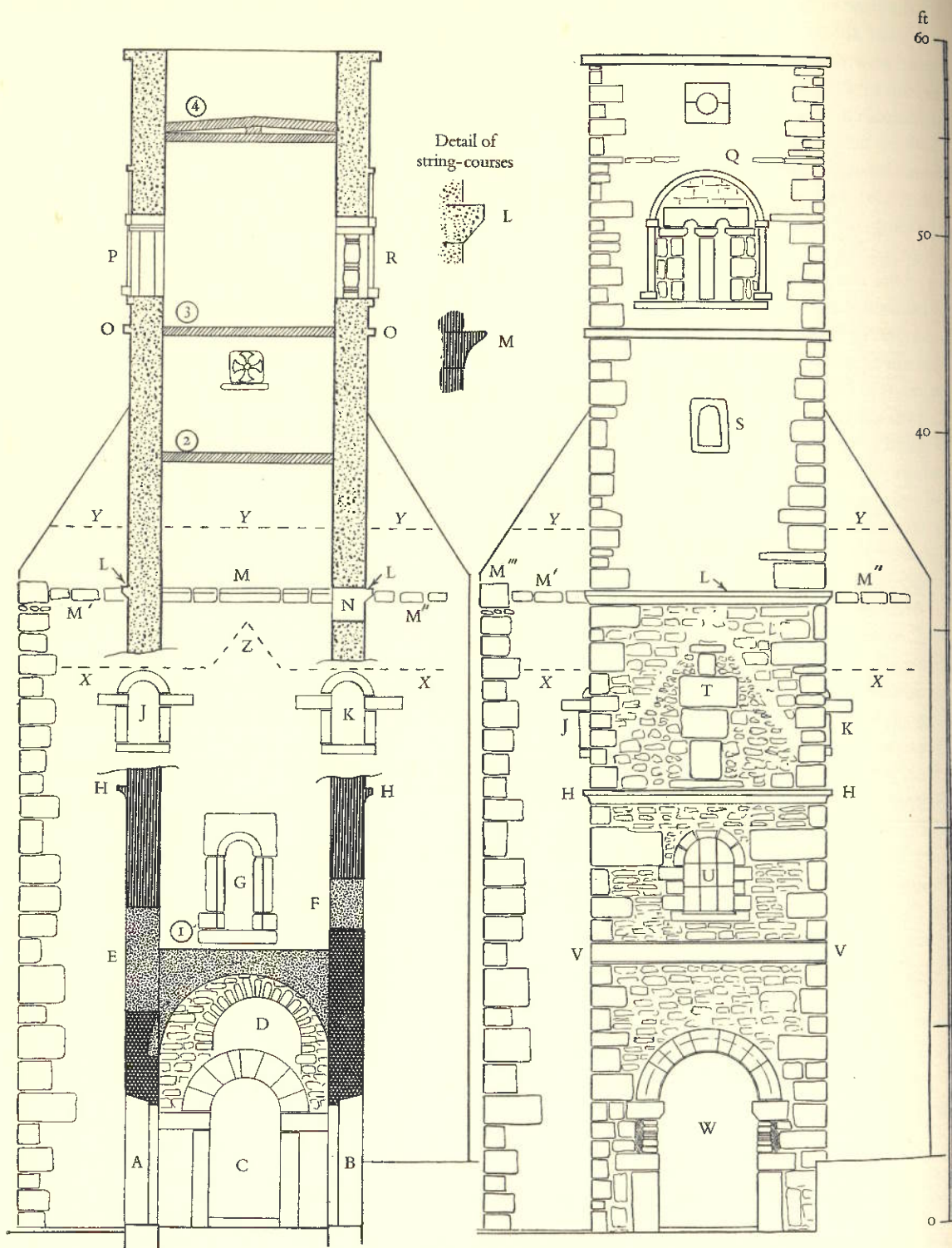
⁴ R. Hyslop, *loc. cit.* 16. For some centuries ships exporting coal from the harbour had made the return voyage in ballast and had dumped the ballast at the most

convenient open space beside the harbour, namely, the churchyard.

⁵ Editorial, 'St Peter's Monkwearmouth', *T. Durham Northd. A.A.S.* I (1862-8), 141-4, and Appendix; also R. J. Johnson, 'St Peter's, Monkwearmouth', *Ecclesiologist*, 27 (1866), 361-4.

⁶ J. R. Boyle, 'The monastery and church of St Peter, Monkwearmouth', *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., II (1886), 33-51. (Also *ibid.* 10 (1885), 195-216.)

⁷ D. H. Haigh, *Trans. Brit. Arch. Ass., Winchester, 1845* (London, 1846), 428-43; M. H. Bloxam, *Principles of Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 11th ed. (London, 1882), 75 n.



NOTE. In the section on the left of this figure, the south wall of the porch is shown in its original form. By contrast, the north wall shows the present state, as modified by the cutting away of a slice about 8 in. in thickness to provide a footing for the later pre-Conquest vaulting which carries the present first floor. Both walls are now in this state.

present row of cottages in Church Street, probably soon to be demolished, are adaptations of the farm cottages. But the open country shown in the picture of 1785 between the church and the waterfront was swallowed up in the nineteenth century by narrow streets of small buildings, which crowded so closely upon the church that it was impossible properly to appreciate the tall and dignified proportions of its early tower and west front. One good result following from the destruction of neighbouring property in the war of 1939-45 was the restoration to the church of an open area, which has now been attractively laid out as lawns, from which it is once more possible to study and enjoy the ancient buildings.

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PRESENT FABRIC

The exterior

The fabric now consists of the west tower and west wall, a long narrow nave probably on the

original foundations, a large northern structure of modern date, opening to the nave through an arcade of tall pointed arches, and an aisleless chancel.

The tower is of five stages separated by string-courses, and the plain west wall of the nave is surmounted by a steeply pitched gable, whose summit reaches a point in the fifth stage of the tower. Two early windows high up in the west wall of the nave were blocked by the erection of the tower in the tenth or eleventh century; but, having been reopened in the nineteenth-century restoration, they are now to be seen within recesses cut for the purpose in the side walls of the tower. Their exterior faces have monolithic heads, cut to a semicircle both above and below; and each jamb is formed of two stones, of which the lower is a tall upright, while the upper is set flat so as to bond deeply along the face of the wall. Both windows are splayed internally, and their glazing is set close to the outer face.

FIG. 204. MONKWEARMOUTH, COUNTY DURHAM

Elevation of the west faces of the tower and nave, and section through the tower. A, north doorway from the west porch; B, south doorway from the west porch; C, doorway from the nave to the west porch; D, earlier west doorway of the nave, now blocked: note how it is set south of the centre, no doubt to make way for an altar on the north; E, square-headed doorway, now blocked but formerly leading northward from an upper chamber, and thus defining a floor-level about 11 ft above the ground; F, square-headed window, now blocked but formerly lighting the earlier upper chamber from the south; G, round-headed window in the west wall of the nave: it now serves as a doorway to give entry to the upper floors of the tower; H, hollow-chamfered string-course which is carried across the west face of the tower and is returned round the north and south walls; J, K, round-headed windows in the west wall of the nave. These windows are obscured by the side walls of the tower, as is shown in the elevation. In the section the side walls have been cut away so as to show the whole outer face of each of the two windows. The great stones of the jambs pass through the full thickness of the wall, as may be seen in the interior elevation (Fig. 209). By contrast the monolithic round heads are external facings, and in the interior the widely splayed round heads are arched with well-shaped voussoirs; L, chamfered string-course carried across the west face of the tower and returned round its north and south walls. This is at the same level as the earlier string-course M; M, hollow-chamfered string-course which is now to be seen in its intact condition only within the tower but which at one time continued across the whole of the west face of the nave as may be seen at M' and M''. This string-course is later than the main body of the west wall since it is set in an area of patched walling. It is, however, earlier than the upper part of the north quoin because the quoining cuts away the string, as may be seen at M'''; N, small square south window which cuts through the string-course L; O, square-sectioned string-course which is carried round the faces of the tower; P, Q, R, double belfry windows on the north, west, and south. There is no similar window on the east because the gable of the nave continues to too great a height. The south window R has wrongly been shown with a turned baluster-shaft; it should be plain like that in window P. S, small round-headed west window with monolithic outer face; T, vestige of large statue. It is often referred to as a Rood, but there is little space for arms, and it seems more likely that it was a representation of a standing figure; U, much restored outer face of a window whose inner face has survived in better condition. The sill of the opening may originally have been on, or close to, the string-course V, and the window would then have given good illumination to the first-floor chamber, whose floor was at the level of the sill of the doorway E; V, wide string-course which was carried across the west face of the earliest porch. It is not returned round the sides of the present tower, thus supporting other evidence that the original porch had lateral chambers on either side of the surviving central compartment. The doorways A and B opened from the central compartment to these lateral chambers. The string-course V was richly decorated with carving (Fig. 207), most of which has now weathered away; W, wide west doorway with elaborate jambs. The baluster-shafts are unique and so also are the carvings on the lower stones of the jambs (Fig. 206). X, Y, the area of cut-stone patching in the west wall of the nave. Note how this patched area may be seen *inside* the tower, and how also the internal area contains an inverted V-shaped area Z of unpatched walling, thus showing that the patching was carried out before the two-storeyed porch was raised to form the present tower. The numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, denote the first, second and third floors and the present roof.

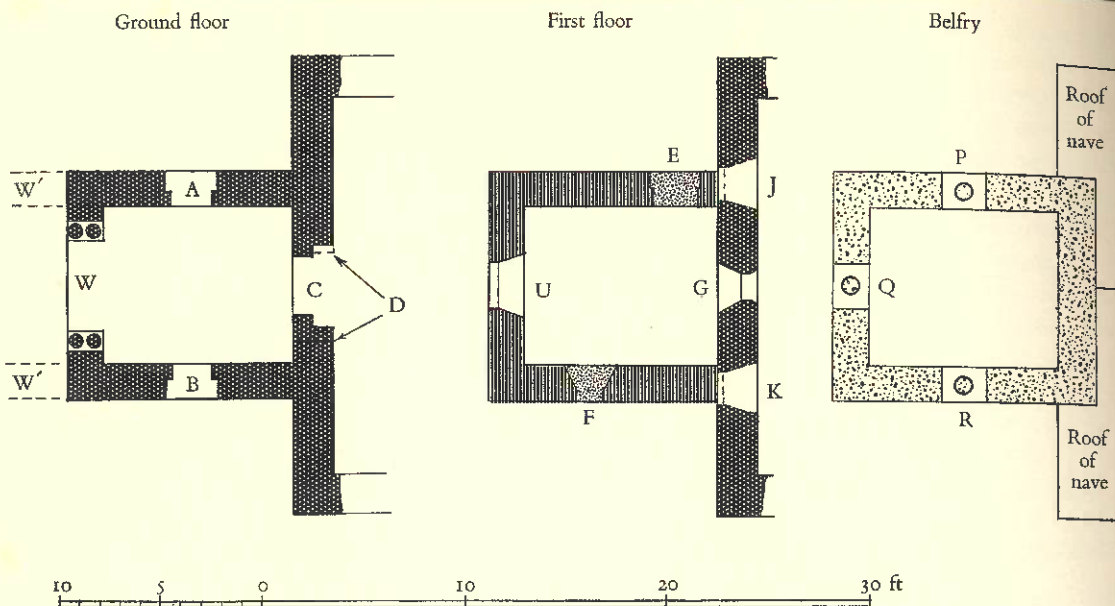


FIG. 205. MONKWEARMOUTH, COUNTY DURHAM

Plans of the tower and west wall of the nave at three levels. (The lettering is in conformity with that of the elevation and section in Fig. 204.) A, north lateral doorway of west porch; B, south lateral doorway of west porch; C, doorway from west porch to nave; D, the dotted lines denote the position of the earlier west doorway of the nave; E, north doorway now blocked but formerly leading to the lower level of the first floor; F, south window now blocked but formerly lighting the western part of the first-floor chamber; G, window from first-floor chamber to nave, now used as the entrance to the upper floors of the tower; J, K, the upper west windows of the nave. These are shown dotted because they are about 10 ft higher up the wall than the window G; P, Q, R, belfry windows; U, west window of first-floor chamber; W, great western portal; W', stumps of walls noted during the restoration of 1866 and shown in the plan in *The Ecclesiologist*, 27 (1866), 361-4.

The fabric of the lower part of the tower and of the west wall of the nave is of rubble in roughly rectangular blocks, while the upper part of the tower, although not ashlar, is of larger blocks, somewhat more carefully dressed. Across the foot of the gable of the west wall of the nave it is possible to trace the line of a string-course, which was subsequently cut back flush with the main face of the wall; although this is only with difficulty to be seen externally, the string-course has survived intact on the part of the wall which is enclosed within the tower. An area of the west face extending for a few feet above and below this string-course may be seen to be of different character from the remainder of the wall, having apparently been patched at some later time with more carefully dressed stone. This feature, also, is more clearly to be seen within the tower than externally.

The north-west quoin of the nave is mainly built in side-alternate fashion with large stones, but towards the top it is of less regular construction,

probably the result of reconstruction after one of the many devastations. The south-west quoin is of smaller and more regularly dressed stones, and is apparently a reconstruction dating from 1866. The quoining of the lowest stage of the tower is of large blocks laid in side-alternate fashion; but, particularly on the north-west quoin, it is clearly too well preserved to be original. The second stage also has side-alternate quoining, but with every appearance of original workmanship, and of very large stones. On the upper stages of the tower, the quoining is less markedly megalithic than on the lower stages, but it is mainly of side-alternate character and of stones rather larger than those of the walling.

No parts of the side walls of the tower are in bond with the west wall of the nave; but they are simply built against the nave, until, at the top, the east wall of the tower is built on the original gable of the nave. The tower narrows very slightly towards the top, but by gradual tapering, and not by any off-sets between its successive five stages.

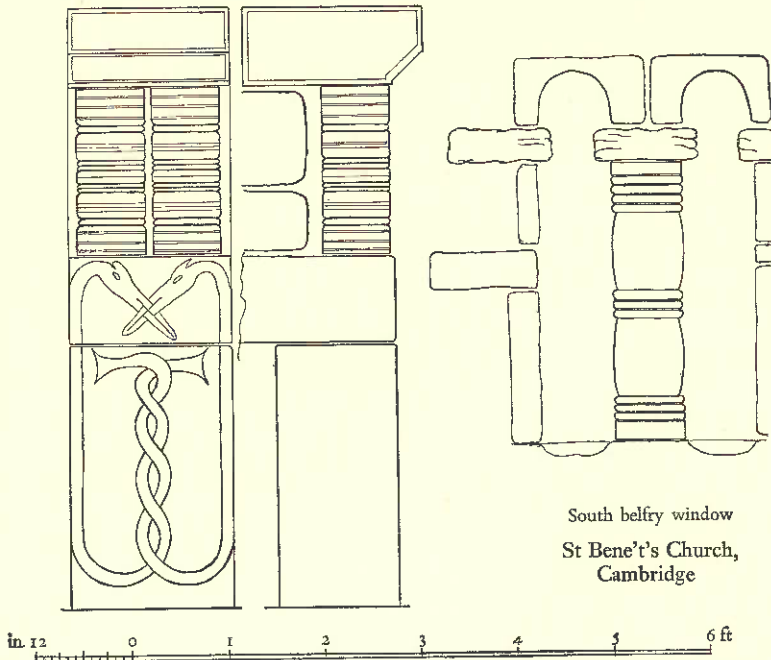


FIG. 206. MONKWEARMOUTH, COUNTY DURHAM

Comparative baluster-shafts. The left-hand drawings show the soffit and front elevations of the north jamb of the west doorway at Monkwearmouth, with its twin baluster-shafts and ornamentally carved jamb-stones. The carved entwined creatures were plainly visible in 1936 but by 1962 had almost vanished. The outer baluster has also deteriorated greatly during these years. The right-hand drawing shows the south belfry window at St Bene't's, Cambridge, before restoration. It is interesting to compare the finely cut profiles of the early balusters at Monkwearmouth with the much cruder profile of the tenth-century baluster at Cambridge. The balusters in the lower parts of the jambs of the west windows at Monkwearmouth (Fig. 209) are badly damaged, but are clearly of the early type.

The heights of these stages, each including the string-course immediately above, are approximately 14, 8, 10, 13 and 14 ft.

The lowest stage of the tower once formed a porch of entry, not only to the nave, but also to flanking chambers at the west of the nave; and it now contains evidence of that former use, namely, the four remarkable doorways which are described in detail below. In addition, above the eastern doorway which opens to the nave, there is clear evidence of an earlier doorway, much taller but possibly not much wider, and placed a little further towards the south. The ground-floor chamber of the porch is covered by a stone barrel-vault, whose axis runs east and west, with its crown about 12 ft above the floor; as is explained below, this vault cannot have been inserted until fairly late in the development of the church, for the floor which rests on it is too high to be properly related to any of the original doors and windows in the first-floor stage of the porch or tower.

The principal feature of the lowest stage is the great western doorway, which seems to have been designed from the first to be an open entrance without any door. Its arched round head is formed of well shaped and carefully laid stones which pass through the full thickness of the wall. Its imposts do not bond very deeply into the wall but project boldly on the soffit, square above and chamfered below. The jambs are constructed in 'Escomb fashion', with alternate upright and flat stones; but they have the unique feature that the upright stones which support the imposts are not simple flat slabs lining the soffit face of the opening, but are each a pair of cylindrical stone shafts, richly ornamented with a system of beautifully cut rings and grooves, presumably turned in a lathe. These shafts are only part of the ornament of the jambs, for the ends of the flat bonding stones on which they rest, and the faces of the upright stones beneath, are carved to show in relief on each jamb two entwined creatures whose bird-like

heads, with interlocked beaks, occupy the ends of the flat stones, while their entwined bodies, with fish-like tails, cover the upright lower slabs. Apart from the turned balusters, the whole of the lining of the jambs and arch is of through-stones. Moreover, there is ornament also on the arch and the imposts, for the salient angles are all worked with a roll-moulding and the eastern and western faces of the voussoirs of the arch are enriched by the cutting of a shallow recess, concentric with the main curve of the arch, so that at first sight there appear to be two orders, as at Kirkdale and Kirk Hammerton, the lower very slightly recessed behind the upper.

The present eastern doorway of the porch or western doorway of the nave seems to have been seriously mutilated in later times on its eastern face towards the nave, but its western face within the porch has survived intact. Each jamb is formed of a single upright slab of stone which passes through the full thickness of the wall, and is rebated on the east for the hanging of the door, which opens inward towards the nave.¹ The imposts are also through-stones, which bond very deeply into the wall but do not project on the soffit. The round arch is also of through-stones, which are neatly laid, with radial joints. Apart from the splayed face of the arch towards the nave, probably the result of subsequent mutilation, the doorway is a good example of the technique of through-stones and of upright and flat formation of jambs (see Figs. 204 and 209).

The doorways opening to the north and south are similar to the one just described, though smaller in scale. Both have jambs, imposts, and arched heads wholly formed of through-stones; both have large upright slabs as jambs, and flat slabs for imposts, which bond deeply into the wall but do not project on the soffit; and both are rebated on the outer face for the hanging of doors, which opened outward from the porch into the lateral chambers. Both doorways have monolithic sills, into which the great jamb-stones are notched.

At the top of the lowest stage, the porch has a broad string-course, which runs along its western

face but is not returned along the north and south sides. It is now sadly weathered, but was formerly richly ornamented with a series of panels containing animals carved in relief, while the panels were separated from each other and outlined above and below by a cable moulding.² Before the restoration of 1866 the upper west window had been cut downward through the string-course; and the central section of string-course is a modern replacement, together with the walling immediately above and below it.

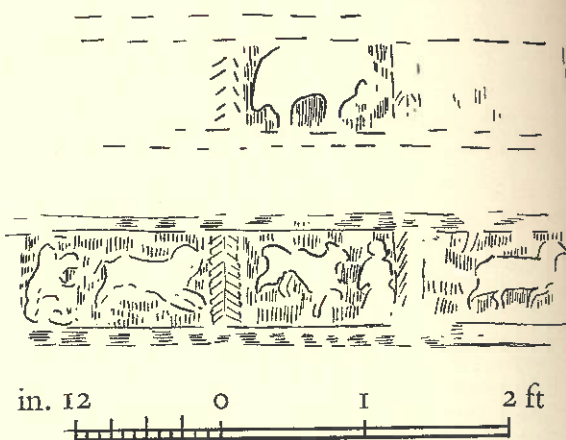


FIG. 207. MONKWEARMOUTH, COUNTY DURHAM
Vestiges of carving on the string-course on the western porch. This drawing is copied from *Reliquary*, n.s., VII (1893), 145. Its general accuracy can be confirmed from an independent drawing in *Trans. Brit. Arch. Ass., Winchester*, 1845 (London, 1846), pl. 24.

The second stage shows evidence of having had three openings, of which two are now blocked. In the western face, the round-headed window already mentioned has been restored to something like its original size but its external facing is now of no value as evidence of its original workmanship. In the interior, however, as will be described later, this window has preserved its original head and jambs.³ A blocked square-headed doorway is clearly visible in the north face of the tower, with sill, jambs, and head outlined by thin slabs of stone. This doorway is almost at the eastern end of the side wall of the tower, close

¹ Baldwin Brown's plan (fig. 55, p. 121) wrongly shows this doorway rebated on the west. There seems no reason to doubt that the eastern rebate is original.

² See Fig. 207.

³ See Fig. 208, and p. 441, column 2.

beside the wall of the nave, and it should also be noted that its sill is below the level of the stone vault of the porch, and consequently even further below the present level of the first floor. In the south face of the tower, and close to its western quoin, there are less easily to be seen the blocked remains of a square-headed window. Its head and sill have almost vanished, and only its jambs remain clearly visible externally. Internally, how-

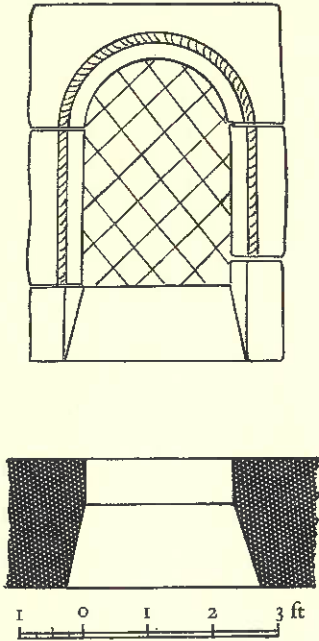


FIG. 208. MONKWEARMOUTH, COUNTY DURHAM

Interior face of the western first-floor window of the porch. The cable-moulding on the arris is quite well preserved. It should be compared with the borders of the panels on the string-course (Fig. 207).

ever, it is more or less intact, although now close to the floor; and measurement shows that, although its jambs were splayed towards the interior, its sill and head were horizontal.

The second stage is separated from the third by a plain string-course which is carried along all three faces of the tower. It is also much weathered, but it seems to have been roughly square in section, with a hollow chamfer below (H in Fig. 204).

The third stage is plain on its north and south faces save for the modern openings which have been cut beside the wall of the nave to give light once again to the two west windows of the nave. The west face has, however, two features of outstanding interest. In the first place, not only is the line of junction clearly visible between the gable of the porch and the walling of the tower which was added above, but the junction is made even clearer by the change in character of walling from the smaller rubble of the gable to the larger and more carefully squared stones of the later tower. Secondly, there are the mutilated remains of the life-size statue, in high relief, which must have been on the same ambitious scale as the Roods at Headbourne Worthy, Langford, and Romsey. The main figure was carved on five large stones of which the uppermost still projects like a halo while the one next below shows clearly the outline and shape of a human head.¹ On either side of the foot of the central figure there are corbels, or vestiges of small flanking figures.

A plain chamfered string-course (L in Fig. 204) separates the third stage from the fourth; and in the south face of the tower a square window has been cut, probably at a later stage, so as to remove a section of this string-course, about the centre of the wall. The tall fourth stage has no openings to north or south; but high up in its west face, and centrally placed from side to side, is a small, round-headed window, whose aperture is cut through a single, rectangular slab of stone, set flush with the outer face of the wall.

The tall belfry stage stands almost wholly above the west gable of the nave; and it is separated from the fourth stage by a plain square string-course. The east face of this stage is entirely plain, and is built on top of the west gable of the nave. The other three faces each contain a double belfry window outlined in strip-work, like several other Northumbrian late-Saxon belfries. The Monkwearmouth belfry windows each have simple cylindrical mid-wall shafts, without bases or capitals. These support plain rectangular through-stone slabs, which are hollow-chamfered

¹ Baldwin Brown (p. 471) recorded that from scaffolding in 1924 it was possible to be certain that the face was beardless, but with a moustache as in the Rood at Walkern. We doubt whether the figure at Monkwearmouth was a

Rood: there seems to be no indication of the arms of a cross, nor does there seem to be space for them within the gable.

on their lower arrises. The round heads of the two lights of each double window are both cut in the lower face of a single long rectangular lintel. This lintel spans the whole window, resting on the impost and the through-stone slab, all of which project boldly from the face of the wall. All three windows have plain square jambs, which are built of stones of much the same character as those of the walling; but whereas these might be regarded as almost Norman in character, the outlining hood-moulding is quite pre-Norman. It begins at each side on flat rectangular corbel-bases, and runs up beside the jambs to the main imposts. Above these, the moulding begins again on square corbels; and it encircles the head, enclosing a plain tympanum of the same fabric as the walling itself. The tower ends above in a parapet with a flat stone coping, but the north and west faces of the parapet are each pierced by a circular opening cut through a square stone slab.

It should perhaps be added that while an appreciable part of the detail of the tower as now seen dates from the restoration of 1866,¹ yet the porch and tower represent a remarkable monument of the work of the builders of the seventh to eleventh centuries. The walls of the porch are less than 2 ft in thickness and were not meant to carry a tower; they have been much cut about by the series of alterations which have adapted them to varying uses through the centuries; and yet they have borne the quite unexpected load of the upper stages of the tower for close on a thousand years.

The interior of the nave

The nave is of extraordinary height and length in proportion to its width, its internal dimensions being about 30 ft in height, 64 ft in length, and 18½ ft in width. Only the west wall now remains of the original structure, but this serves to fix the height and breadth beyond doubt, for the original external north-west quoin confirms the otherwise reasonable supposition that the modern north arcade and the rebuilt south wall are on the foundations of Biscop's original side walls. The

original length is less easy to settle beyond doubt, but the south jamb of the chancel-arch is of early Norman character, similar to one of the doorways of the monastic buildings at Jarrow; and it was, therefore, probably built by Aldwine. Since at his time the number of brethren was much fewer than under Biscop's rule, there would have been no incentive to lengthen an existing church. It therefore seems reasonable to deduce either that the present dimensions are those of Biscop's original building, or, less probably, that the original nave was even longer than at present.

The remarkable height of the side walls, and the presence of the two windows high up in the west wall, make it seem probable that the church was originally of two storeys. The western windows, with sills about 23 ft above the ground, would have served to light an upper storey, with its floor at a height of about 20 ft. The windows of the lower storey could then have had their sills about 14 ft above the floor like those at Jarrow; and the window which still survives in the west wall, above the west doorway, might possibly once have been one of these windows, lighting the nave, before it was covered by the erection of the western porch.

The interior face of the west doorway of the nave, though sadly mutilated in later days, still retains some of its original character, particularly the massive through-stones which form its jambs, imposts, and arched head.² The round-headed opening next above now forms the only entry to the tower; but, though it is now used as a doorway, it must almost certainly have served at one time as a window to allow occupants of the porch to see into the church; and, as suggested above, it may even earlier have been one of the original windows to light the nave. Its face towards the nave is sadly rebuilt or restored, but may represent reconstruction of earlier work; its jambs are in upright and flat technique, and its head is arched. Its interior face within the tower is of much greater interest, for it seems to be largely original; the head is cut from a lintel formed of a single stone split in two, or a pair of

¹ For pictures of the tower before restoration see Baldwin Brown (fig. 56, p. 122), or Clapham (pl. 7, facing p. 39).

² Baldwin Brown's drawing of the west wall of the nave (fig. 60, p. 127) does not give a true likeness of the present state of this doorway or of the window above it.

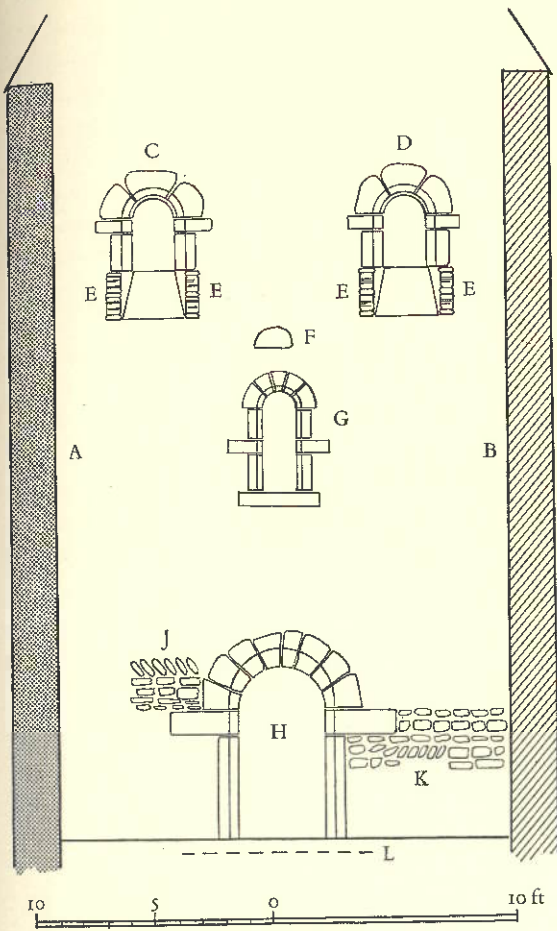


FIG. 209. MONKWEARMOUTH, COUNTY DURHAM

Interior elevation of the west wall of the nave. A, south wall, largely rebuilt, but on the old alignment; B, nineteenth-century north wall and arcade, on the old alignment of the north wall; C, D, upper windows of the west wall. The deep lower splays of these windows are a later adaptation. During the restoration of 1866 these windows were found blocked and were opened out; E, Anglo-Saxon balusters re-used in the deepened lower splays. When the windows were opened out these balusters were found set with their curved faces into the wall and their outer surfaces cut flat in the plastered face of the wall. They were turned into their present positions; F, large stone; G, modern face of early window, now used as the only entry to the upper floors of the tower; H, doorway to the west porch; J, K, areas of diagonally set stonework, often referred to as herring-bone; L, level of floor of west porch.

stones, and its jambs are of tall upright stones. These rest on somewhat trivial lower stones, which may represent later work of the period when the window was modified to become a doorway.

To complete the description of the interior of

the nave it now remains only to describe the two remarkable west windows, high up in the wall, with widely splayed jambs and arched heads. Although their sills are now splayed steeply downward, it seems probable that this was not originally the case; for the balusters, which now form the angles beside the downward slope of the sills, were found during the restoration of 1866 face inward, and with their outer faces hacked smooth, to match the smooth form of the remainder of the wall. The balusters were, therefore, almost certainly a subsequent insertion; and it seems most likely, as has been suggested above, that these windows originally served to light an upper floor; and that they then had flat sills. If one imagines the windows restored to that form, their splayed jambs would be formed by the massive upright through-stones which also form the jambs of their exterior faces. Above these, the flat impost also run through the full thickness of the wall, and the arched head of each window is formed of three well-jointed voussoirs, which, while not through-stones, run through the greater part of the thickness of the wall and meet the comparatively thin lintel which forms the outer face of the head.

The interior of the tower

Several important features are to be seen within the tower itself. The stone floor of its principal chamber rests on the barrel-vault and is at about 14 ft above the floor of the nave, level with the sill of the window which serves as the entrance doorway.

The interior faces of this window and of the western window of the porch are each formed of large square stone lintels and tall upright stone jambs, but, whereas the face of the entrance-window seems to have been cut wider at a later date, the inner face of the western window has every appearance of being in its original state. The arris of its round head and straight jambs is enriched with a well-executed cable-moulding which may indicate that it is contemporary with the broad sculptured string-course across the west front.

On the side walls of the first-floor chamber, the square-headed north doorway and south window are both visible, both outlined in flat stones, and

both showing by their position that they belonged to a period when the floor was about 3 ft lower than at present.

In the west wall of the nave, above the window or doorway which serves as an entry to the tower, a large stone may be seen from the nave, flat beneath and roughly semicircular above. It was described by Hall as a saddle-stone for the western porch;¹ but this suggestion is difficult to understand, since the stone does not run through to the western face of the wall, still less project from it to carry the roof of a porch.

Higher up in the eastern wall of the chamber, originally the outer western wall of the nave, one should note the boldly projecting chamfered string-course which has survived quite intact within the tower, although on the exterior face of the nave it has been cut back flush with the face of the wall.² The string-course is of excellent workmanship, and of unusual section; its upper face projects about 5 in. from the wall, and its outer face is sloped back in a curved chamfer to meet the lower wall-face. Five long sections span the whole width of the tower. Above and below this string-course there is clearly visible the band of cut-stone patching which contrasts more noticeably than on the exterior face of the nave with the rougher walling of the main fabric. Finally, in the part of this band below the string-course it should be noted that an inverted V of unpatched stone projects into the centre of the patched area, with its apex just below the string-course. (This is the area Z in Fig. 204.)

For completeness it remains to add that on the upper floor of the tower, next below the belfry, the eastern wall contains a cross of circular shape cut in relief on a roughly square stone. The centre is raised as a boss, and the arms have expanding curved sides so that the outer circular form of the cross is almost a complete circle. It is not immediately clear whether this cross is to be regarded as an emblem set in place by the builders of the tower or, perhaps more probably, as a feature which was previously visible in the external west wall of the nave. It is also far from clear what were the floor levels in the tenth-century tower. There are indistinct marks of a doorway to the nave with its

sill about 26 ft above the ground; these are visible both within the tower and within the nave. Gilbert also records a possible floor at 31 ft.

PROBABLE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

It now remains to try to construct a more complete story of the development of the church by combining the evidence contained in the fabric itself with that which is provided in the written history. Much progress has been made in this field in recent years, particularly by taking account of the minor features of this complicated fabric, and by using them to show how the separate parts of the building must have been erected at different times. Of late it has also been much more fully appreciated than in the past that when the Norman historians spoke of the total destruction of buildings by the Danes, or even by the punitive expeditions of William I, this may indeed have meant that all wooden fittings and the roofs were burnt, but it cannot be accepted as evidence that the stone fabric was either totally or even substantially destroyed. The description which follows owes much to the pioneering work of Mr C. A. R. Radford and Dr E. Gilbert, from whom we have learnt much, not only at Monkwearmouth but elsewhere.

Since no part of the western porch or tower is bonded into the nave, it seems clear that the nave, as first completed in 674, was without any of the western appendages which were later added to it. But a west porch was added quite soon, since Bede records that Abbot Easterwine was buried in the entrance porch. This first west porch may have been the ground floor of the present tower, with all its four doorways, but it seems likely that it was a simpler structure without the lateral doorways. The reasons for this belief are complicated, but may be summarized as follows. The present west doorway of the nave is centrally placed, both in the nave and in the tower; but the taller and earlier doorway whose head is visible above can clearly be seen to have been displaced about a foot towards the south. It is difficult to understand why a west doorway should have been placed out of centre in the west wall of the nave; but it is easy to understand why it should have been so placed

¹ J. Hall, *Antiquities of Sunderland*, 18 (1918-25), 53.

² M, M' and M'' in Fig. 204.

in the porch, namely, to leave space for an altar on the north, or even to leave space for the burial which was made there. When later the bones of Abbot Easterwine were translated, about 716, to the eastern *porticus* where Biscop had been buried in 689 or 690, the reason for the unsymmetrical placing of the west doorway would be removed. Therefore there seems to be ground for thinking that the present west doorway of the nave is later than the first porch, and perhaps later than 716. But this west doorway is remarkably similar to the lateral doorways and it therefore seems reasonable to regard them as having been provided at the same time.¹

The next development, still quite early, is to be associated with the provision of the lateral chambers, with doorways opening to them; and of the animal string-course along the front of the resulting continuous western annexe. The string-course is not returned round the sides of the tower, and this at once suggests that, when it was provided, the west wall ran across the whole front of the church. This string-course does not correspond to any original internal floor-level; but since both it and the western window have cable-mouldings on their angles, it seems likely that they are contemporary, and that the purpose of the string-course was to link or support a row of western windows in a two-storeyed western annexe. This would naturally have a lean-to or pent roof, which would join the west wall of the nave about the level of the high west windows, possibly even blocking them. Moreover, the subsequent tearing away of these pent roofs, possibly after a disastrous fire, would provide a reason for the broad band of patched stone-work across the west front of the nave.

The next stage of development, possibly following such a destruction, seems to have been the replacement of the two-storeyed annexe by a

central gabled porch of two storeys; with the lateral chambers reduced to one storey in height but still covered by lean-to roofs. The evidence for the central porch is plain to see, namely, the gabled fabric beneath the tower, with the remains of sculpture in its gable. The evidence for the survival of low lateral chambers with lean-to roofs is implicit in the positions of the north door and south window in the new side walls of the upper storey; for the north door would naturally be close to the east in order to fit under the lean-to roof, while the south window would be close to the west in order to be above it.

The next development must have been the patching of the west wall of the nave, including also the provision of the boldly projecting chamfered string-course, unlike any others on the building. This clearly happened after the erection of the two-storeyed gabled porch, and before the raising of the tower; for the patching runs across the wall inside the tower, but lies wholly exterior to the gabled roof and shows an inverted V in its lower region, where the roof projected across the area of defective stone-work that was being replaced.

Next followed the raising of the porch so as to become a tower. This work is commonly attributed to Aldwine; but, for reasons explained fully in connexion with Jarrow, we believe that Aldwine built much of the tower there. The tower at Monkwearmouth cannot reasonably be regarded as having been built later than the time of Aldwine, and it is so unlike the tower at Jarrow that it seems to us impossible to regard it as having been built under his direction; we accordingly believe that it was built before the Conquest.²

The final development was the provision of new quoins on the upper part of the nave, and the cutting back of the string-course on the west wall of the nave. The quoins must be later than the string-course, because a quoin-stone is so placed

¹ The historical detail given in this passage is based on Bede's *Lives of the Holy Abbots* (H.A., ed. Plummer, 384-6; tr. J. Stevenson, 364-5). See Plummer, *loc. cit.* II, 364-9 for the arguments to fix the dates concerned. Dr Edward Gilbert has recently drawn our attention to evidence that the great west portal, like the lateral doorways of the west porch, is a later insertion. In the photograph of the tower before the restoration of 1866 (Clapham (1930), pl. 7) it is possible to trace the outline of an earlier, taller, and narrower opening displaced a little

towards the north, and with its head close to the ornamental string-course.

² It is curious how persistent is the attribution of the tower at Monkwearmouth to Aldwine, in spite of the argument given above. This argument was advanced as long ago as 1894 by the Rev. J. R. Boyle (see *County of Durham* (London, 1894), 543). E. Gilbert, *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., 25 (1947), 174, uses the same argument and attributes the tower to *temp.* Bishop Aldhun (990-1018). We agree.

as to block the line of the string-course, whereas it is reasonable to assume that the string-course originally came to the two ends of the west wall and perhaps was even returned round the sides. The rebuilding of the quoins may reasonably be attributed to Aldwine, after the destruction by Malcolm. The cutting-back of the string-course would naturally follow at the same time.

The insertion of the stone barrel-vault has been omitted from the architectural history, for separate consideration at the end. It cannot reasonably be assumed to have been present at any period before the two-storeyed porch was changed into a tower, for the floor which rests on the vault is at a height which makes nonsense of all the windows in the first-floor chamber. The vault is therefore to be attributed to the time of the tower, perhaps late in the tenth century; or to Aldwine, late in the eleventh century. Since the vault is quite unlike the one at Jarrow it seems most likely that it is to be attributed to the tenth-century builders of the tower, who no doubt at the same time rearranged all the floor-levels.

THE CARVED STONES

In glass cases in the line of the north arcade there are now preserved a number of pre-Conquest carved stones of great importance, which were recovered during the restoration of 1866.¹ Architecturally, perhaps the most important features of this collection are the large number of baluster-shafts like those at Jarrow, and the two stones carved with representations of lions.

The baluster-shafts may reasonably be assumed to have been used originally in a setting such as is indicated by the balusters which have survived *in situ* in the western portal. The large number of shafts therefore demands a large number of important arches, and this in turn suggests that the nave had a number of openings to side-chapels or *porticus*. This would be in conformity with what

has survived at Brixworth, Northamptonshire, and with what is shown in the British Museum's drawing of the demolished nave of Benedict's sister monastery at Jarrow.²

The two rectangular stones carved with representations of lions have given rise to much speculation. An interesting suggestion was made by Bishop Browne in 1886,³ when he proposed that these were probably imposts of an arch such as that between the nave and the chancel. He suggested that the lion's body would have formed the soffit-face; and that its head, which is round the corner, would have faced the nave. This is indeed a possible explanation; although the two surviving stones could not have been used in this way for the imposts of a single arch, because both lions are looking in the same direction. A more probable interpretation has been given in recent years by Sir Alfred Clapham, who drew attention to the survival, on the Continent, of bishops' thrones supported on lions carved in stone. Clapham's explanation of the two lions of somewhat different size and design, but both looking in the same direction, is that one belonged to the supports of the abbot's chair, while the other formed a bench-end for the stone bench, which flanked the abbot's chair in its setting at the east of the church.⁴

An interesting sepulchral slab was found during the restorations of 1866, face downward on the floor of the west porch, covering a large trough-like coffin, which was closely packed with human bones. This slab bore a rectilinear cross, carved in high relief, and on the surrounding flat surface the inscription:⁵

HIC IN SEPULCRO REQUIESCIT CORPORE
HEREBERICHT PRB

In addition to the stones now preserved in cases in the church, there is a further collection built into the wall in the vestry. These are mainly of later date, but they include some from the early church.

¹ J. R. Boyle, *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., II (1886), pl. VI.

² This interpretation dismisses as no longer tenable the assumption which used formerly to be accepted that the balusters were originally placed in the jambs of windows; see p. 441. If it be objected that the west quoins of the nave are intact and therefore there cannot have been flanking aisles or chapels, it may be answered that flanking buildings were often erected with straight joints against

existing quoins, both in pre-Conquest times and later. Moreover, it is possible to have flanking chambers which do not extend for the whole length of the nave, e.g. Laughton-en-le-Morthen.

³ G. F. Browne, *Notes on... the Church of St Peter at Monkwearmouth* (Cambridge, 1886).

⁴ A. W. Clapham, *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., 28 (1950), 1-6.

⁵ The slab is illustrated in *Reliquary*, n.s., 7 (1893), 148.

Principal dimensions of the fabric

| | East-west (internal) | | North-south (internal) | | Wall thickness | | Wall height |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-----|---------------------------|-----|----------------|-----|-------------|
| | ft | in. | ft | in. | ft | in. | ft |
| Present nave | 63 | 6 | 18 | 6 | 2 | 0 | c. 30 |
| West porch and tower | 9 | 5 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 8 | c. 59 |

Dimensions of doorways

| | Width between jambs | | Height from sill to crown | | Height of sill above floor | Shape and nature of head (A=Arched; L=Lintel) | Remarks |
|---|---------------------------|-----|---------------------------------|-----|----------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| | ft | in. | ft | in. | ft | | |
| Great west portal | 4 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 0 | Round A | No provision for door |
| North and south doorways of porch | 2 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 0 | Round A | Rebated externally |
| East doorway of porch (west entry to nave) | 3 | 5½ | 7 | 5 | 0 | Round A | Rebated in nave |
| Earlier west entry to nave | 4 | 6 | 11 | 6 | 0 | Round A | — |
| North doorway to first floor of porch | 2 | 5 | 5 | 8 | 11 | Flat L | Rebated ex- ternally |

Dimensions of window-apertures

(All round-headed except where otherwise stated)

| | Width between jambs | | Height from sill to crown | | Height of sill above floor (approximate) | Nature of head (A=Arched; L=Lintel) | Splayed internally to: ft |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----|---------------------------------|-----|---|--|------------------------------------|
| | ft | in. | ft | in. | ft | | |
| <i>Nave</i> | | | | | | | |
| High western pair | 1 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 23 ext. 20 int. | L ext. A int. | 2¾ by 5½ |
| Lower west (now used as doorway) | 1 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 14 | L west A east | 2½ by 5 |
| <i>Porch</i> | | | | | | | |
| South | 1 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 15 | L (flat) | 1½ by 2½ |
| West | 2 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 15 | A ext. L int. | 2¾ by 5 |
| <i>Tower</i> | | | | | | | |
| West monolithic | c. 1 | 0 | c. 2 | 9 | 37 | — | — |
| Belfry lights (single) | 9 | | 3 | 10 | 46 | L | — |

Heights of tops of string-courses

| First | Second | Third | Fourth | Parapet |
|-------|--------|-------|--------|---------|
| 14 ft | 22 ft | 32 ft | 45 ft | 59 ft |

DIMENSIONS

Although not much of the original fabric remains, it is of such importance that we have felt it desirable to record the dimensions in detail in the above tables.

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D. H. HAIGH, 'Historical notes on the monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow', *Trans. Brit. Arch. Ass., Winchester, 1845* (London, 1846), 428-43. Tower and west wall claimed as Anglo-Saxon. Rough picture of animal string-course.

MONKWEARMOUTH

- R. J. JOHNSON, 'St Peter's, Monkwearmouth', *Ecclesiologist*, 27 (1866), 361-4. Important account of discoveries during preparation for restoration. Plans, elevations, and details of west portal. Much the same material is in an editorial article in *T. Durham Northd. A.A.S.* 1 (1862-8), 141-4.
- J. R. BOYLE, 'The monastery and church of St Peter, Monkwearmouth', *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., 11 (1886), 33-51. Good historical and architectural account. Pictures of tower and west portal during restoration. Picture of carved stones.
- G. F. BROWNE, *Notes on the Remains of the Original Church of St Peter at Monkwearmouth* (Cambridge, 1886).
- C. C. HODGES, 'The pre-Conquest churches of Northumbria', *Reliquary*, n.s., 7 (1893), 140-56. Monkwearmouth, 141-8. Engraving of sculpture on west portal and animal string-course, 145.
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- J. HALL, 'Dates of the monastic remains at St Peter's church, Monkwearmouth', *Antiquities of Sunderland*, 18 (1918-25), 36-62.
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- E. GILBERT, 'Anglian remains at St Peter's, Monkwearmouth', *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., 25 (1947), 140-78. Very valuable reassessment of the structure and of its dates.
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MORLAND

Westmorland

Map sheet 83, reference NY 598225

Figure 532

ST LAWRENCE

West tower (except medieval belfry): period C3

The small, stone-built village of Morland, picturesquely situated on the steep banks of the River Eden, about 7 miles south-east of Penrith, is roughly equidistant from the two main roads leading to Barnard Castle and Kendal. The large, well-kept churchyard has a corner site on the west bank of the stream, with a curious sunken entry from one of the steep village streets and a more

open entry across lawns, with many fine trees, to the west of the church.

The fabric of the whole church is of local pink sandstone, which in the tower is laid in rough courses of rectangular blocks averaging about 10 in. in height and from 1 ft to 2 ft along the walls. The quoins are of similar blocks, generally coursed with the walls, and laid in face-alternate fashion. Baldwin Brown (p. 472) dismisses the early features of this tower as Anglo-Saxon survivals in a Norman fabric, apparently because the walls exceed 4 ft in thickness; but the Anglo-Saxon features are so clear that it seems to us more logical to accept them at face value, and to regard the great thickness of the walls as having been due to some special local cause, perhaps a desire to make the tower suitable for defence.

The church is of ambitious size, and its fabric tells a story of many successive additions and changes. It now consists of the west tower, an aisled nave, boldly projecting transepts, and a chancel with north chapel and vestry.

The Anglo-Saxon lower part of the tower consists of a plain lower stage, about 40 ft high, separated only by a small off-set from a belfry stage, about 10 ft in height; above this there was added in the sixteenth century a further belfry stage, with four rectangular windows, a corbelled parapet, and a low lead-covered spire.

The tall lower stage of the tower has perfectly plain walls relieved only by three small, round-headed, internally splayed windows, which light the ground floor, but are placed with their sills 12 ft or more above the ground. Of these three small windows, that to the west has been widened in later times, but the external apertures of the others, about 7 in. wide and 21 in. high, are framed in stones coursed with the walling. Their round heads are each cut in a single rectangular stone, and their jambs are each formed of two stones, except that the west jamb of the south window has three. In the widened western window, the glass is set near the outer face of the wall. By contrast, the original north and south windows have their glass set further back in the wall; but it is not clear whether this is an original feature.

The double windows in each face of the Anglo-Saxon belfry stage give a narrow rectangular effect such as has been mentioned at Bolam in

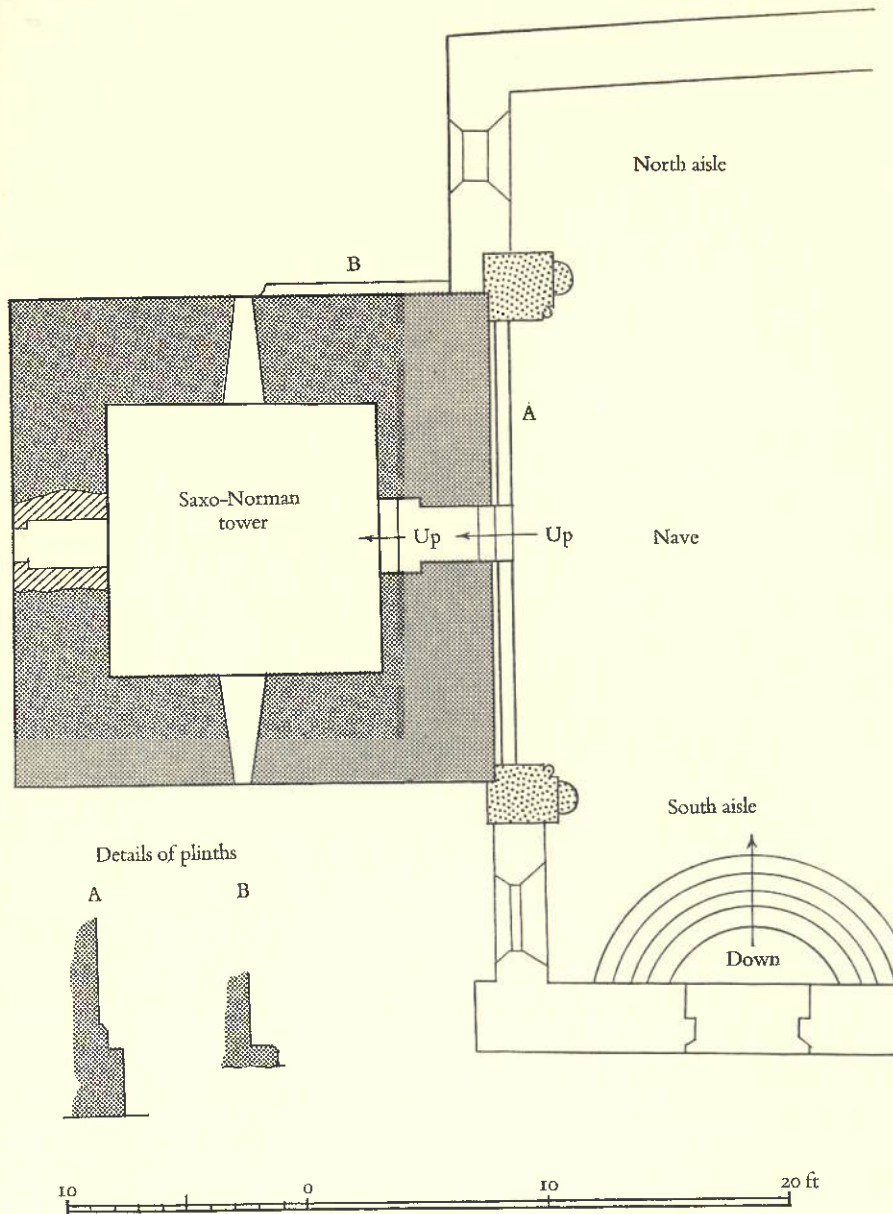


FIG. 210. MORLAND, WESTMORLAND

Northumberland, perhaps because the round heads of the individual windows are narrower than the intervening stonework. These round heads are cut from stones which in the north and west faces have been left square above, while those on the south and east faces have been rounded above as well as below. The square jambs, without separate imposts, are built of stones coursed with the walling but continuing far into the wall if not wholly through it. The plain

unmoulded through-stone slabs are supported on mid-wall shafts with splayed bases but no capitals, and the shafts themselves are cylindrical in the north and east windows, but slightly bulbous in the south and west windows.

The west wall of the south aisle does not abut against the south wall of the tower; but instead the west end of the main south wall of the nave abuts in part against the east face of the tower, and in part overlaps southward so that part may be seen

externally as a vertical strip running up beside the tower, with a straight vertical joint on the right at its junction with the aisle wall. On the north the corresponding west end of the main north wall of the nave is hidden by the west wall of the north aisle, which is carried across to abut against the tower. This curious junction between the tower and the nave seems to give an indication that the tower preceded the nave, perhaps as a defensive tower to which a church was later added, or perhaps as a survival from an earlier church whose nave had been destroyed.

Finally, from outside, it should be noted that the tower rests on a chamfered plinth which runs westward from the nave but shortly disappears beneath the rising ground. This is at variance with Baldwin Brown's statement (p. 473) that externally there is no appearance of the bold plinth which runs along the east face of the tower inside the nave. It is possible that he was misled by the extent to which the floor of the nave lies below the level of the ground and by the further rise of ground westward from the west wall of the nave.

A well-proportioned flight of four semicircular steps leads downward from the south door into the nave, where the east face of the tower presents a striking picture, standing on a remarkable plinth, 3 ft 10 in. in height, and of two orders, of which the lower is square and the upper chamfered. The tower is entered up a flight of five steps through a tall narrow doorway 2 ft 4 in. wide and 9 ft 1 in. in height from the floor of the nave. Its round-arched head of one square order is set back slightly on the square jambs, which have no separate imposts; and the arch itself is turned in seven well-laid voussoirs, which run deeply into the wall, but not through its full thickness. The jambs are rebated internally for the hanging of a door, and they have sockets for stout draw-bars to secure it.

The inner faces of the small original windows in the north and south walls are of interest; their slightly splayed jambs are built of stones which run through most if not all the thickness of the wall; their inner sills are splayed steeply downward; and their arched heads are turned in carefully laid voussoirs of which several in a line make up the thickness of the wall.

The interior of the Anglo-Saxon belfry presents certain further interesting and unusual

features. No doubt because of the great thickness of the wall, two of the windows have been provided with double shafts instead of the usual single mid-wall shaft. In the east window, the two shafts still remain; the outer a simple cylinder already noted from outside the church; and the inner square in plan, placed close to the inner face of the wall, and ornamented along the upper half of its surface with incised fluting. In the south window there is only the single mid-wall shaft which has already been noticed from outside the church but the through-stone slab which it supports has a circular socket near its inner face as though to receive the dowel at the head of an inner shaft.

The arcades of the nave date from late in the twelfth century but were rebuilt in the thirteenth, using some of the old materials. The walls which stand behind the western responds are only 2 ft 7 in. thick on the south side and 2 ft 9 in. on the north, from which it seems not unlikely that they form part of the walls of an earlier aisleless nave.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is 11 ft 2 in. square internally, with walls varying in thickness at ground level between 4 ft and 4 ft 9 in. The nave is 63 ft long and 18 ft 2 in. broad, with walls about 2 ft 8 in. thick and about 20 ft high. The tower-doorway is 2 ft 4 in. wide and 9 ft 1 in. high from the floor of the nave.

REFERENCE

R.C.H.M., *Westmorland* (London, 1936), 175-7. Architectural description, pictures and plan.

MORNINGTHORPE

Norfolk

Map sheet 137, reference TM 218926

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

Tower-arch and blocked south window: possibly period C3

The small village of Morningthorpe, about 10 miles south of Norwich, has one of the many early churches that are to be found within a mile

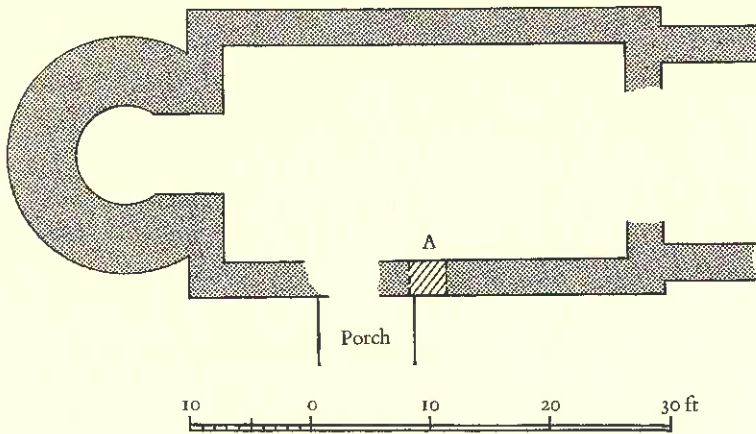


FIG. 211. MORNINGTHORPE, NORFOLK

The blocked opening shown at A on the plan cannot be fixed with certainty as a doorway since its inner face is wholly obscured by plaster, and the walling is too disturbed on the outer face to settle more than the upper part of the opening, as is shown in Fig. 212. The matter could be settled by removal of plaster from the interior face of the wall. The thickness of the walls of the tower as shown on the plan is not based on measurement and may be inaccurate.

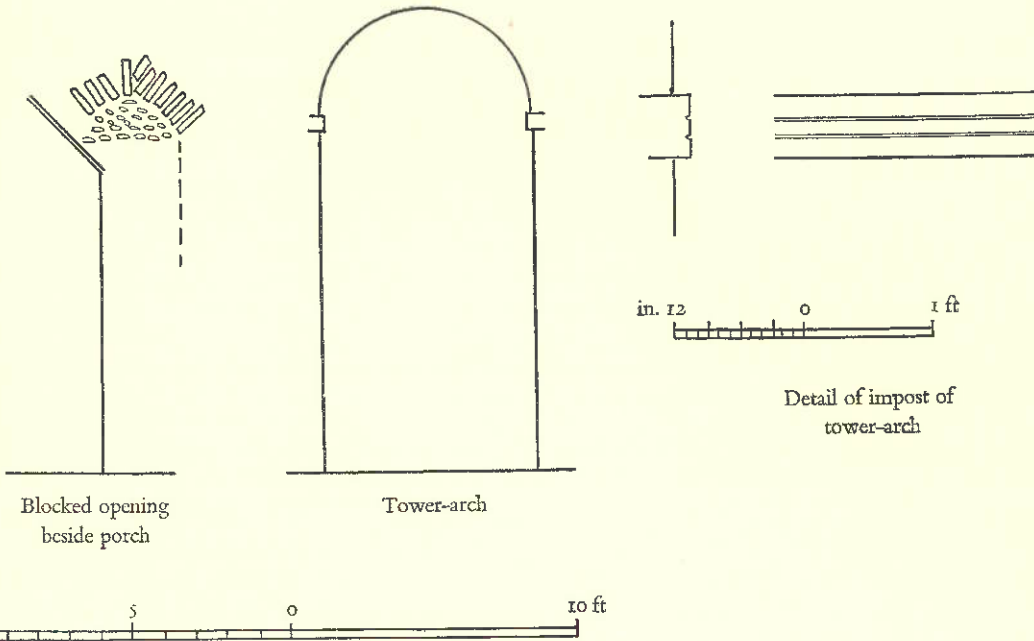


FIG. 212. MORNINGTHORPE, NORFOLK

Details of the tower-arch and of the blocked opening beside the porch.

or two of the old Roman road from Norwich to Ipswich. Its round west tower, aisleless chancel, and nave with south porch are built of flint, with windows and quoins faced in dressed stone.

Externally there is little reliable evidence for dating the tower; the belfry windows are Decorated, and the three narrow, round-headed, single-

splayed windows which light the lower floor could be pre-Conquest, but could equally well be much later. In the south wall of the nave, just east of the south porch, there is a blocked, early, round-headed window or doorway (A, Fig. 211) whose head is roughly arched in flat stones set with complete disregard for radial arrangement, in the way

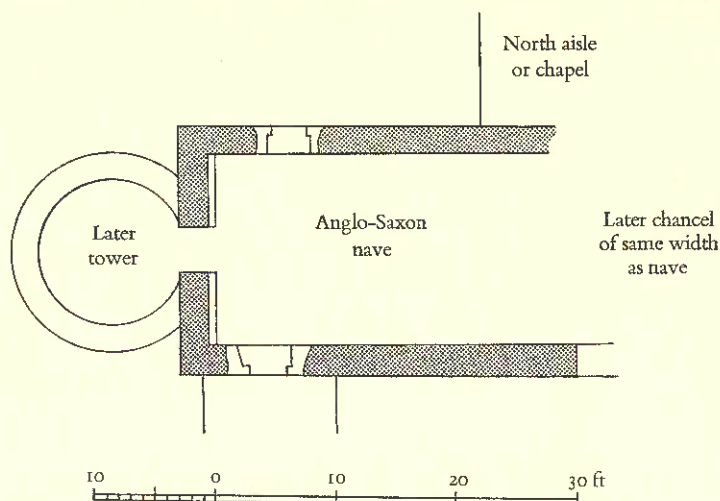


FIG. 213. MORTON-ON-THE-HILL, NORFOLK

The thickness of the walls of the tower as shown in the plan is not based on measurement and may be in error.
The belfry stage of the tower is octagonal.

named by Baldwin Brown 'Tredington fashion'. This blocked opening strongly suggests a pre-Conquest double-splayed window, or a very tall doorway like those at Ledsham and Barholm; and it would be interesting if the inner face of the wall could be stripped of plaster to see which of these interpretations is correct.

The tower-arch is a tall, simple, round-headed opening with extremely plain imposts, also strongly suggestive of pre-Conquest workmanship. The imposts are square in section and about 6 in. in height; their upper and lower edges are slightly rounded, and the only other ornament is a pair of slight, shallow, grooves which are carried horizontally along the vertical faces.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 33 ft 6 in. long internally and 18 ft wide, with side walls 3 ft thick and about 20 ft high. The tower-arch is 6 ft 9 in. wide and 14 ft 10 in. high to the crown, in a wall 6 ft in thickness. The blocked opening in the south wall is about 3 ft wide, and its head is about 12 ft above the present ground-level.

MORTON-ON-THE-HILL

Norfolk

Map sheet 125, reference TG 127158

ST MARGARET

Nave: period C

About 8 miles north-west of Norwich, the road to Fakenham crosses the River Wensum, from Attlebridge on the east bank to Morton on the west. In a fine park to the south of the river, the church of St Margaret, aptly called Morton-on-the-hill, stands on an interesting circular mound beside Morton Hall.

Cautley and Messent both refer to the circular west tower as pre-Conquest, and Cautley gives as his reason that it has a double-splayed window. In fact, the double-splayed window originally looked westward from the gable of the aisleless nave and is now rendered useless by the tower which has been added later.

The nave, with western quoins of large blocks of carstone, has thin side walls. These are largely of carstone in their lower courses; but are of mixed carstone and flint above, where they may have been rebuilt later. The west wall is much thicker below, but the upper part containing the double-splayed window is of the same thin construction as the side walls. A pronounced off-set below the double-splayed window seems therefore either to represent a later thickening of the west wall or to be an original feature to provide support for the floor of an upper chamber. The latter possibility seems the more likely of the two, because the

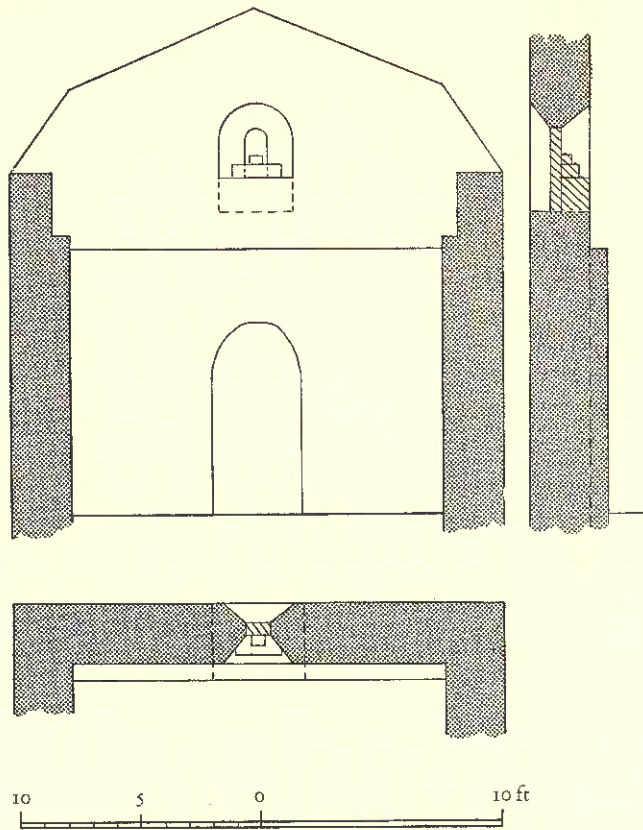


FIG. 214. MORTON-ON-THE-HILL, NORFOLK

Plan, section, and elevation of the west end of the nave. The elliptically shaped head of the west doorway may be original, and should be compared with the tower-arches at Roughton and West Barsham, both also in Norfolk. The off-sets in side walls and west wall may have been designed to support the floor of an upper chamber which would have been lit by the double-splayed west window.

elliptically-headed doorway in the west wall is most probably original.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 15 ft 7 in. wide internally, with walls 2 ft 5 in. thick and 14 ft high. The blocked, round-headed, double-splayed west window has an aperture 1 ft wide, splayed to 3 ft in the wall-faces. It is not now possible to say with certainty how tall it was, because its sill has been curiously blocked as if it had been used as a niche for a statue. Its head in the inner face of the wall is 17 ft above the floor.

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C. J. W. MESSENT, *The Round Towers to English Parish Churches* (Norwich, 1958), 132-3.

MUCHELNEY

Somerset

Map sheet 177, reference ST 428248

DEDICATION UNKNOWN

*Foundations of small pre-Conquest church within
chancel of post-Conquest abbey*

About a mile south of Langport beside the River Parrett, the interesting remains of Muchelney Abbey, although largely of the fifteenth century, contain Norman fabric, and have recently been brought within the scope of our work by the discovery of the foundations of a small pre-Conquest church within the Norman chancel. The pre-Conquest church had an apsidal chancel, a slightly wider nave, and perhaps porticus flanking the

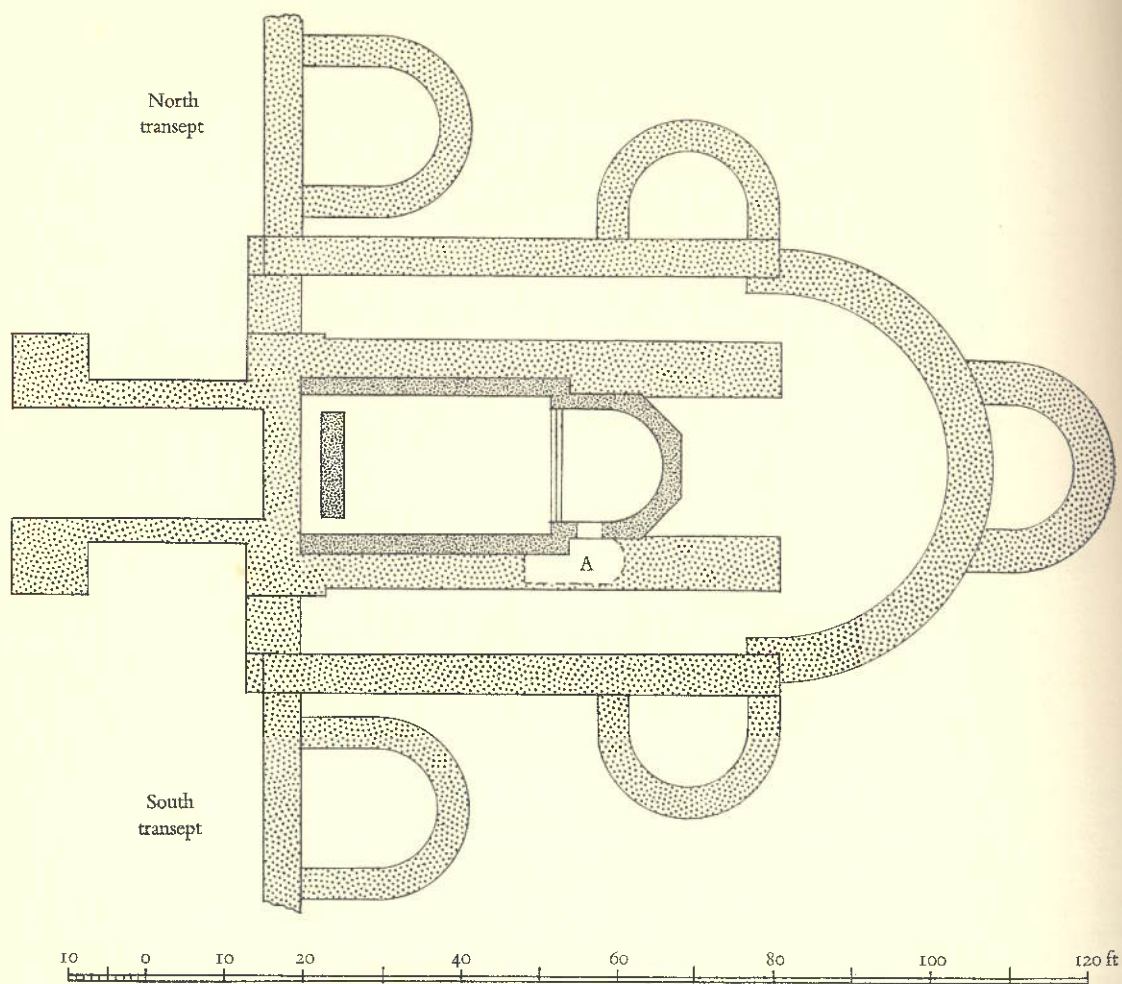


FIG. 215. MUCHELNEY, SOMERSET

Plan of the early remains in relation to the Norman foundations. A, possible position of a *porticus*, with indication of a doorway from the chancel. This plan is only very roughly to scale.

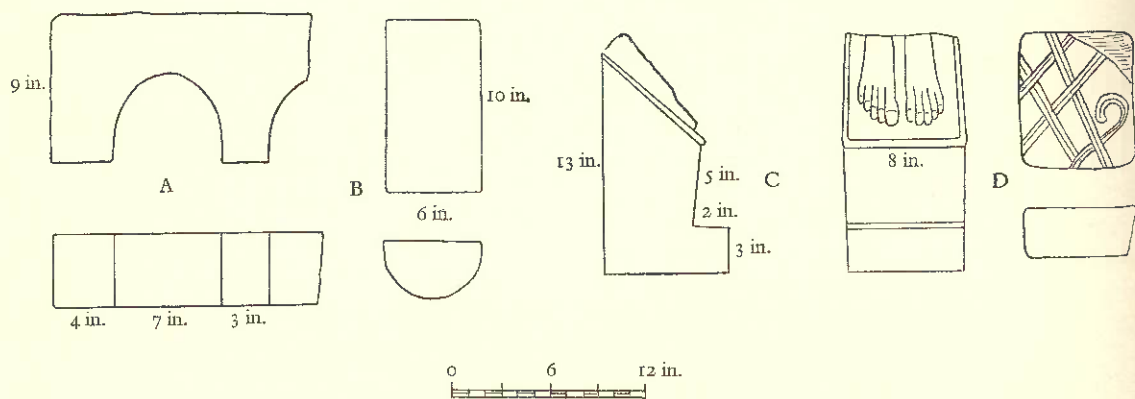


FIG. 216. MUCHELNEY, SOMERSET

Fragments of Anglo-Saxon masonry preserved in the museum. A, part of a monolithic double window-head; B, part of a mid-wall shaft; C, the feet of a Rood; D, a stone carved with an interlacing two-strand pattern.

chancel. The apse is circular internally and polygonal externally. The walls of the nave are 2 ft 6 in. thick, and this is also the thickness of the side walls of the apsidal chancel. The floor of the early church is several feet below that of its Norman successor, and the walls of the apse have been suffered to remain intact almost up to the Norman floor. At the west of the nave a transverse wall extends across almost the whole width, but not now reaching either side wall. In a very brief inspection of the ruins we were not able to decide whether this was the original west wall or whether it divided the nave from a western porch, as in the ruined church at South Elmham.

The fabric of the walls is of large irregular flat pieces of stone, and similar slabs seem to have been used for the floor of the early church.

DIMENSIONS

The chancel is about 15 ft wide internally, and about 15 ft in depth. The nave is about 18 ft wide and about 25 ft in length internally, when measured to the cross wall mentioned above. The walls are about 2 ft 6 in. thick, and those of the apse stand to a height of over 3 ft.

REFERENCES

For references to the foundation of Muchelney Abbey see p. 482.

MUCH WENLOCK

Shropshire

Map sheets 118 and 129, reference SJ 625000

RUINED PRIORY CHURCH OF ST MILBURGA

*Foundations of two earlier churches:
periods A 2 and C 3*

Beside the narrow streets of Much Wenlock, about 11 miles south-east of Shrewsbury, there are preserved many interesting buildings, including the ruins of St Milburga's priory, the fine Norman church of the Holy Trinity, and the picturesque

half-timbered Guildhall beside it. The ruins of the priory now form part of the well-kept garden of a private house that has been formed by adaptation of the original Prior's House.

Full accounts of the fabric and history of the priory have been published elsewhere,¹ and the following account has therefore been restricted to a brief summary. The history may be regarded as beginning with the foundation of a monastery late in the seventh century by St Milburga, one of the daughters of Merewald, sub-King of the *Magon-saetan*, a people who occupied the part of Mercia on the borders of Shropshire and Herefordshire.²

Florence of Worcester mentions gifts to the abbey by Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Godiva his wife; no precise date is known but, as Leofric founded several religious houses before his death in 1057, a date near the middle of the eleventh century may be assumed. Finally, a great Norman abbey was built on the site by Roger of Montgomery, before 1086, at which date Domesday Book records that he had 'made the church of St Milburga into an abbey'. There are substantial roofless remains of this Norman abbey and its domestic buildings, including a unique circular lavatory where the monks washed, in the south-west corner of the cloister, before entering the refectory.

Excavations undertaken by Cranage in 1901 within the area of the church exposed foundations of two earlier churches, one a little to the east of the crossing, and a second, of earlier and simpler form, in the area of the crossing itself.

The eastern early foundations had an apsidal east end of the same width as the main Norman choir, with a smaller apse flanking it on the south; the north side was not excavated, but a similar flanking apse might be assumed there. Cranage inclined to the view that these foundations were most probably those of the original east end of Roger's church of about 1080, although he did not rule out the possibility that they might be those of a church of about 1050. In favour of the earlier date is the existence of a substantial sleeper-wall foundation across the chord of the main apse and

¹ D. H. S. Cranage, 'The monastery of St Milburga at Much Wenlock', *Arch.* 72 (1922), 105-32. Plan of pre-Conquest remains, 107; R. Graham, 'The history of the alien priory of Wenlock', *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd ser., 4 (1939),

117-40; H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1961), 197-216.

² F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1947), 46-7.

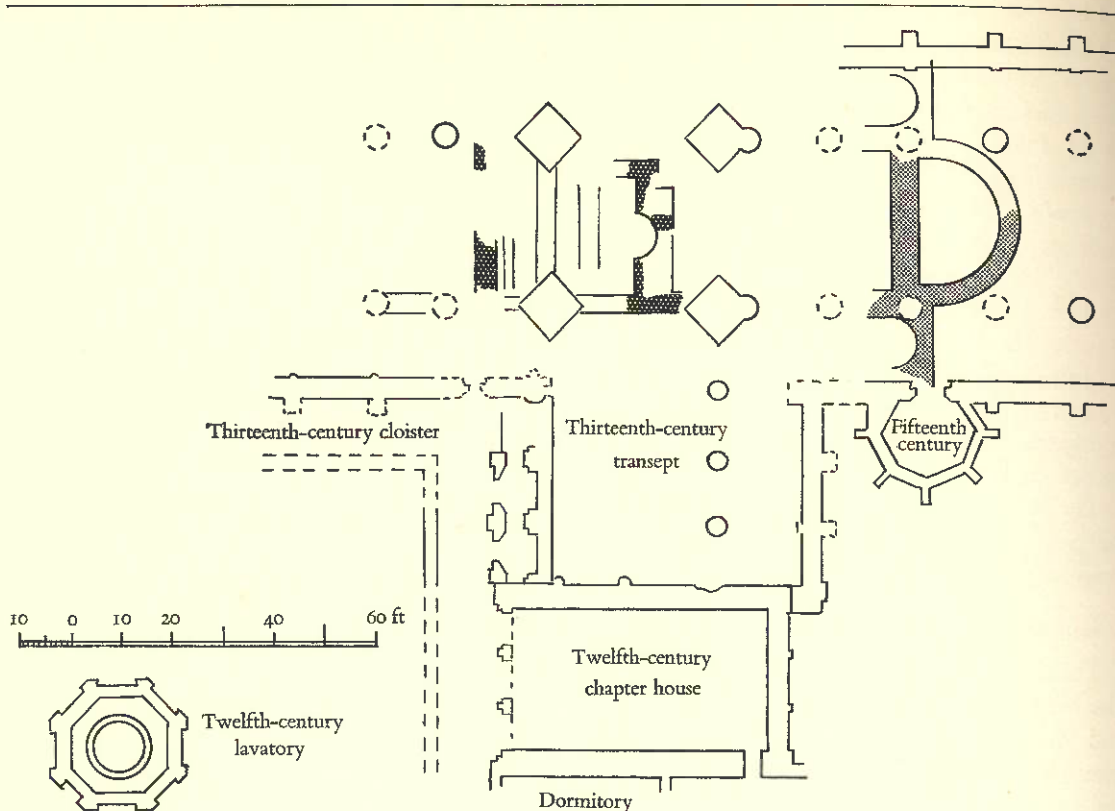


FIG. 217. MUCH WENLOCK, SHROPSHIRE

Plan of the early foundations, showing their relationship to the Norman and later abbey.

also the consideration that these three apses would have defined an unusually short choir for a Norman church of any importance. Sir Alfred Clapham favoured the attribution of this work to the time of Leofric, and Dr Rose Graham advanced historical evidence in favour of this view (*loc. cit.* 120). Excavations undertaken by Jackson and Fletcher in the summer of 1962 are reported as having given support to a pre-Norman date for these foundations (see *The Times*, Wednesday, 5 September 1962).

The still earlier foundations in the area of the crossing were of unusual form and of somewhat confused layout. They seemed to define a small building which was externally of roughly rectangular shape, about 38 ft long by 28 ft broad, but which had an apsidal east end internally. The walls did not seem to be accurately aligned, and the masonry was very rough. Cranage was inclined to believe that these foundations represented the original priory church established by St Milburga towards the close of the seventh century.

DIMENSIONS AND REFERENCES

These have been given fully in the text and footnotes. Finberg's most recent account of the history is important because it shows that the monastery, like many other early foundations, was a house for both sexes, under the rule of an abbess. It also contains a remarkable autobiographical statement professedly drawn up or dictated by St Milburga towards the close of her life. This statement includes a record of a gift of land by Abbot Edelheg of St Botolph's monastery at Icanhoh on condition that Milburga's monastery 'shall remain unalterably under the tutelage of the church of the worshipful Abbot Botulf, not under compulsion but of its own accord'. Finberg also gives evidence that the monastery was not left derelict when the Danes overran Mercia in 874, since it was in being in 901 when it was referred to as a minster in a charter in which Ethelred and Ethelfled effected an exchange of lands with 'the church of St Mildburg'.

NASSINGTON

Northamptonshire

Map sheet 134, reference TL 063962

ST MARY

*West wall; and possibly side walls of nave,
above later arcades: period C*

The small village of Nassington, about 5 miles north-north-east of Oundle, lies within 3 miles of the Roman Ermine Street, now the Great North Road, and close beside the River Nene. The church of St Mary, standing on higher ground in the western part of the village, shows in its fabric examples of all the successive architectural periods from Anglo-Saxon to Perpendicular.

The church now consists of an Early English west tower surmounted by a Decorated stone spire, an aisled nave whose main walls over the medieval arcades are probably late-Saxon, and an aisleless chancel of the Perpendicular period. Norman workmanship is represented in the tower-arch, while the north doorway is of the period of transition from Norman to Early English.

Within the nave, the very lofty character of the walls is at once apparent; and, although architectural details of the side walls are unfortunately wholly hidden by plaster, a triangular-headed doorway is visible high up in the west wall, with its sill nearly 30 ft above the floor. There seems to be no reason to think that there was ever an Anglo-Saxon tower; and this doorway must therefore be interpreted as a westward opening from a chamber above the nave.

The south-west angle of the nave has a well-defined long-and-short quoin, which is best seen within the vestry, at the west of the south aisle, though a rather indistinct vestige of its top may still be seen outside. Within the vestry, the upper section of the quoin is clear, although the middle part has been cut away by patching of the wall beside the later south arcade. Two pairs of long-and-short stones remain on the upper part of the wall, set forward from the wall-face, and with their surface worked so as to show a raised pilaster-strip beside the salient angle. The lower

part of the quoin has also survived, and it should be noted that it rests on a plain square plinth. The corresponding north-west angle of the nave is visible in the western end of the north aisle, but its quoining shows no Anglo-Saxon character. A section of the lower part of the early north wall is, however, preserved at the west, beside the rebuilt quoin; and also at the east, where no quoining is to be seen. The side walls of the nave are aligned with the western quoins, and they may with some reserve be regarded as probably of Anglo-Saxon fabric above the later arcades. The long, narrow proportions of the nave, and its high walls certainly suggest that it follows the shape of its Anglo-Saxon predecessor even if the fabric has not survived.

In the north-west corner of the nave there is preserved a section, about 2 ft in length, of an Anglo-Saxon cross-shaft, of which the back and one side show interlacing designs, with strong emphasis on circles. The other side is ornamented with scrolls, and the front has an almost complete panel of the Crucifixion. The square spaces above the arms of the cross contain representations of the sun and moon, while the rectangular spaces below have faint outlines of figures on a smaller scale than Christ but now too weathered for certain identification. Above the Crucifixion is part of another panel of which only a fragment now remains, showing the feet and skirt of a standing figure.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 17 ft 6 in. wide internally and 63 ft long. Its side walls are 3 ft thick and are now about 35 ft tall to the top of the later clear-storey windows. The position of the triangular-headed west doorway suggests that the original side walls cannot have been less than 25 ft in height. The doorway itself is about 2 ft wide and 5 ft tall, with its sill about 30 ft above the floor.

REFERENCES

- J. R. ALLEN, 'Early Christian sculpture in Northamptonshire', *A.A.S.R.* 19 (1887-8), 398-423. Nassington cross-shaft, with pictures of all four sides, 414.
R. P. BRERETON, 'Notes on some unrecorded Saxon work in and near Peterborough', *ibid.* 27 (1903-4), 397-400. Nassington church, 397.

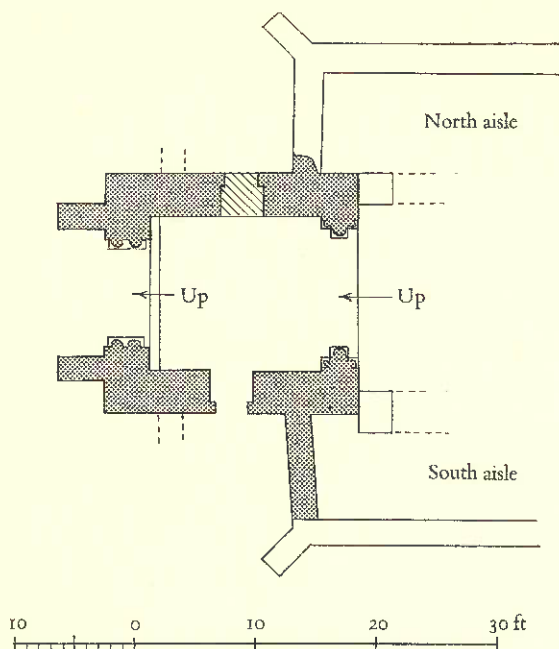


FIG. 218. NETHERAVON, WILTSHIRE

Plan of the tower showing its relationship to the west end of the later medieval church. Note how we suggest that the west wall of the south aisle of the later church was originally the east wall of the south *porticus* of the earlier church. Note also the surviving fragments of the side walls of the western annexe, now appearing as buttresses on either side of the west doorway.

NETHERAVON

Wiltshire

Map sheet 167, reference SU 147484

Figure 533

ALL SAINTS

West tower, with remains of flanking and westward annexes: period C3

Although quite close to the main road from Salisbury to Marlborough, the church of All Saints at Netheravon, about 7 miles north of Amesbury, has a most attractive rural setting, beside fields and woods, on the west bank of the Wiltshire Avon. The church is built of flint rubble mostly covered with a coating of ancient plaster, which has been worked thin with the trowel at the edges, so as to finish flush against the dressed-stone facings and quoins. The fabric now consists of a tall west tower, a clear-storeyed nave of four bays with north and south aisles, and an aisleless chancel partly flanked

by a modern north vestry and south porch. The nave and chancel are both fundamentally of the Early English period, with nave-aisles rebuilt in the fifteenth century; but the nave probably replaces an earlier one on much the same site.

Apart from its parapet and corbel-table, the tall, plain, unbuttressed tower is clearly of late-Saxon or early-Norman date and has survived unchanged, save for the replacement of two of its upper windows in the Early English style. The two stages of the tower are separated only by a shallow off-set, and they have well-laid side-alternate quoining throughout their whole height. The sheer surface of the tower is unbroken by string-courses, buttresses or plinth; but clear indications of the former existence of annexes to north, south, and west are provided by vestiges of walling. On the west, substantial fragments remain of both the side walls of the former annexe, with carefully laid side-alternate quoining up the whole height of both sides of the re-entrant angles at their junctions with the west wall of the tower, in a way which serves to establish beyond reasonable doubt that the original annexe was of the same height as the two pseudo-buttresses into which its ruined walls have been transformed. On the north and south sides of the tower, the doorways formerly leading to the flanking annexes still remain, as do the marks of bonding of the walls into the tower, with carefully laid side-alternate quoining running to about the same height of 17 ft as that of the western annexe. The west walls of these north and south annexes have completely vanished, but their position is clearly marked on the tower by the quoining. On the other hand, the parts of the eastern walls immediately adjoining the tower still remain *in situ* as parts of the west walls of the medieval aisles.

The west face of the tower has only two openings, both of which seem to be original: namely, a large, round-headed arch, which now forms the west doorway; and a small, round-headed window, which rests on the off-set and serves to light the belfry. The head of this window is cut from a single stone, curved both above and below, while its jambs are each formed of three comparatively small dressed stones. The arch of the doorway, although not of through-stones, is fundamentally of a single square order; but it is ornamented by

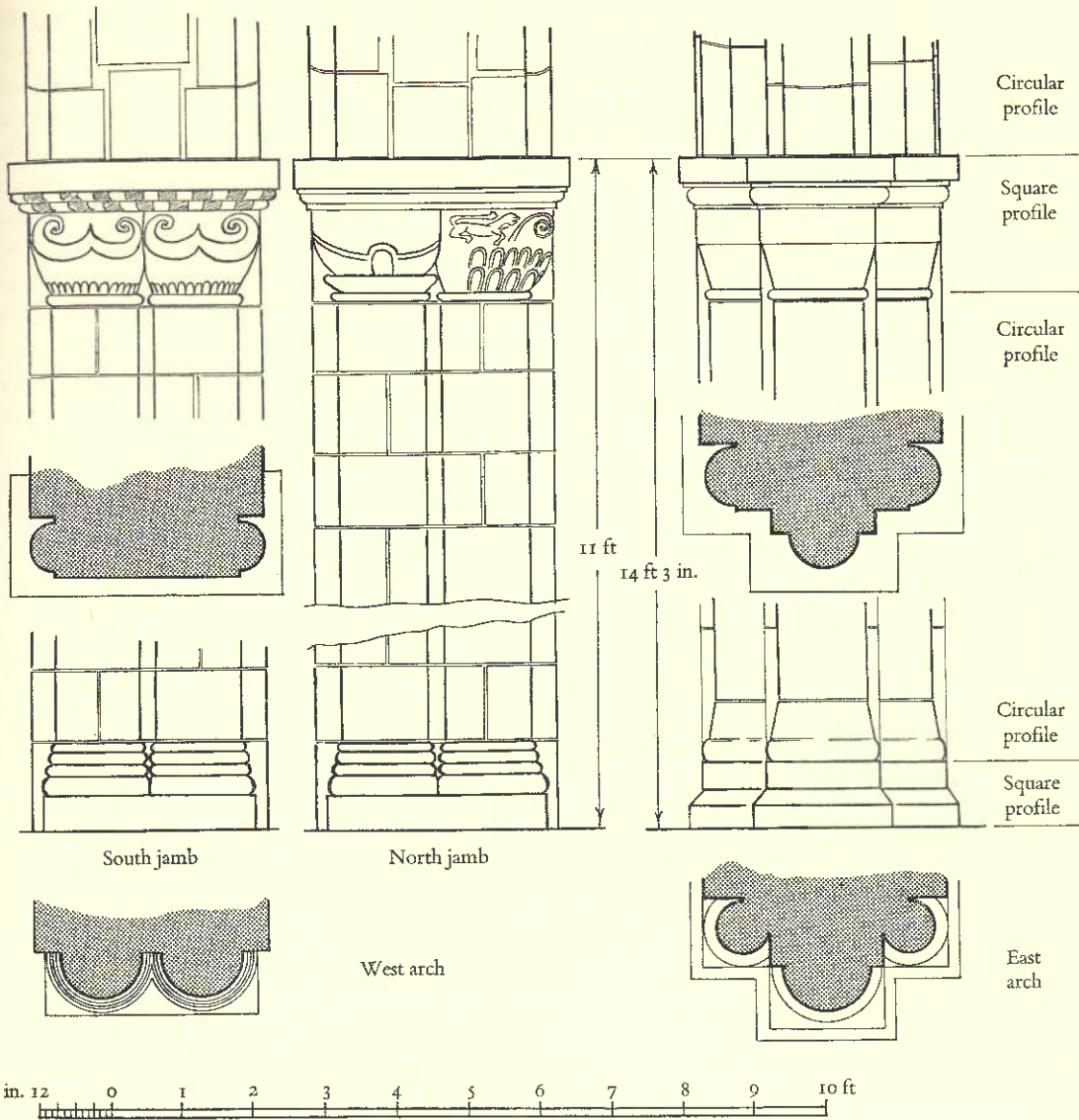


FIG. 219. NETHERAVON, WILTSHIRE

Details of both jambs of the western arch and of one jamb of the eastern arch of the tower. The other jamb of the eastern arch is identical with its counterpart, whereas the two jambs of the western arch are different.

the cutting of a bold half-round moulding on each arris. The jambs are each carved to show two half-round attached shafts, with simple bases and ornate capitals. In each jamb the two bases rest on a single rectangular plinth; and the two capitals support a single rectangular impost, which is enriched below by a quirk and a roll-moulding. On the south jamb the roll-moulding is double and is cut to the form of billet-ornament. The capitals are of a rather flat cushion-shape, with a frill of upright leaves on their lower conical sur-

faces. The north jamb has capitals of different design.

In each of the north and south faces of the tower, the upper stage has an Early English window of two lights, perhaps replacing an original opening like the small early window in the west face. The lower stage of the south face has two openings: a small round-headed window with its sill about 32 ft above the ground, to light the first-floor compartment; and a doorway at ground level, formerly leading from the tower to the south

annexe. This doorway has jambs built up of five or six dressed stones; and it is rebated for a door opening into the tower. Its head is formed of a flat lintel, above which a round arch encloses a tympanum of solid walling, recessed slightly behind the main face of the wall. The lower stage of the north face has two openings similar to those in the south face; and in addition it has a round-headed doorway, which apparently gave access from the tower to a chamber above the northern annexe. The south doorway of the tower now forms the normal entry to the church, but in the north face both the doorways are blocked.

There are no external openings in the east face of the tower, but within the church there are two: a great arch leading to the nave; and above it, with its sill about 26 ft above the floor, a round-headed doorway leading to the upper floor of the tower. The great tower-arch is both wider and taller than its western counterpart; and it is of two orders, of which the inner has a soffit roll, while the outer has a roll on each arris. The jambs are correspondingly provided with three shafts, which are logically arranged beneath the roll-mouldings of the arch, but which have very simple bulbous bases, and rudimentary capitals of cubical form, chamfered on the faces and the angles. The capitals are now to some extent formed of plaster; but it is impossible without detailed inspection to say whether this is the result of later repair or is an original feature such as may be the case at Milborne Port.

It should next be noted how the aisles are continued westward so as to enclose within the church the eastern quoins of the tower and about 2 ft of its north and south walls. The reason for this curious arrangement is explained on the south, where the west wall of the aisle may be seen to be the original east wall of the annexe which formerly stood on the south of the tower: the quoins marking the junction of the wall with the tower are complete, and the original external south-east quoin of the annexe has also survived, inside the aisle, where the present south wall of the aisle is built with a straight joint against it. On the north side, the present west wall of the aisle does not seem to be original, with the possible exception of the part immediately adjoining the tower.

In these western extensions of the aisles, the side walls of the tower show eastern quoining, not only high up in the region that would have been above the side walls of a nave, but on the whole of their extent right down to the ground. It therefore seems reasonable to deduce that the nave, or whatever building originally stood to the east of the tower, was of such a form that these quoins were exposed for their whole extent from the ground upward. There is no evidence to indicate that the walls of this eastern building were torn away from any parts of the walls of the tower that are now visible; the inference is, therefore, that the eastern building, probably a nave, was of about the same width as the tower, and was joined to it on the areas that are covered by the existing main walls of the present nave. These present walls are curiously different on the two sides of the nave: the wall on the north is in the same alignment as the north wall of the tower, while that on the south is displaced about 1 ft southward. It seems unlikely that this was an original arrangement, particularly since the south-west quoin of the nave, as seen beside the tower within the south aisle, is of workmanship much inferior to the quoins of the tower. Such evidence as is available without excavation therefore seems to us to favour the assumption that the original arrangement has survived on the north, with the side wall in the same alignment as that of the tower.

When Loftus Brock described the church to the Archaeological Association in 1880, he suggested a cruciform original plan, with the nave to the west of the tower.¹ We agree with Ponting² that the structure to the west of the tower, less than 11 ft in internal width, was much too slight to have been the nave, and that the original plan probably comprised a nave at the east of the tower and either an entrance porch or a baptistry at the west.

As to the date of erection, Ponting suggested shortly after the Norman Conquest, possibly by Anglo-Saxon craftsmen. The points in favour of a pre-Conquest date are the absence of buttresses, the thin walls of the annexes, the early form of the bases and capitals of the eastern arch, and the generally Anglo-Saxon form of the tower, with its doorways high above the ground. The indica-

¹ *Wilts. A.N.H. Mag.* 19 (1881), 152.

² *Wilts. A.N.H. Mag.* 31 (1901), 353-7.

tions against a pre-Conquest date are the elaborate capitals on the western arch, the billet-ornament on one of its imposts, the eastern arch of two orders, the rebated north and south doorways, and the absence of any single conclusively Anglo-Saxon characteristic. We feel unable to say more than that the tower belongs, in our opinion, to the period of overlap between Anglo-Saxon and Norman forms, and that it could have been erected either shortly before or shortly after the Conquest.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 14 ft 3 in. (east-west) by 13 ft (north-south) internally, with walls about 3 ft 6 in. thick and 68 ft high, to the top of the parapet. The western annexe was 10 ft 8 in. wide internally and those to the north and south were 9 ft 5 in.; all three had walls only 2 ft thick and about 17 ft high. If our deduction is correct that the western wall of the south aisle is the original east wall of the southern annexe, it would follow that the annexe extended about 9 ft 8 in. from the tower, in external measurement, and that it was therefore about 7 ft 8 in. in internal length from north to south.

The western arch of the tower is 7 ft 10 in. wide and 15 ft high, and the eastern arch is 9 ft 6 in. by 19 ft. The north and south doorways are each 2 ft 10 in. wide and 6 ft 6 in. tall. The upper doorway in the north face of the tower is about 2 ft wide and 5 ft tall, with its sill about 18 ft above the floor, and the upper doorway in the east face is about the same size but with its sill about 24 ft above the floor.

REFERENCES

These have been given in the footnotes in the text.

NETTLETON

Lincolnshire

Map sheet 104, reference TA 111002

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

West tower: period C3

The small church at Nettleton, about a mile south of Caistor, on the main road to Market Rasen, has retained its late-Saxon west tower and

fifteenth-century belfry when the whole of the rest of the church was rebuilt, early in the nineteenth century.¹

The pre-Conquest part of the tower is in two roughly equal stages divided by a square string-course. It originally rested on a plinth of two orders, which may be seen at the eastern part of the south face, but which is elsewhere hidden by the ground. The fabric is of local ironstone, now much decayed, in large blocks of rather irregular shape, laid in rough courses, with side-alternate quoins which may be seen at the top of the later buttresses. There are no traces of any part of the original nave, not even of its western quoins.

In the lower stage the only external openings are a small, internally splayed window in the south face, now almost hidden by a later buttress, and the original doorway in the west face. This doorway has square jambs, with quirked and chamfered imposts, and a round-arched head of a single square order. This is outlined by a plain hood-mould, which is stopped at each end on the imposts and still bears on its vertical face a few remains of an incised ornament, apparently in the form of an arcade of round arches. The round head of the doorway is now filled by a semi-circular stone tympanum pierced by a circular window and ornamented with modern carving.

The upper stage has no openings to north or south, but in the west face a small, round-headed, internally splayed window, with aperture about 9 in. wide, serves to light the upper floor. Its round head is cut in the lower face of a single square stone, and its jambs are built of stones of much the same size as those of the walling. Internally this window is splayed to about 3 ft in width and is roofed with flat slabs of stone.

The tower opens from the nave by a round-headed arch 7 ft 10 in. wide and 14 ft 6 in. high, in a wall 4 ft thick. The arch and jambs are both square in section, but neither is built of through-stones. The imposts are chamfered below and are not returned round either wall-face. A curious feature of the arch is that rather more than half its eastern face has been enriched by a roll-moulding on the arris, while the remainder has been left square in section and entirely plain.

¹ A.A.S.R. 6 (1861-2), 150.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is almost square internally, 12 ft 9 in. (east-west) by 13 ft 3 in. (north-south), with walls 3 ft 3 in. thick.

REFERENCES

- Editorial, 'Saxon churches', *Ecclesiologist*, 3 (1843-4), 138-9. Nettleton, with other churches in the Lincolnshire wolds, noted as Anglo-Saxon.
- E. TROLLOPE, 'Market Rasen and places in its vicinity', *A.A.S.R.* 6 (1861-2), 139-75. Nettleton, 150. Church rebuilt, except for tower, in 1805.
- Editorial, 'St John Baptist, Nettleton', *ibid.* 12 (1873-4), xii. Note of further complete rebuilding of the body of the church mainly at the cost of the Rector and to the design of Mr Fowler of Louth.

NEWTON-BY-CASTLEACRE

Norfolk

Map sheet 125, reference TF 830155

Figures 534-6

ALL SAINTS

Nave, chancel, and axial tower, with indications of former transepts or side-chapels: period C3

About 4 miles north of Swaffham, on the main road to Fakenham, the tiny village of Newton has an extensive walled churchyard between the road and the River Nar. The church, built of flints with stone dressings, now consists of a square axial tower, between a chancel of the same width, and a nave about 18 in. broader on each side. There are, however, signs that the church was originally cruciform, with transepts or side-chapels opening from either side of what was then a central tower. Externally, these indications of transepts are best seen on the south, where the wider wall of the nave joins and overlaps the tower. Here, instead of carstone quoins like those at the west of the nave and on all four angles of the tower, the wall of the nave ends untidily, with a straight face on the east up most of its height, but a broken face on the south, as though a return wall to the south had been roughly torn away. The evidence of removal of the eastern wall of this supposed transept is less obvious, being simply an area of patched

flints with a fairly straight eastern edge, directly beneath the eastern quoin of the tower. Moreover, the outline of the tall, narrow archway which opened from the tower may be traced in the wall, with a narrow lancet window of uncertain date in the middle of the wall which blocks the former opening. On the north side of the tower, the evidence is similar, but rather less definite.

The sturdy tower, now capped by a pyramidal, tiled roof, is of flint fabric like the rest of the church, with square blocks of carstone for quoins on all four of its angles above the level of the walls of the nave and chancel. Close to the roof, on each face, is a double belfry window with triangular-headed individual lights. The square jambs of these windows are built of the same flint fabric as the rest of the walls, without imposts; and the heads are formed partly of tiles and partly of flat stone rubble. These belfry windows appear to have been much restored, particularly those to the west and north, in which the mid-wall shafts are not of stone but are built of rubble. In the east and south windows the shafts are simple cylinders of brown stone, with rude capitals in the form of truncated pyramids, and the through-stone slabs are plain blocks of brown stone.

Lower in the south face of the tower is a double-played, round-headed window, whose outer face appears originally to have been more steeply played upward to an arched head of tiles about 2 ft above the present head. The other faces have no corresponding windows, but on the east and west faces the lines of earlier and more steeply pitched roofs may be seen over the present roofs of the nave and chancel.

Neither nave nor chancel now contains any original doorways or windows; but marks in the west wall indicate the blocking of a doorway of uncertain date below the present window; and a large piece of the stone frame of an early round-headed window has survived, although probably not *in situ*, in the north wall of the chancel, about 6 ft above the ground and 8 ft from the eastern quoin. It is rebated for a shutter and is drilled with a number of holes which are curiously placed on the salient angle of the rebate. The most remarkable feature of this window-frame is, however, the way in which its jamb is sloped so that the window narrowed sharply towards the sill.

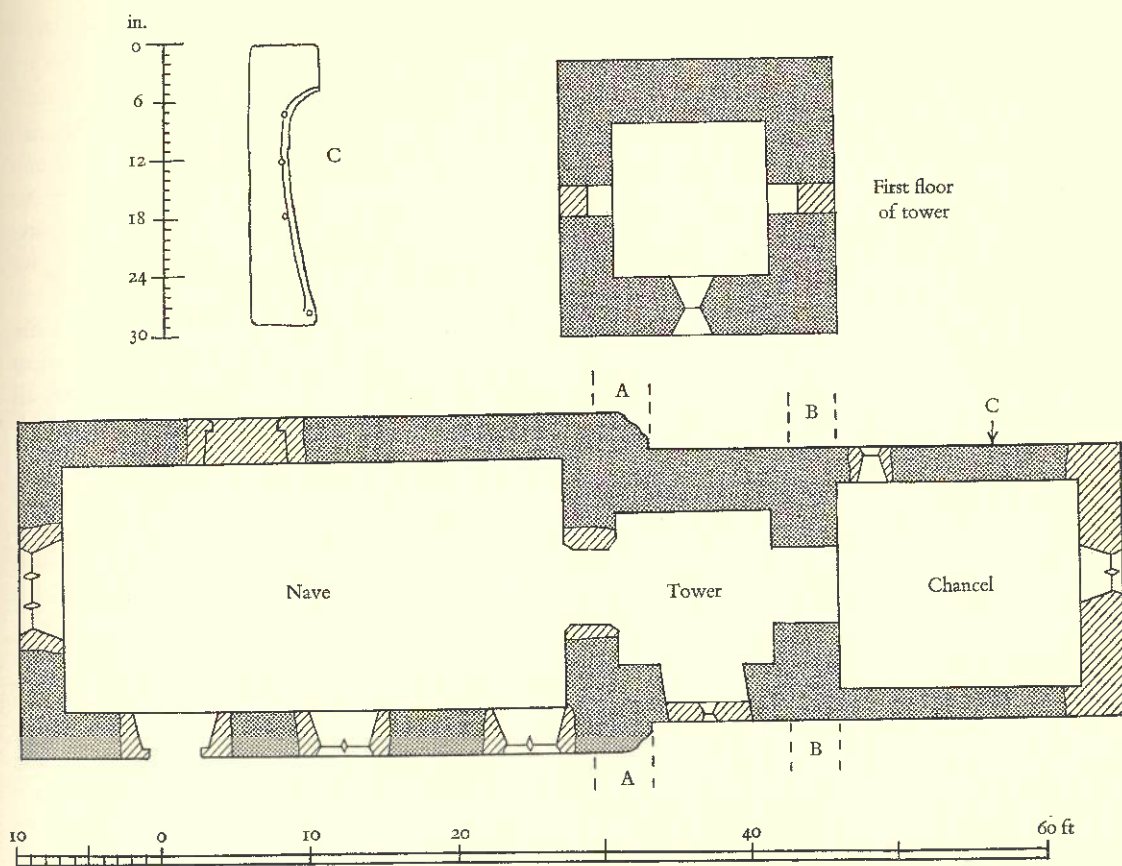


FIG. 220. NEWTON-BY-CASTLEACRE, NORFOLK

Ground-plan of the church and first-floor plan of the tower, together with a larger-scale drawing of a fragment of a stone window-frame. AA, BB, conjectural side walls of lateral chapels or transepts. Confirmatory evidence of these could perhaps be found by excavation. The inconclusive existing evidence is shown by the broken eastern quoins of the nave and by areas of disturbed walling at BB. See also the photograph in Fig. 535. C, fragments of a stone window-frame built into the north wall at C.

Internally, the principal feature is formed by the two arches of the tower, the western one now in medieval pointed form, but the eastern fortunately surviving in its original condition as a tall, narrow opening of considerable simple dignity. The arch itself, semicircular in form and square in section, is entirely without ornament and is set back slightly behind the jambs; the square imposts are chamfered below and are returned slightly along the wall-faces; and the plain square jambs rest on square chamfered bases. Both arch and jambs are plastered, so that their construction is hidden; but the proportions of the opening are clearly Anglo-Saxon (Fig. 534).

Within the tower itself, there is no trace of any

blocked opening to the north; but that to the south is visible in the form of a pointed, cruck-shaped arch, now blocked by a thin wall, which carries the lancet window already noticed from outside. A peculiar feature of this opening is that its axis is not perpendicular to the axis of the church but is inclined considerably to the east of south.

No other early features are visible internally, but blocked triangular-headed doorways with flint jambs and heads (Fig. 536) formerly led east and west from the upper chamber of the tower.¹

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 34 ft long internally, by 16 ft, with side walls 2 ft 11 in. thick and about 15 ft high.

¹ J. F. Williams, *J.B.A.A.*, 2nd ser., 31 (1925), 116.

The chancel is 16 ft 2 in. long by 13 ft 1 in. wide. The original east arch of the tower is 5 ft 2 in. wide and about 12 ft high, in a wall 4 ft 4 in. thick. The tower is about 10 ft 7 in. square internally with side walls 4 ft 1 in. thick and about 43 ft tall. The triangular-headed doorways are 2 ft wide and 6 ft 4 in. tall, and their sills are 1 ft 6 in. above the present floor of the upper chamber.

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- J. H. PARKER, 'Architectural notes of churches in the city and neighbourhood of Norwich', *Proc. Arch. Inst., Norwich*, 1847 (London, 1851), 178-97. Newton, 191.
C. J. W. MESSENT, *Parish Churches of Norfolk and Norwich* (Norwich, 1936), 152.

NORHAM

Northumberland

Map sheet 64, reference NT 896474

ST CUTHBERT

No structural remains of the early church

The village of Norham is attractively placed on the south bank of the Tweed, about mid-way between Coldstream and Berwick. Bishop Ecgred built a church here in the ninth century, in honour of St Peter and St Cuthbert, and of King Ceolwulf who had given the vill to the monks of Lindisfarne.¹ No part of the present church seems earlier than Norman, but several interesting Anglo-Saxon carved stones were found last century in the churchyard among early foundations north-east of the chancel. They are now inside the church, where they have been cemented together to form an obelisk, which is placed in a dark and somewhat inaccessible place within the tower.

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- F. R. WILSON, *Churches of the Archdeaconry of Lindisfarne* (Newcastle, 1870), 27-33. Plan, and historical description.
C. C. HODGES, 'Pre-Conquest churches of Northumbria', *Reliquary*, n.s., 7 (1893), 65-85. Norham, 84-5.

¹ Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelm. Ecclesiae*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series, 75, 1) (London, 1882), 52. The earlier *Hist. de Sancto Cuthberto* (*ibid.* 201) records that Ecgred moved from the island of Lindisfarne to Norham (Ubbansford) a church which had been built by Aidan in

NORTHCHURCH

Hertfordshire

Map sheet 160, reference SP 974088

ST MARY

West and south walls of nave: period doubtful

The present village of Northchurch, about a mile north-west of Berkhamstead, on the main road to Tring, was at one time known as Berkhamstead St Mary; and it may have been an earlier settlement than the main part of the township, which grew up later round the Norman castle. The church stands in the angle between the main road and a branch road leading to Ashridge Forest. It now consists of a nave, with a modern north aisle; a central tower, with transepts; and a chancel, with a modern north vestry and organ-chamber.

The fabric is mainly of cut flints with stone dressings, but the tower is wholly of stone, while the earlier south and west walls of the nave are mainly of uncut flints, and are clearly distinguished from the later work by an admixture of other materials, both stone and tile.

Baldwin Brown (p. 473) described the church mainly in terms of the following quotation from Mr A. W. Anderson:

The plan of the nave is the only evidence of pre-Conquest date and unfortunately the modern facing outside and the plaster inside prevent any examination of the walls. The church consists of a nave 59 feet by 22 feet with modern north aisle, north and south transepts, and chancel. The south and west walls of the nave are apparently of pre-Conquest date. The west wall and the return wall on the south have an extra thickness, that in the south wall extending for a length of 25 feet 7 inches.

Baldwin Brown added that: 'This would have given an axial tower (at the west) measuring about 22 feet square internally, and the feature is a striking one. The nave would then be reduced to a length of about 33 feet.'

These accounts seem to do the church less than

the time of King Oswald, and that he translated to Norham the bodies of St Cuthbert and King Ceolwulf. It also refers to an abbot at Norham early in the tenth century (*ibid.* 208).

justice on some counts, while being more certain on others than is justified by the scanty evidence. Thus, it seems unwise to assert the pre-Conquest date of the nave merely on the evidence of its plan, while Baldwin Brown's deduction of a western axial tower can hardly be justified by the peculiar thickening of the walls, a thickening which is not continued up their whole height, nor to uniform heights on the two walls. On the other hand, the antiquity of the south and west walls is evident outside the church, where their fabric is not at all obscured by a modern facing. By contrast with the later walls of purely flint construction, these walls contain a considerable proportion of stone and a small amount of tile, both arranged in places to form what appear to have been ornamental or structural bonding courses; moreover, at both ends of each wall, now partly hidden by later buttresses, there is clear evidence of side-alternate quoining, formed of fairly large stones. High up in each of the early walls there are also somewhat confused arrays of stone, which give the appearance of being remains of early windows; but which, unfortunately, are not sufficiently distinct to date the fabric, unless further details could be found by removal of the internal plaster.

The internal thickening of the south wall is carried up to two different levels, lower at the east over the present south doorway, and higher at the west; while the thickening of the west wall ends at about the lower of these two levels. The walls show no change in composition externally at these levels, so that there appears to be a presumption that the internal thickening is to be associated with internal floor levels rather than with the provision of additional strength for a tower. The south wall is 2 ft 8 in. thick in its thinner part, and 3 ft 2 in. thick in the remainder.

Taking all the evidence into account, it seems just reasonable to accept a pre-Conquest date for these two walls; but there appears to be no good ground for deciding to which part of the Anglo-Saxon era the fabric should be assigned.

REFERENCES

V.C.H., *Hertfordshire*, 2 (London, 1908), 248-50. Thickening of walls noted and compared with Daglingworth and South Elmham. Noted as unlikely to have been the base of a tower.

R.C.H.M., *Hertfordshire* (London, 1910), 156-7. Plan, 157.

NORTHFLEET

Kent

Map sheet 171, reference TQ 624741

ST BOTOLPH

South-west quoin of nave: period C

Modern industrial development has joined Gravesend to a number of smaller adjoining parishes, including Northfleet on its west, where the church of St Botolph is now hemmed-in between a busy thoroughfare, a school, and a vast chalk-pit.

The unusually large church has an aisleless chancel; an aisled nave about 100 ft long and 60 ft wide; and a seventeenth-century tower, which has been built between the ruined side walls of an earlier tower, probably of Norman date. These ruined side walls now serve as buttresses against the thrust of the nave arcades, while that on the north has also been adapted to form an outside stair to the first-floor north doorway of the tower.

The only pre-Conquest feature remaining in the church is the south-west quoin of the nave. This quoin appears in the angle between the tower and the aisle, where it runs up the whole height of the wall and shows seven complete long-and-short pairs, of which the long upright stones average about 2 ft in height whereas the short bonding stones average only 8 in.

Internally, the south arcade of six bays has a length of solid walling about 14 in. in extent as a western respond; and, as this is in line with the long-and-short quoin, it is not unreasonable to think that it represents part of the walling of the original aisleless Anglo-Saxon church. Its thickness is 30 in.

NORTH LEIGH

Oxfordshire

Map sheet 145, reference SP 387136

Figure 537

NO KNOWN DEDICATION

West tower, formerly axial or central: period C

In pleasant rolling country, about 8 miles north-west of Oxford, the church of North Leigh stands within a mile of the main road from Witney to Woodstock. The Roman Akeman Street is about 2 miles away to the north of the church, and a section of Grim's Ditch is about the same distance to the south-west. The church now consists of a west tower, a nave with aisles extended westward to flank the tower, and a chancel with flanking chapels.

The simple, unbuttressed tower is of Anglo-Saxon workmanship throughout its height, except for the medieval battlemented parapet. Its fabric is of roughly coursed, flat, stone rubble, with dressed-stone side-alternate quoins above the level of the roofs of the aisles. Although the tower now stands at the west of the church, it seems clear that it was originally axial, with a nave extending its walls westward and a chancel similarly placed to the east. The evidence for this form of the original structure is clearly to be seen on the present tower: first, in the steeply pitched gable-lines which show where the roofs of the nave and chancel met the west and east walls of the tower; secondly, in the outline of the blocked round arch in the west face of the tower; and, thirdly, by the absence of dressed-stone quoining below the level of the roofs of the aisles, in a way which indicates that the lower parts of the walls of the tower formerly continued westward. At first sight the blocked arch in the west wall of the tower gives an impression of Norman proportions, for it is of almost the full width of the tower and not much higher than its width; but there seems no reason to doubt that the arch is contemporary with the tower, for its single square order is rudely turned in thin voussoirs of undressed stone, laid with a characteristically Anglo-Saxon disregard for radial setting, and the simple square impost which still

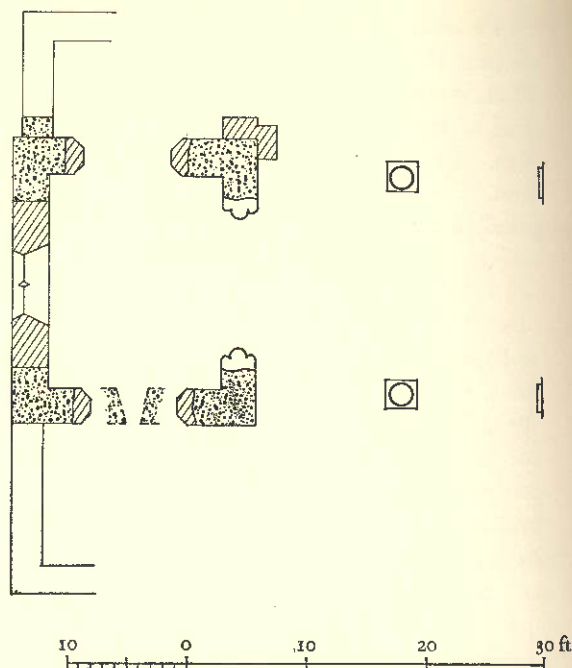


FIG. 221. NORTH LEIGH, OXFORDSHIRE

Ground plan of the surviving tower, showing its relation to the west end of the present church. The broken lines in the southern arch of the tower represent the single-arched window which is to be seen within the present south aisle.

project from the west wall of the tower are consistent with a pre-Conquest date.

High up in the west face of the tower, close below the apex of the old roof-gable, is the outline of a blocked doorway with dressed-stone jambs; and in each of the north and south faces of the tower an original narrow, round-headed window appears, just above the level of the roofs of the aisles. These windows have jambs of small, roughly dressed stone and their heads are of unusual construction, of stones which are cut to a semicircle above and below, and are each surrounded by an arch, turned in thin rubble voussoirs, irregularly laid like those of the blocked western arch.

On all four faces the tower has characteristically late-Saxon double belfry windows. These have jambs which are faced with dressed stone externally, but are of plain rubble construction through the remainder of the wall. The round heads of the individual lights are of single stones, shaped to a semicircle above and below, and each complete double window is outlined above by a round relief-

Belfry window

First-floor window

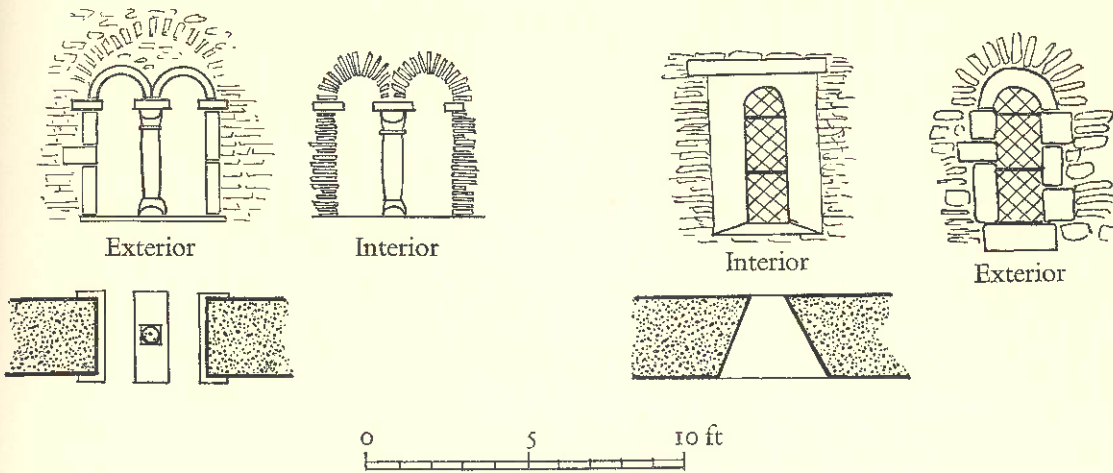


FIG. 222. NORTH LEIGH, OXFORDSHIRE
Details of belfry and first-floor windows.

ing arch built in flattish rubble, which is laid flush with the main surface of the wall. The imposts and through-stone slabs are of plain rectangular section and project boldly from the face of the wall. The mid-wall shafts are slightly bulbous, with cushion capitals, and bases of roughly the same form.

Within the church, the arch in the eastern face of the tower is pointed, and pointed arches have been cut in later times through the north and south walls of the tower. Above the latter, there are vestiges of the round-arched head of a small original window, presumably once like those that have survived higher up in the north and south faces.

The main walls of the present nave run eastward from the tower, set in about a foot from its eastern angles. As is shown in Fig. 221, the west wall of the north aisle appears to be in bond with the tower; and it is set in about a foot from the western angle. This wall may therefore represent a vestige of an original north transept.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is 14 ft 6 in. from east to west internally, and 17 ft 9 in. from north to south, with walls between 2 ft 11 in. and 3 ft in thickness at ground level, narrowing to 2 ft 6 in. at the belfry windows. It is about 50 ft high, excluding the later medieval battlements. The blocked

western arch is 14 ft wide and about 19 ft tall, as measured from the floor of the tower. The north and south windows have apertures 1 ft 5 in. wide and 4 ft 3 in. tall, splayed internally to rectangular openings 3 ft 7 in. by 5 ft 7 in., with flat oak lintels. Their sills are about 23 ft above the floor. The present nave, possibly the original chancel, is 15 ft 6 in. wide internally, and about 24 ft long.

REFERENCE

Editorial, 'Proceedings at Oxford', *T. Bristol Glos. Arch. S.* 33 (1910), 14-43. North Leigh, 32-5. Tower described as Norman but 'has been called Saxon'. Grossly inaccurate drawing of belfry windows, 33.

NORTON

County Durham

Map sheet 85, reference NZ 442221

Figures 538-41

ST MARY THE VIRGIN

Lower part of central tower; north transept; side walls of south transept; and vestiges of nave and chancel: period C 2, or possibly earlier

Although Norton has now almost been absorbed into Stockton, and has thus become part of the

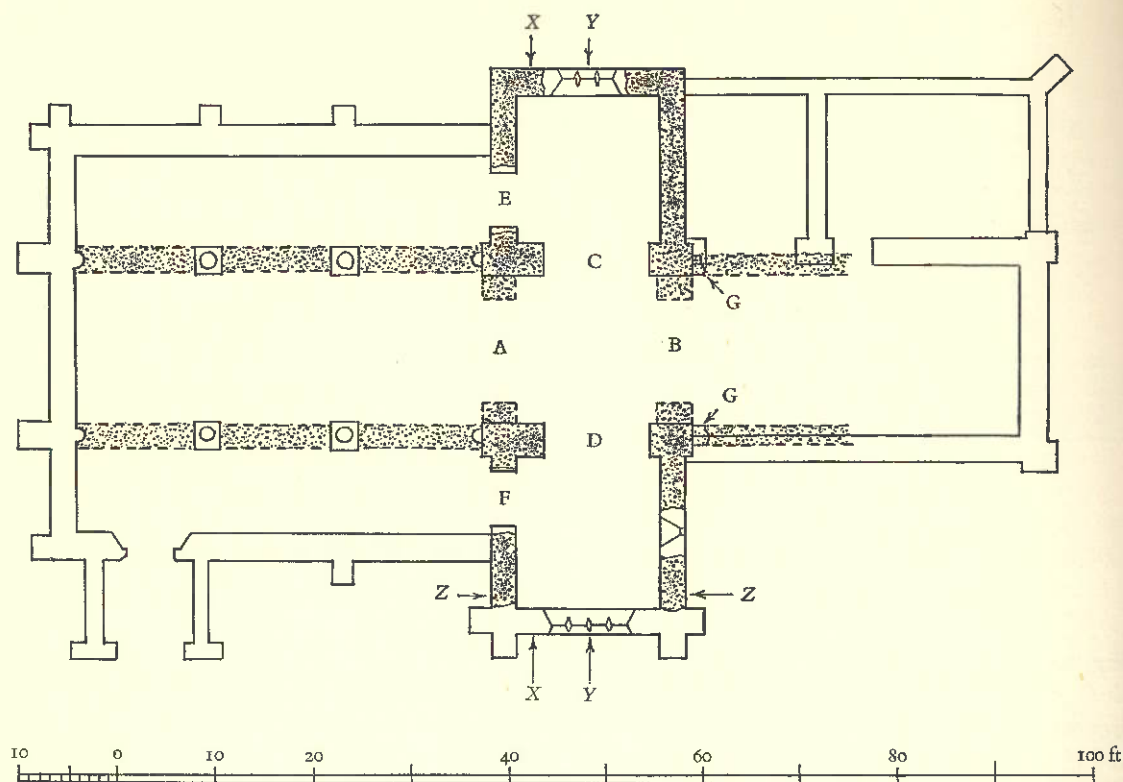


FIG. 223. NORTON, COUNTY DURHAM

Ground-plan of the church as at present, but showing positions of former aisleless nave and chancel. We know of no evidence to fix the length of the original chancel, but it is possible that evidence could be obtained by excavation within the present chancel. A, arch to nave, now replaced by wider Norman arch; B, arch to chancel, now also replaced by wider Norman arch; C, arch to north transept, still surviving; D, arch to south transept, still surviving; E, F, later arches cut through from transepts to north and south aisles; G, stumps of walls of original chancel. XX, YY, ZZ, these letters define the positions of the sections shown in Fig. 224.

busy industrial complex beside the mouth of the Tees, its centre still seems to be part of a different world, for its unusually large village green has survived, on rising ground, with trees and a pond. Many of the old houses surrounding the green have also survived; and at the head is the old church, beside a beautiful rectory.

The church now comprises a tall central tower; north and south transepts; an aisled nave, with south porch; and an aisleless chancel, with modern northern chapels and vestry. Of this substantial fabric, the Anglo-Saxon work is now confined mainly to the lower part of the tower, and the transepts; excluding the south wall of the south transept, which was rebuilt in 1874. Fragments of the side walls of the original chancel may be seen within the existing chancel, and it is possible that parts of the original walls of the nave have sur-

vived, above the twelfth-century arches of the present nave.

The plan of the original Anglo-Saxon church must have closely resembled the plan of the church of the same dedication at Stow in Lincolnshire, with a large, square, central tower against whose outer walls four subsidiary buildings were erected to north, south, east and west, leaving all four quoins of the tower standing freely as salient angles, from the ground up to the parapet. Of this church the tower and the north transept remain with little alteration, as did the south transept until 1874. The nave and chancel were rebuilt in late-Norman and Early English times, respectively, when the arches opening to the east and west from the tower were widened and rebuilt to match the nave; but the north and south arches opening to the transepts have survived more

or less intact, although it is possible that they originally had an inner order which was removed at some later time in order to widen them.

Externally, the form of the church is best seen from the north-west, where the original north transept abuts against the tower. From this position the tower may clearly be seen to be wider in plan than the nave, chancel, or transept, so that the quoins of the tower stand free from the walls of the arms of the church, except where they are obscured by the nineteenth-century aisle roofs.

The walls of the tower and transepts are of roughly dressed and coursed yellow-brown stone in blocks averaging from 8 in. to 1 ft in size, with side-alternate quoins of much larger blocks up to 3 ft in length. The north face of the tower also shows most clearly the interesting grouping of original openings, in the form which survives in all four faces of the tower; namely, a tall, triangular-headed opening in the centre of the face, beneath the gable-line of the early high-pitched roof; and a pair of small round-headed windows, above the line of the early roof, one on either side of its ridge. The tall triangular-headed openings now serve as windows; but, since they formerly lay below the roofs, it seems clear that they were originally doorways opening into chambers above the four arms of the church. The details of their construction are best seen inside the church, but from outside it should be noted that the jambs are each built of five stones, with a flat rectangular impost, which is set flush with the outer wall of the tower, but which projects into the window-opening. The upper small windows have round heads each cut in the lower face of a rectangular stone, and jambs built of two slabs of stone laid in 'Escomb fashion', one flat and the other upright. Internally these upper windows are splayed, no doubt to light the upper space of the tower, but now they are above its ceiling and cannot be seen from below.

Internally, the principal Anglo-Saxon remains are to be seen within the tower. The north and south arches opening to the transepts are each now of a single order, round-headed, and square in

section. They rest on plain square jambs with simple, stepped, rectangular imposts. Hodges suggested that, within the hood-moulding which at present forms the salient angles of each arch, there was originally an inner arch, no doubt of a single square order.¹ He suggested that this inner order was subsequently removed, possibly to widen the openings to the transepts without rebuilding the arches as had been done on the east and west. An original arrangement such as was suggested by Hodges would represent a very normal treatment, such as is to be seen, for example, at Brigstock, Northamptonshire. It should, however, be noted that at Wootton Wawen, Warwickshire, there is no evidence for later modification of four Anglo-Saxon arches which are all of a form very similar to the present state of the two arches at Norton. On the other hand, at Wootton Wawen the square mouldings which are carried round the arris of each arch are stopped on the imposts, whereas at Norton there are vestiges of a pilaster-strip below each impost, as if originally the moulding had been carried down beside the jambs, as at Brigstock. We therefore feel that the evidence of subsequent alteration is sufficient to give some support to Hodges's theory, without making it a certainty. Before leaving these two openings, it should be noted that through-stones are not used in any parts of the jambs or arches; but that the construction is not only Anglo-Saxon in appearance but is also proved to be pre-Norman by the way in which the eastern and western walls have been subsequently modified by the insertion of Norman arches.

The south wall of the tower is pierced, beside the south-west angle, by a square-headed doorway whose original purpose is indicated by the modern stairs which enter it from the south transept and lead on upward into the tower. But, whereas the upper stair now leads to a chamber high up in the tower, it seems clear that the original stair would have led to a gallery at the level of the four triangular-headed openings which now serve as windows to light the lantern. These openings seem originally to have been doorways, which would have led from such a gallery into chambers over the four arms of the church; while the lantern

¹ C. C. Hodges, *Reliquary*, n.s., 8 (1894), 9.

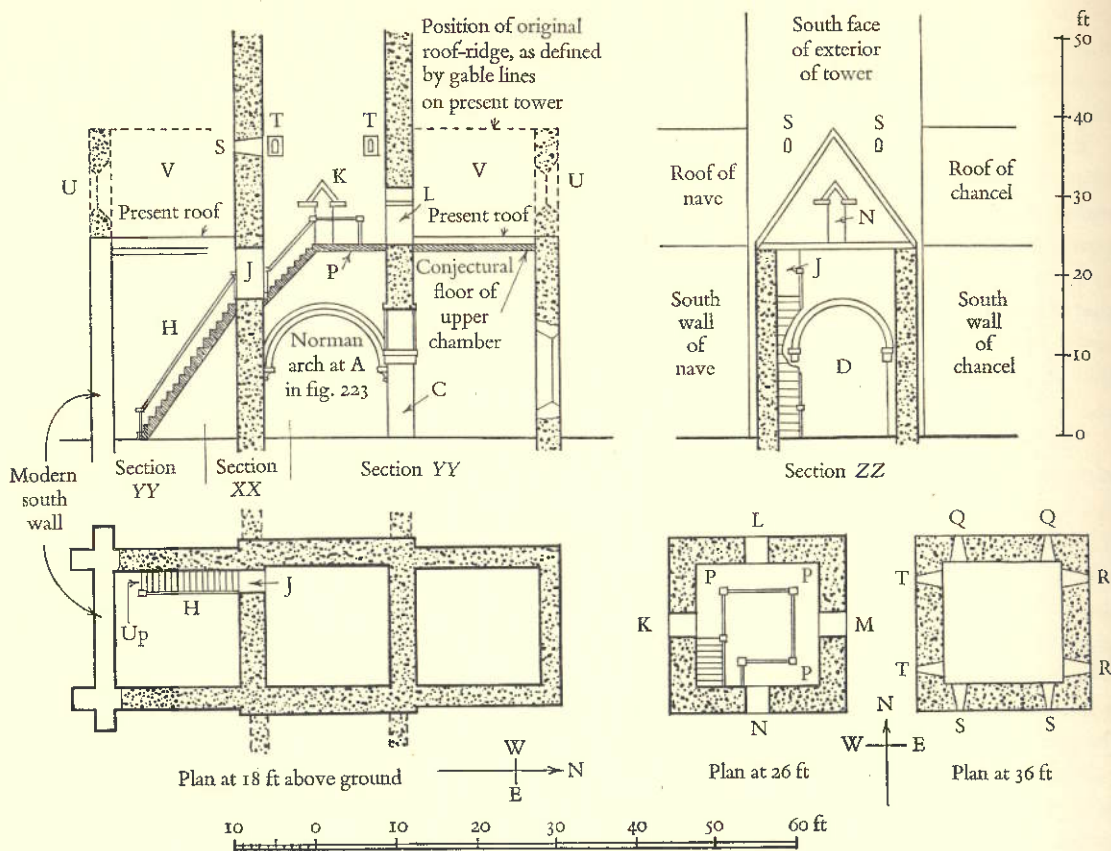


FIG. 224. NORTON, COUNTY DURHAM

Suggested reconstructions of church to show how access was gained to chambers above the four arms of the church, by way of a staircase in the south transept and a landing in the tower. The figure comprises plans at three levels and two sectional drawings made up of sections at three positions which are shown by the letters XX, YY, and ZZ in Fig. 223. A, Norman arch which replaced a narrower Anglo-Saxon arch from the tower to the nave; C, D, Anglo-Saxon arches from north and south transepts to tower; H, conjectural plan and elevation of staircase; J, doorway still surviving and still used for access to the tower by way of modern ladder and stairs; K, L, M, N, triangular-headed doorways now used as windows; P, conjectural position of landing inside tower as access to the four triangular-headed doorways; Q, R, S, T, small windows still surviving in tower but now lighting an upper chamber whose floor has been placed close above the heads of the doorways K, L, M, N; U, conjectural tall gabled ends to the transepts, with windows to light the upper chambers V; V, chambers above the north and south transepts.

or upper area of the tower itself would have been lit by the eight small windows whose outer faces have already been noted from outside the church. The floor of the present chamber in the tower is below these smaller windows, but it would not need to be moved very far upward in order to allow the whole of the interior of the Anglo-Saxon tower once again to be visible within the central space of the church. There is no reason to believe that the stone fabric of the early tower extended much higher than these smaller windows. There may, of course, have been a wooden superstructure such as that at Breamore, Hampshire;

but there is no evidence for this in the fabric itself.

The four triangular-headed openings in the upper stage of the tower are of interest in themselves. Their jambs are mainly of through-stones, laid flat and coursed with the walling, five courses to each jamb. The imposts are also through-stones, projecting into the soffit and into the interior of the tower but not on the exterior. The heads are formed of large stones laid in pairs, each stone passing through about half the thickness of the wall so that four stones in all are used in each head. Finally, it should be noted that, whereas the

jambes of the eastern and western openings are cut square through the walls, the jambes of the north and south openings are slightly splayed, so that the openings widen towards the interior. Careful inspection from close at hand shows, however, that this internal splaying is a later modification, and that the jambes of all four openings were originally cut square through the walls. In proof of this statement it should be noted that short sections of the jambes of the north and south openings have remained in their original state at the foot of each of these openings.

The western angles of the tower should next be inspected within the aisles of the nave. It is clear that the original quoining extends down to the floor, thus confirming that the Anglo-Saxon nave was narrower than the tower. It is not now possible to say with certainty how much of the original nave has survived, but the parts of the main walls immediately adjoining the tower seem to be properly in bond with it, and of the same fabric, so that there is a strong inference that the early work has been suffered to remain above the Transitional Norman north and south arcades.

The Anglo-Saxon chancel, by contrast, has certainly been demolished, in order to give place to the wider thirteenth-century chancel. The original width of the chancel can, however, be determined with certainty, since the stumps of its side walls remain on the eastern face of the tower beside the Early English walls which replaced them.

HISTORY

The only indication that is available from written history is a record, in the *Durham Liber Vitae*, which may be translated to say that 'I Ulfcytel, Osulf's son, give Northtun, with all that belongs to it, unto St Cuthbert'. No record of date is given but Birch assigns the entry to the period 966-92.¹ There is, of course, no ground for making any deduction from this gift about the date of the church.

Baldwin Brown dates both Stow and Norton in his period C3, which would place them in the latter half of the eleventh century; but there are

good grounds for believing that at least the lower part of the fabric at Stow was built sufficiently early to have been destroyed and become largely a ruin before the establishment of a school of secular canons there by Eadnoth, Bishop of Dorchester, with help from Leofric, Earl of Mercia and Lady Godiva his wife, during the latter part of the first half of the eleventh century. Thus Stow must be at least as early as period C2 and we see nothing in the style or detail of either Stow or Norton that is inconsistent with a date in period C1.

It is strange that written history should be able to tell us nothing conclusive about either of these two important churches.

DIMENSIONS

The tower is about 15 ft 6 in. square internally, with walls 3 ft thick and about 40 ft high to the top of the surviving pre-Conquest fabric. The north transept is 15 ft wide from east to west, and 15 ft 7 in. from north to south internally, with walls 2 ft 6 in. thick and about 20 ft tall. The south transept has much the same dimensions, but its south wall was rebuilt in the nineteenth century. The original chancel was about 15 ft wide internally and its length is not now known. The surviving original arches opening to the transepts are about 10 ft 6 in. wide and about 17 ft tall.

The upper doorway from the south transept is 3 ft wide and 6 ft 6 in. tall, with its sill 17 ft 6 in. above the floor. The four triangular-headed doorways from the upper part of the tower are 2 ft 6 in. wide and 8 ft tall, with sills about 24 ft above the floor. The eight small windows which originally lit the upper part of the tower are about 8 in. wide and 2 ft tall, with sills about 33 ft above the ground. They are splayed internally to become flat-headed openings about 2 ft square.

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 C. C. HODGES, 'The pre-Conquest churches of Northumbria', *Reliquary*, n.s., 8 (1894), 1-12. Norton, 8-II.

¹ W. de G. Birch, *Cart. Sax.* 3 (London, 1893), 539, no. 1256. Also A. J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1939), no. LXVIII.

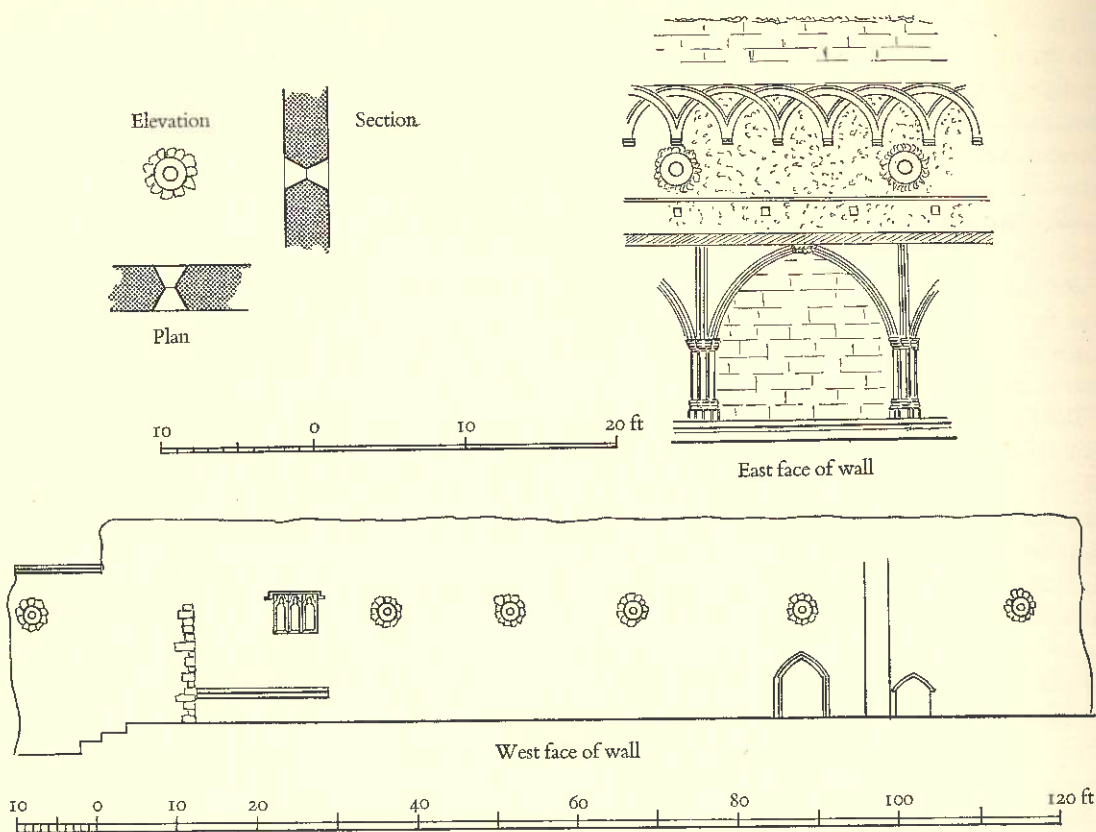


FIG. 225. NORWICH, NORFOLK, CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY

The west wall of the cloister of the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity. The larger-scale drawing shows how the east face of the wall towards the cloister has subsequently been enriched by the addition of an interlacing blind arcade of Norman round arches. The vaulted later cloister is seen below. The smaller-scale drawing shows the west face. Both drawings are adapted from those published by J. Gunn in 1879. Since that time the whole wall has been given a parapet of dressed stone.

J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, 'Something about Saxon church building', *Arch. J.* 53 (1896), 291-351. Norton, 332. Compared with Stow and dated c. 1050.
V.C.H., Durham, 3 (London, 1928), 304-13. Plan, 310.

NORWICH

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 235088

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY

West wall of cloister: period C3

Attention was first directed to the character of the west wall of the cloister of Norwich cathedral in

1879 by John Gunn, who had been a pioneer in securing recognition of circular double-splayed windows as a criterion of Anglo-Saxon workmanship in East Anglia.¹ He pointed out that the west wall contains six of these windows, all formed in the flint fabric of the wall, without any use of dressed stone for the facings. These windows are placed with their centres between 15 and 20 ft above the ground, and they are of the size that is common in Norfolk churches, about 2 ft in diameter in each of the wall-faces, narrowing to an aperture about 1 ft in diameter in the centre of the wall. As additional evidence of the pre-Norman nature of these windows and of the wall containing them, Gunn pointed out that, whereas the upper part of the wall towards the east is

¹ J. Gunn, 'Saxon remains in the cloisters of Norwich Cathedral', *Norf. Arch.* 8 (1879), 1-9.

enriched with a Norman arcade of round arches, these arches differ from all others about the cathedral by springing from corbels instead of resting on shafts. Gunn accordingly argued that the arches were a later addition, in Norman times, to the pre-existing wall; and that they were an external decoration applied above some existing eastern structure of which evidence may still be seen in the eastern face of the wall. Careful drawings of parts of the wall not open for inspection are given in Gunn's article; and our Fig. 225 incorporates his drawings as well as certain details of the windows based on our own measurements.

The west face of the wall may be seen from the open space at the west of the cathedral, and the circular double-splayed windows are at once apparent. It is difficult to explain what would have been the purpose of a building in this position before the foundation of the Norman cathedral; but there can be little doubt that the windows represent Anglo-Saxon workmanship—in marked contrast to all other features in the cathedral. One explanation would be that the windows arose from a post-Conquest outbreak of local tradition in a part of the structure where supervision of the work was less rigorous; alternatively, Gunn was correct in postulating that this wall survived from some earlier building and was incorporated into the Norman fabric. Of the two possibilities we incline to the second as the more plausible, but we see no way at present of placing the matter beyond doubt.

DIMENSIONS

The wall is about 150 ft in total length, 3 ft thick and at least 25 ft high.

NORWICH

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 235077

ST JOHN DE SEPULCHRE

East and west walls of transepts: possibly period C

The church of St John de Sepulchre, at the south end of Ber Street, would not at first sight be suspected of containing pre-Conquest fabric. The

church consists of a buttressed west tower, an aisleless transeptal nave with south porch, and an aisleless chancel, mainly Perpendicular in character. But by contrast with the cut flint walling of the main fabric, the side walls of the transepts are of uncut flints and each transept has in its west wall a blocked round-headed window, whose outer face is about 1 ft 8 in. wide and 3 ft 4 in. tall, with its head very roughly turned in tiles, that are not set radially, but at roughly constant inclinations so as to leave a V-shaped joint at the top. These windows are blocked and plastered internally, so that it is impossible to determine whether or not they are double-splayed.

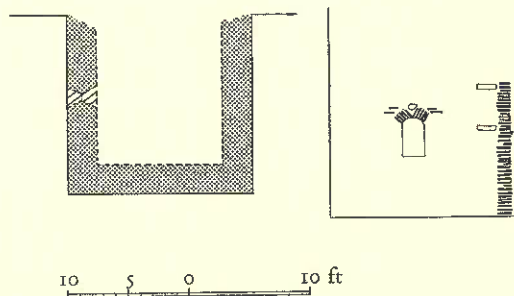


FIG. 226. NORWICH, NORFOLK, ST JOHN DE SEPULCHRE

The blocked window and tile quoin of the south transept. The thickness of the walls is estimated because we were unable to get into the transept, which is now wholly taken up by an organ. The south wall has probably been rebuilt.

The quoins of the north transept are obscured by later buttresses, and the quoins of the south transept have been rebuilt in tiles; but at the end of the original west wall of the south transept, beside the south-west quoin, two large flat stones in the flint walling are spaced 3 ft apart vertically, as if they were survivors from a long-and-short quoin. This indication is confirmed by the presence of a similar flat stone in a similar position in the east wall of the south transept and by the absence of stone elsewhere in the walls, which are otherwise uniformly of whole flints. The north and south walls seem to have been completely rebuilt.

DIMENSIONS

The transepts are each about 16 ft wide from east to west externally and about 13 ft in projection. Internally they are about 12 ft by 11 ft. Their walls are about 2 ft thick and about 18 ft high.

NORWICH

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 232082

ST JOHN TIMBERHILL

East wall of chancel: period C

This church stands at the junction of Ber Street and Timberhill, close to the south side of the cattle market. It is mainly of Perpendicular date and is rectangular in plan, the nave and chancel being flanked by aisles or chapels throughout their whole length.

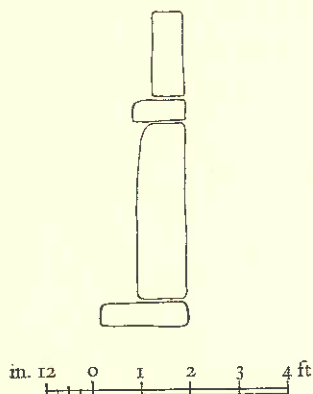


FIG. 227. NORWICH, NORFOLK, ST JOHN TIMBERHILL

The north-east quoin of the chancel. The lowest stone shown is 9 ft 7 in. above the ground. From the ground to this stone the quoin is of plain flints without any dressed stone.

The fabric of the whole church is of flint, with dressed-stone facings; and the only vestiges of Anglo-Saxon workmanship are: first, a slight change of character in the fabric of the east wall of the chancel, where the intrusion of some brick and stone in the otherwise plain flint walling indicates a different date; and, secondly, the appearance beside this different fabric of two pairs of long-and-short quoin-stones, marking the original north-east quoin of the earlier chancel. The lowest of these stones is 9 ft 7 in. above the ground, and all trace of the earlier quoining seems to have disappeared below this point. The long stones are respectively 44 and 22 in. in height, and the shorts are only 5 in. each, so that their general character is beyond doubt.

¹ C. J. W. Messent, *The Round Towers to English Parish Churches* (Norwich, 1958), 144.

NORWICH

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 235081

Figure 542

ST JULIAN

Round west tower, and nave walls: period C3

St Julian's church, in the interesting old riverside quarter of Norwich, stands beside St Julian's Alley, to the west of King Street; and it provides an interesting example of the bringing to light of unsuspected antiquities in an ancient church by war-time destruction, in which other interesting features were lost. Writing in 1925, Baldwin Brown said (p. 474): 'This church... has at the west end of a later nave a fine East Anglian round west tower in the wall of which are good specimens of double-splayed, round-headed windows with narrow apertures.' In an air-raid in June 1942 the west tower was almost wholly demolished, and the church was left roofless; but during its restoration after the war there were brought to light in the north wall of the nave three windows whose form shows that the nave was also Anglo-Saxon. Another circular double-splayed window was discovered in the south wall of the chancel.

The church also provides an interesting modern parallel by which one may judge the unreliability of statements about the total destruction of churches during the Middle Ages. Messent's observation on this church, published in 1958, less than twenty years after the war, reads as follows:¹

This church was completely demolished by bombs during the war. Fortunately I had previously made a plan of it, which I understand was a help during the reconstruction.

The elevations prepared by the architects who carried out the restoration show that the south wall of the chancel and the north wall of the nave survived almost intact; whereas the tower, the south wall of the nave, and the north wall of the chancel were destroyed to within about 10 ft of the ground.² The ground-plan of the church was, therefore, preserved in its entirety, and the Anglo-

² We are indebted to the Vicar and to Messrs Berry, Crane and Noble for access to these drawings.

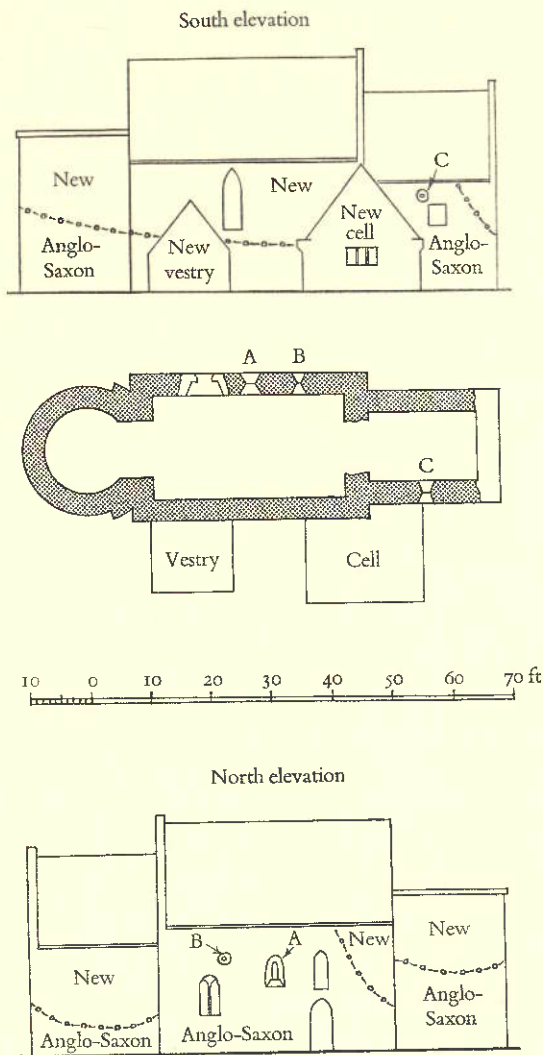


FIG. 228. NORWICH, NORFOLK, ST JULIAN

The elevations are based on drawings which were kindly lent us by the architects who supervised the rebuilding of the church after the damage by enemy bombing in 1942. They show in detail the extent to which the original fabric survived. The original east wall of the chancel fell in 1846. A, B, and C are surviving Anglo-Saxon double-splayed windows which were blocked and unknown until the blocking was removed as a result of the damage during the war.

Saxon windows whose presence was formerly unsuspected have been brought to light entirely undamaged.

The fabric of the church, which has been most carefully and sympathetically restored, is of flint rubble, with some admixture of brick and puddingstone. High up in the north wall of the nave, as seen from outside, there now appear two

double-splayed windows; one of these is in the centre of the wall, with vertical jambs and round head, and the other is circular in form, and near the head of a medieval window of two lights in the eastern part of the wall.

Internally, the same two openings are visible; but, in addition, there are the blocked remains of a third window, of circular shape, towards the western end of the wall, balancing the circular window towards the east. It may also be seen how the medieval window destroyed the lower part of the eastern circular window and no doubt led to its being blocked and forgotten. The circular, double-splayed window in the south wall of the chancel is also best seen within the church.

Externally, the original walling of the lower few feet of the tower may be easily distinguished from the modern reconstruction, which is of much lighter hue. The old fabric, and the reconstructed upper part, have an interesting feature, also to be seen at Colney on the western outskirts of the city: namely, two pilasters, each about 2 ft broad, projecting about 4 in. from the curved face of the tower, formed of the same uncut flint as the walls themselves, and carried up the curved walls of the tower where they join the west wall of the nave.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 29 ft 6 in. long internally, and 17 ft 6 in. wide, with side walls 3 ft 2 in. thick and about 22 ft tall. The circular double-splayed windows have their centres about 16 ft above the floor and are about 2 ft 6 in. in diameter in the wall-face. The round tower is about 12 ft 6 in. in internal diameter, with walls about 4 ft thick.

REFERENCES

- J. H. PARKER, 'Architectural notes of churches in the city and neighbourhood of Norwich', *Proc. Arch. Inst., Norwich*, 1847 (London, 1851), 157-97. St Julian, 166. Good engraving of church, from north-west, showing double-splayed window in tower.
- R. G. P. MINTY, 'Proceedings', *Arch. J.* 2 (1846), 196-7. Note of damage caused by the falling of the east wall of the chancel. Dimensions given. Church dated about the Conquest.
- C. J. W. MESSENT, *The City Churches of Norwich* (Norwich, 1932), 44-7. Picture from north-west, showing double-splayed window in tower.

NORWICH

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 234091

Figure 543

ST MARTIN-AT-PALACE

*East end of chancel, with long-and-short quoins:
period C*

The church of St Martin, at the gates of the Bishop's palace, about 200 yd north of Norwich Cathedral, now consists of an aisled chancel, an aisled nave with south porch, and a buttressed west tower.

The long-and-short quoins at the east of the chancel show that at least the adjoining parts of the walls are survivals from a pre-Conquest church. The lower parts of these quoins have been rebuilt but, from about 8 ft above the ground to a height of about 18 ft, the original quoins have remained, in well-defined long-and-short technique. Four complete pairs of quoin-stones remain on the south; the short horizontal stones bond deeply along the walls, and the long uprights are rectangular in plan, laid with their longer horizontal axes alternately along one and along the other of the adjoining faces of the walls. The arrangement is similar on the north, except that one of the upright stones has been lost.

DIMENSIONS

The chancel is 24 ft long internally, and 18 ft wide, with walls 3 ft thick and about 26 ft high.

NORWICH

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 228091

ST MARY-AT-COSLANY

*Round west tower, with perhaps some fragments of
west wall of nave: period C3*

This church, now no longer used for services, stands beside St Mary's Plain, to the west of Pitt Street. Before 1908 there was no suspicion that any part of the church was of great antiquity;

the present belfry windows were blocked and the tower was a stage higher, with a ruinous Perpendicular belfry. In the course of repairs, the present double belfry windows were discovered, and carefully opened out. It was then decided to remove the later belfry and to strengthen the early tower beneath.

The four original double belfry windows present some unusual features, of which the most noticeable is the broad projecting band which encircles the middle of each of the mid-wall shafts. A second unusual feature is that the shafts themselves, instead of being single columns of

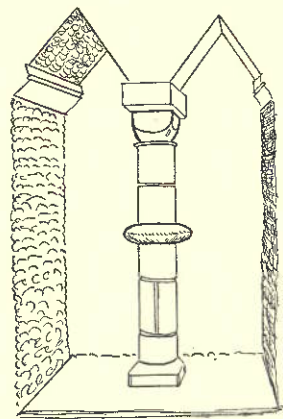


FIG. 229. NORWICH, NORFOLK,
ST MARY-AT-COSLANY

Perspective sketch of one of the double triangular-headed belfry windows, showing the curious annulus surrounding the mid-wall shaft.

stone, are built of sections of Caen stone, some of which are complete cylinders, while others are only parts of cylinders, so that each shaft shows a number of vertical as well as horizontal joints. Thirdly, the triangular heads of the individual lights have not been provided with the usual facing of bricks or flat stones to carry the wall above; but, instead, the builders have left in place some of the flat wooden slabs on which they built the heads, of flint rubble exactly like the remainder of the tower.

The dressed-stone imposts on the square jambs all have quirked chamfers, and another late feature is the provision of cushion capitals on the mid-wall shafts. The jambs themselves are of flint rubble like the remainder of the tower. The use of Caen stone in the mid-wall shafts is also an indication of late date.

There are no external openings below the belfry, except a modern round-headed west window, possibly replacing an earlier light for the ground floor.

REFERENCE

J. T. HOTBLACK, 'The church of St Mary Coslany, Norwich', *Norf. Arch.* 17 (1908-10), 31-41. Good account of the discovery of the Anglo-Saxon windows during the repair of the tower. Photographs.

NOTLEY, WHITE

Essex

Map sheet 162, reference TL 785182

Figure 544

ORIGINAL DEDICATION UNKNOWN

Chancel-arch, south-east quoin of nave, and side walls of nave over later arcades: possibly period C

White Notley is a small village, pleasantly situated on high ground about 3 miles north-west of Witham, on the west bank of the River Brain. The church now consists of an aisled nave with south porch and western bell-cote, and an aisleless chancel with modern north vestry. Foundations of an apsidal east end were discovered at the end of last century, when the simple, round-headed, monolithic window now built into the east wall of the vestry was also discovered, during the demolition of a wall which blocked the arch on the north side of the chancel.

In a will dated 998, Leofwine, son of Wulfstan, granted land near Kelvedon to Westminster, and gave 'half a hide of land on the east side of the street, to Notley, to God's servants, for the good of my soul'.¹

The south-east quoin of the nave is of tile construction, and the arcades have long sections of tall, thin wall at either end. The most interesting feature, however, is the chancel-arch, which is a plain, round-headed opening, of a single square order. The jambs and the arch are formed without

any use of dressed stone, with tiles to face the angles and with tiles or flint rubble forming the soffit. On the north side a plain impost of stone has survived; and on the south the broken soffit faces of tiles at this level suggest that a corresponding impost was originally formed of projecting tiles but was later cut away. The lower part of the north jamb has been much patched in recent times with brick.

The arch is not of a type which can be assigned with certainty to before the Conquest, nor is the sole surviving tile quoin sufficient to establish a pre-Conquest date, even if taken in conjunction with the thin walls of the nave. The impost on the north jamb seems to us, however, to give some additional support to a pre-Conquest date, particularly in the way in which its lower face has been rebated so as to produce a stepped effect.

DIMENSIONS

The nave is 49 ft long internally and 16 ft 2 in. wide, with side walls 2 ft 9 in. thick and about 22 ft high. The chancel is 15 ft wide internally, and may originally have had a square east end, as is indicated by vestiges of a brick or tile quoin on the south wall; if so the original chancel would have been about 18 ft in internal length.

The chancel-arch is 8 ft wide and 13 ft tall, in a wall 3 ft in thickness.

REFERENCES

- A. F. CURTIS, 'White Notley', *T. Essex Arch. S.*, n.s., 7 (1900), 259-63. Detailed account, with plan.
C. LYNAM, 'The chancel arch of White Notley church', *ibid.* 9 (1904-5), 228-30. Detailed account, with sketches of chancel-arch and small window.

NYETIMBER

Sussex

Map sheet 181, reference SZ 894983

BARTON OR MANOR FARM

Descriptions of the early work at this farm near Pagham were first given by Guermonprez and

¹ A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents* (Oxford, 1895), 22 and 122-5. On p. 125 the editors note that the wording suggests that there was a religious establishment at Notley;

and that the reference to 'the east side of the street' would mean that the land concerned was on the east of the Roman road through Braintree.

Johnston in 1903. Their claim for a pre-Conquest date was later questioned, on the ground that the herring-bone masonry to which they drew attention is a Norman rather than Anglo-Saxon feature. The building is difficult to date without prolonged study. We therefore simply point out that the presence of herring-bone work is not a reliable guide, and that the use of large flat stones with rounded edges seems to us an indication against a Norman date.

REFERENCES

- H. L. F. GUERMONPREZ and P. M. JOHNSTON, 'The Barton or Manor Farm, Nyetimber, Pagham', *Sussex Arch. C.* 46 (1903), 145-54.
M. WOOD, 'Norman domestic architecture', *Arch. J.* 92 (1935), 167-242. Nyetimber, 206.

ORPINGTON

Kent

Map sheet 171, reference TQ 466666

ALL SAINTS

*Doubtful evidence of pre-Conquest nave:
remarkable sundial*

Reasons were given in 1880 and again in 1904 for believing that the nave of All Saints church, Orpington, contained parts of a pre-Conquest fabric; but this was questioned by Mr Erwood in 1947, when he gave reasons for believing that the earliest part of the surviving church had been built in the twelfth century. We were unable to visit the church until 1959; by which time the evidence mentioned in the earlier articles had been removed, by the cutting of an arcade through the south wall of the nave, to open it into a large modern church on the south of the earlier building. Although this change had removed the evidence which we had hoped to reassess, it had brought to light a unique treasure in the form of a pre-Conquest sundial of very much greater elaboration than any previously known.

The church stands on high land between Orpington's High Street and the main road southward to Sevenoaks, in an area where a great new housing estate explains the reason for the increased size of the church itself. The recent enlargements

seem, however, to have removed or concealed all the evidence for the pre-Conquest character of the original nave. It occupied the western two-thirds of what was the nave prior to the recent alterations; while the eastern third of that nave seems to have been a thirteenth-century eastern enlargement, which enclosed and replaced the original chancel.

The sundial was discovered in the fabric of the south wall, used as a common building stone, and partially cut away for the purpose. It is now built into one of the piers of the new south arcade, where it has unfortunately been placed upside down. Originally 2 ft square in elevation, it is now 2 ft by 1 ft 4 in.; and the circular dial stands forward 3 in. from the square background, with a rich border of cable-moulding round the circular frame. The face of the dial is surrounded by a circular inscription, 2 in. wide, enclosed between two narrow, plain fillets. A further band of cable-moulding separates this inscription from the dial itself, which is a circular area 14 in. in diameter, recessed $\frac{1}{2}$ in. behind the outer area. The hole for the gnomon survives intact in the centre, from which incised radii have been drawn to divide the circle into sixteen equal sectors. If the dial were correctly re-set on the wall, the two horizontal radii would be marked with crosses near their outer ends, as would also the radius running vertically down from the gnomon and the two radii inclined downward at 45° on either side. The defective part of the stone would then be uppermost, and on its radii there are no cross-lines, but an inscription in Latin is cut, in well-formed capitals, with one letter in each sector. The four central letters were on the part of the stone that is now missing, but there seems no doubt that the inscription read thus:

O R [L O G I] U M.

The eight lower sectors would have accommodated the natural accompanying word VIATORUM, as at Edstone, Yorkshire; but there is absolutely no sign of there having been any such inscription; instead, three sectors appear each to contain one runic symbol while the remaining five are quite blank.

The main inscription round the outer ring is also in well-formed capital letters, with an angularly

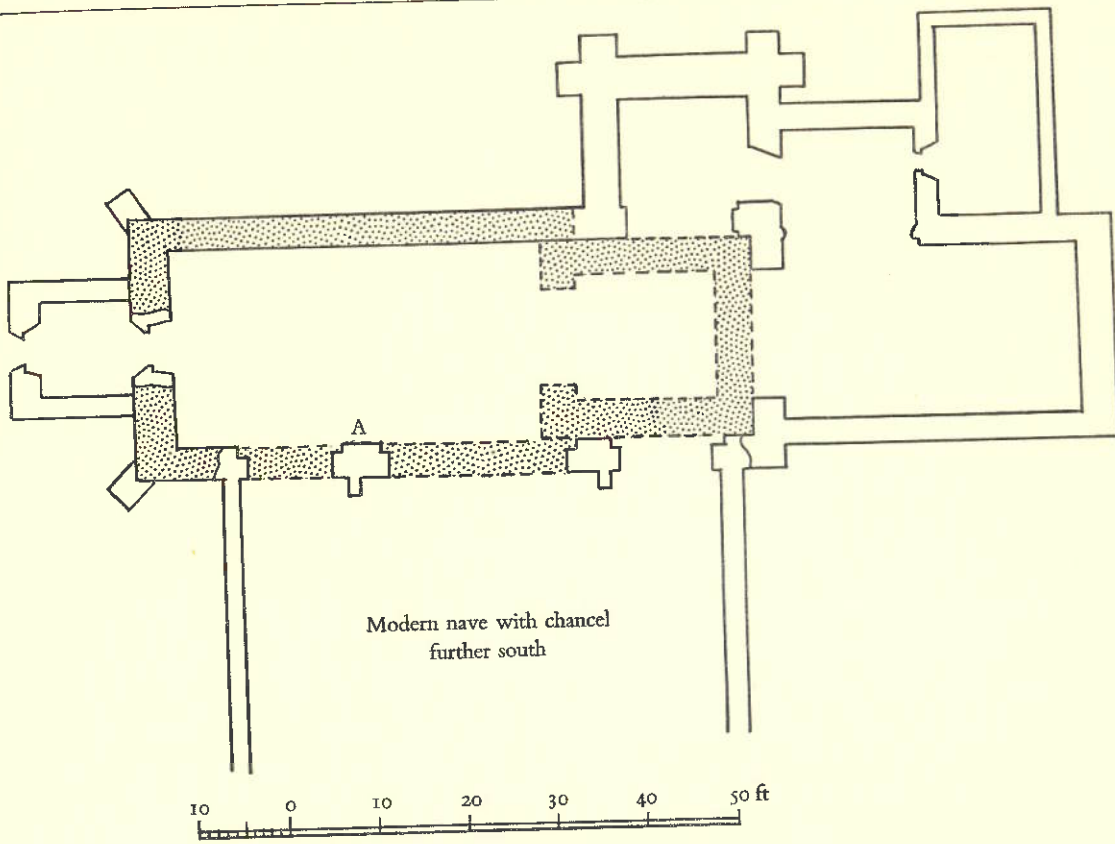


FIG. 230. ORPINGTON, KENT

The earliest part of the church has been shown on the plan as Norman, though it is possible that it may be earlier. The position shown for the original chancel is conjectural. The Anglo-Saxon sundial is built upside down into the north face of the modern pillar A. Our drawing shows it turned the right way up.

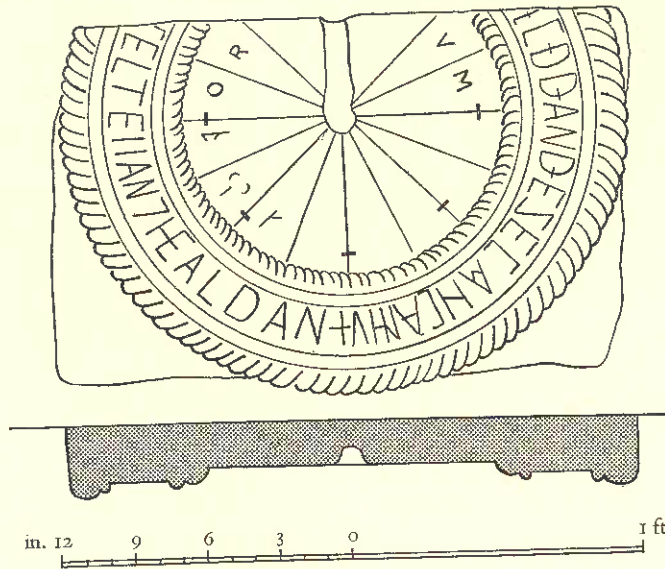


FIG. 231. ORPINGTON, KENT

Elevation and section of the Anglo-Saxon sundial. An interpretation of the inscription is given in an article by R. I. Page: see D. M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork, 700-1100* (British Museum, 1964), 70 n.

formed S and three angular Cs. It also contains once the Anglo-Saxon sign 7 for *and*. Our reading of the inscription is shown in Fig. 231.

DIMENSIONS

The original nave as now enshrined in the northern part of the church seems to have been about 40 ft in internal length. It is 22 ft wide, with side walls 3 ft thick and about 22 ft high.

REFERENCES

- W. A. S. ROBERTSON, 'Orpington church', *Arch. Cant.* 13 (1880), 374-85.
 Anonymous, 'The church of Orpington', *Builder* (16 April 1904), 403.
 F. C. E. ERWOOD, 'The church of All Saints, Orpington', *Arch. Cant.* 59 (1947), 5-6. Plan. Reasoned case for twelfth-century date.

OVINGHAM

Northumberland

Map sheets 77 and 78, reference NZ 085637

ST MARY THE VIRGIN

*West tower; and side walls of nave,
 above later arcades: period C*

Beside the lower Tyne, about 10 miles west of the centre of Newcastle, the church of St Mary at Ovingham has a commanding position in a spacious churchyard, high above the road which runs along the north bank of the river from Bywell to Wylam.

The church now consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with western appendages flanking the tower, two wide aisled transepts, and an aisleless chancel. The tower is Anglo-Saxon throughout, except for its parapet, and the west wall of the contemporary nave may be seen, projecting about 2 ft on either side of it, like supporting buttresses. Internally, the side walls of the nave, above the tall Early English arcades, are aligned with the original western quoins and may be accepted with some confidence as the original Anglo-Saxon walls since they are only 2 ft 3 in. thick and nearly 30 ft high.

The fabric of the tower is of roughly squared and coursed blocks of greyish stone, with side-

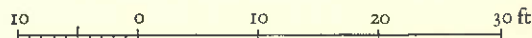
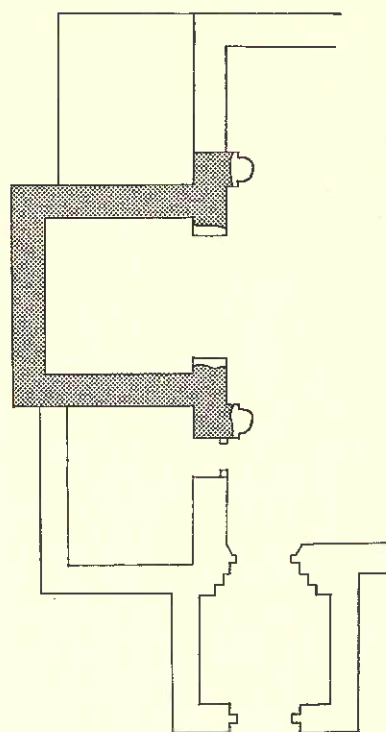


FIG. 232. OIVINGHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND
 Ground plan of the tower showing its relation to the west end of the thirteenth-century church.

alternate quoins of much larger blocks. The unbuttressed tower is divided into two unequal stages by a simple, square string-course; and the upper belfry stage, which occupies about one-quarter of the total height, has in each of its four faces a characteristically Northumbrian late-Saxon double belfry window. Each of these is outlined by strip-work, which is carried along the sill, up the sides, and round the head to enclose a semicircular tympanum. As at Bywell, the tympanum is pierced by a simple circular opening cut through a single square block of stone. The round heads of the individual lights of each double window are cut in separate square blocks of stone, whose outer edges rest on rectangular projecting imposts, while the inner edges are supported on the usual rectangular through-stone slab and cylindrical mid-wall shaft. The outlining strip-work has its own plain rectangular imposts and bases; and it is

also carried across the bottom of the window as a projecting sill, about 1 ft above the string-course.

The tall lower stage, which corresponds to three floors internally, rises sheer from the ground to the string-course, and has no openings in the north face. The south face has two openings: namely, a small, round-headed, internally splayed window, lighting the ground floor, and a round-headed doorway cut straight through the wall and opening into the second floor, about 40 ft above the ground. The west face has only one opening, a round-headed window similar to that in the south face, but placed higher, so as to light the first floor. The round heads of the doorway and of the two small windows are cut in the lower faces of rectangular blocks of stone; and the jambs are built of stones, which, while not passing through the full thickness of the wall, are nevertheless much larger than the stones of the walling, and are characteristic of Anglo-Saxon rather than Norman workmanship.

The tower-arch has unfortunately been cut away and refaced to form a seating for the organ, but some vestiges remain, and the east wall of the tower may be seen to be only 2 ft 9 in. in thickness. Within the tower, a round-headed doorway leads from the first floor into the upper space of the nave. The jambs of this opening are built of five courses of stones on either side and its head is cut in two stones, one towards the nave and one towards the tower, each spanning the full width of the opening. The next floor has no openings, except the doorway which leads out into space about 40 ft above ground. In the uppermost or belfry floor the openings in the tympanum spaces above the double belfry windows appear as square gaps in the stone walling, the circular external openings being pierced through stones which form only an outer facing to the wall.

DIMENSIONS

Of the several late-Saxon towers in the Tyne valley, this is the largest, being about 60 ft in height and 12 ft 4 in. (east-west) by 13 ft (north-south) in internal measurement, with walls 2 ft 9 in. in thickness. The nave is 34 ft long and

19 ft 10 in. wide, with walls 2 ft 3 in. thick and about 30 ft high.

The round-headed doorway opening to the upper part of the nave is 2 ft 4 in. wide and 5 ft 6 in. tall, with its sill about 26 ft above the floor. The external doorway high up in the south face of the tower is about 2 ft wide and 6 ft tall, with its sill about 40 ft above the ground.

REFERENCES

- Anonymous, 'An ecclesiastical pilgrimage to Hexham and Lindisfarne', *Ecclesiologist*, 8 (1847-8), 25-33. Ovingham claimed as Anglo-Saxon, 26-7.
- C. C. HODGES, 'The pre-Conquest churches of Northumbria', *Reliquary*, n.s., 7 (1893), 1-18. Ovingham, 17-18. Good architectural description; note of a carved stone in the churchyard. Tower incorrectly described as having an altitude of 106 ft.
- History of Northumberland*, 12, ed. M. H. Dodds (Newcastle, 1926), 61-2. Brief description with plan.
- F. HASTINGS and T. ROMANS, 'Some fragments of pre-Norman cross-shafts from Ovingham church, Northumberland', *Arch. Ael.*, 4th ser., 24 (1946), 177-82.

OXFORD

Map sheet 158, reference SP 515059

Figure 545

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHRIST

*Two arches in east wall of north transept:
once claimed as Anglo-Saxon but now shown
to be post-Conquest*

Reasons were given in 1888 for believing that some part of the church founded in Oxford in the eighth century by or for St Frideswide had survived in the lower part of the east wall of the north aisle and lady chapel of Oxford Cathedral.¹ The evidence is dismissed rather summarily in the Royal Commission's report on Oxford; but, for reasons set out below, we have now been convinced that the Commission's view is correct.²

The early work is difficult to see from the interior of the church, for altars are placed close against the two bays of the east wall in which

¹ J. P. Harrison, 'Recent discoveries in Oxford cathedral', *Arch. J.* 45 (1888), 271-83.

² R.C.H.M., *Oxford City* (London, 1939), 35.

Mr Harrison found blocked openings. It is, however, possible to see the southern opening by drawing aside the hangings of the altar in the north aisle. The opening then appears as a recess, with straight jambs of the same rough fabric as the wall. Its sill is well below the present floor-level, and its imposts are flat stones which project only a little on the soffit. The arch itself is, however, set back wider than the jambs, and is turned in flattish slabs of ragstone, like that of the walling. The rough voussoirs are set reasonably radially, but with the lowest voussoir on either side tilted upward somewhat.

If permission be next obtained to enter the private garden on the north and east of the church, the early work can be seen to advantage from outside. It was claimed by Harrison that the ragstone fabric of the lower part of this east wall is quite different from any of the main fabric of the Norman church. Moreover, a shallow Norman buttress (D in Fig. 233) between the two windows was said by Harrison to block a third and wider early opening between the two which have remained visible in the early walling. This opening was, therefore, deduced as being anterior to the buttress. Harrison claimed that, at the time when the buttress was added, a chamfered plinth of dressed stone was inserted in the face of the wall and carried round the buttress. This plinth, as is shown in Fig. 233, is carried straight across the northern opening, whereas it stops short at each jamb of the southern one. Harrison deduced, first, that the plinth is a later insertion because it blocks the northern doorway; and, secondly, that the southern doorway was still in use when the plinth was inserted, and that the plinth therefore stopped short against the jambs of the doorway. The Commission, on the other hand, say that the northern opening starts above the thirteenth-century plinth. Moreover, they deduce that the southern opening and the plinth must be contemporary because the plinth stops short on either side of the opening.

The correctness of the Commission's arguments is rendered beyond doubt by recent investigations kindly reported to us by Mr David Sturdy in 1963. In the first place, the central 'arched opening' reported by Harrison has no substance. The supposed vertical lines of its jambs are merely the rather

ragged lines of the bonding of the Norman buttress into the (contemporary) rubble wall, and there are no voussoirs of an arched head. Secondly, excavations in 1963 showed that the footing of this east wall of the north aisle is fully in bond with the footing of the north wall of the Norman chancel. The string-course or plinth which runs across the north opening and stops in the southern one is of a more steeply chamfered thirteenth-century section than the twelfth-century plinth on the original Norman work of the chancel.

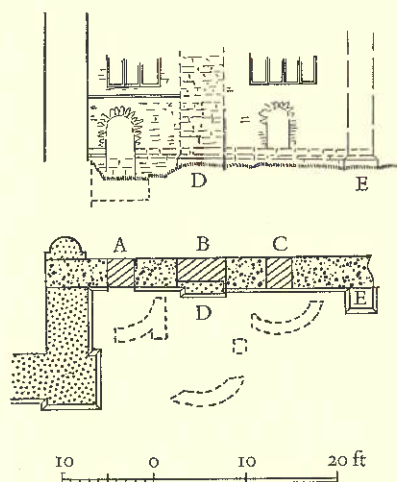


FIG. 233. OXFORD, CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHRIST

This figure shows the east wall of the north transept as it would be dated if Harrison's argument were established. A and C are the visible blocked openings in the east wall. B is the supposed central opening which we now believe never to have had any existence. D is the existing Norman buttress which Harrison claimed to be a later insertion in a pre-Norman wall, but which we now believe to be an original part of this wall. E is an Early English buttress added later. The plan shows the supposed apses which we now believe to have had no existence. Both the plan and the elevation show how the plinth was carried across the northern opening C but was stopped short at the jambs of the southern opening A.

It therefore seems clear that the opening A as shown on our plan in Fig. 233 was cut through the Norman wall in the thirteenth century, no doubt to provide easy access for workmen during some alterations to the interior. The supposed central opening B has no real existence. The opening C was probably cut at an even later date through the northern part of the wall. Figure 233 shows the wall in accordance with Harrison's dating which we do not now accept.

Mr Harrison recorded the discovery of fragmentary survivals of the eastern terminations of three apses beneath the ground at the east of the openings in the wall. The Royal Commission reported that their excavations had rendered the existence of these apses highly improbable. Mr Sturdy has told us that he found no evidence for these supposed apses. However, he did find an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, with burials at more than one level, and with roughly squared slabs of stone above the bodies. One skeleton was in a headless condition, having been cut through by the Norman foundation of the east wall of the north aisle.

DIMENSIONS

The southern opening A is about 3 ft wide, and the northern opening C is about 2 ft 9 in. Both have their heads about 5 ft above the present ground level. The wall in which these openings stand is about 3 ft 3 in. in thickness and about 10 ft in height so far as the early work extends.

REFERENCES

J. P. HARRISON, 'Recent discoveries in Oxford cathedral', *Arch. J.* 45 (1888), 271-83. Outline history of the church and details of the discoveries. Suggestion that the southern doorway remained in use after the burning of the church in 1002, as an entry to St Frideswide's shrine. Reference to a document which recorded that Ethelred repaired and enlarged the building at that time and that the shrine, which had formerly been on the south side of the church thereafter became in the middle. Plan, 278. The document mentioned by Harrison may conveniently be consulted in D. Whitelock, *E.H.D.* (1955), no. 127; it is dated 1004 and it does not mention the position of the shrine.

R.C.H.M., *Oxford City* (London, 1939), 35-8.

F. M. STENTON, 'St Frideswide and her times', *Oxoniensia*, I (1936).

OXFORD

Map sheet 158, reference SP 513063

Figure 546

ST MICHAEL

West tower: period C3

The sturdy Anglo-Saxon west tower of St Michael's church has a prominent position on the east side of Oxford's busy Cornmarket, only a

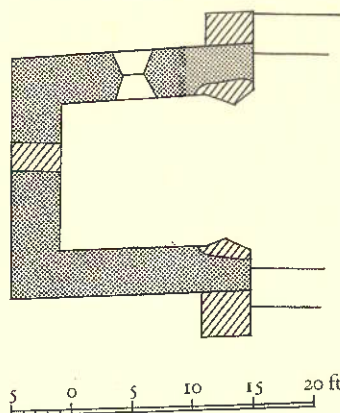


FIG. 234. OXFORD, ST MICHAEL
Ground plan of the tower showing its double-splayed north window and its blocked western doorway.

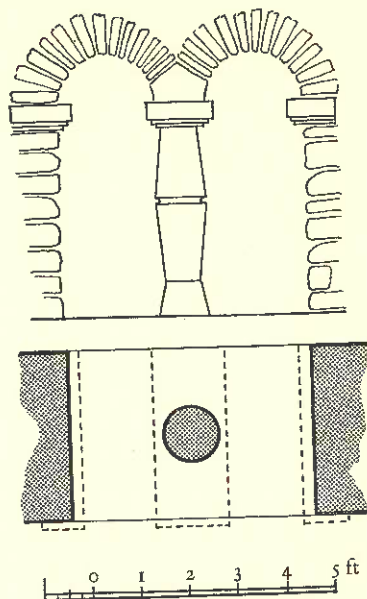


FIG. 235. OXFORD, ST MICHAEL
Details of one of the double belfry windows. The drawing shows the stepped capitals and the bulbous baluster-shaft of the upper belfry window on the west face.

few yards south of Broad Street, beside the former site of the north gate of the city. The aisled nave, and the chancel with its flanking chapels, date from the thirteenth century or later; and no part of the pre-Conquest church other than the tower has survived. The fabric of the tower is of rubble, with long-and-short quoins on both northern angles, but rubble quoins on the south. The unbuttressed walls rise sheer, about 70 ft from the ground to the plain modern parapet; with no

string-course or off-set to relieve their simplicity or to separate them into stages corresponding with the four internal storeys.

The ground floor has a blocked, round-headed, west doorway; and it is lit by a double-splayed, round-headed, north window, with jambs and head all built in rubble. The blocked doorway has plain square imposts and arched round head of dressed stone, but its jambs have either been robbed when it was blocked, or else have always been of rubble like the walls. Three dressed stones survive in the northern jamb, and therefore the former deduction seems the more reasonable. The first floor has round-headed, double-splayed windows in the north and west faces, both wholly formed of rubble, but that to the west has apparently been enlarged later by lowering its sill, as if to form a doorway. The second floor has a tall round-headed doorway cut straight through the wall and opening to the north, with its sill over 30 ft above the ground. Close above this doorway, and also opening to the second floor, the tower has in each

of its four faces a characteristically late-Saxon, double belfry window, whose two round heads are arched with roughly laid stone voussoirs formed of flattish pieces of stone rubble. The square jambs are of the same rubble as the walls; but in each window the arched heads rest on projecting, rectangular, stepped imposts of dressed stone, and on a similar central through-stone slab which is supported on a mid-wall baluster-shaft of somewhat bellying shape, with a recessed band round its centre. The uppermost floor or bell-chamber has similar double windows to north, west, and south; but on the east it has a modern rectangular opening wholly faced in dressed stone. All the openings on all levels, except this uppermost eastern window, appear to be original. Nothing remains of the original tower-arch, which has been replaced by a wide pointed arch, spanning the full width of the tower.

The tower is roughly square in plan and is about 70 ft tall, with sides about 20 ft in length externally and about 12 ft internally.

ADDENDUM

REFERENCES TO THE FOUNDATION OF MUCHELNEY ABBEY

(See pp. 451-3)

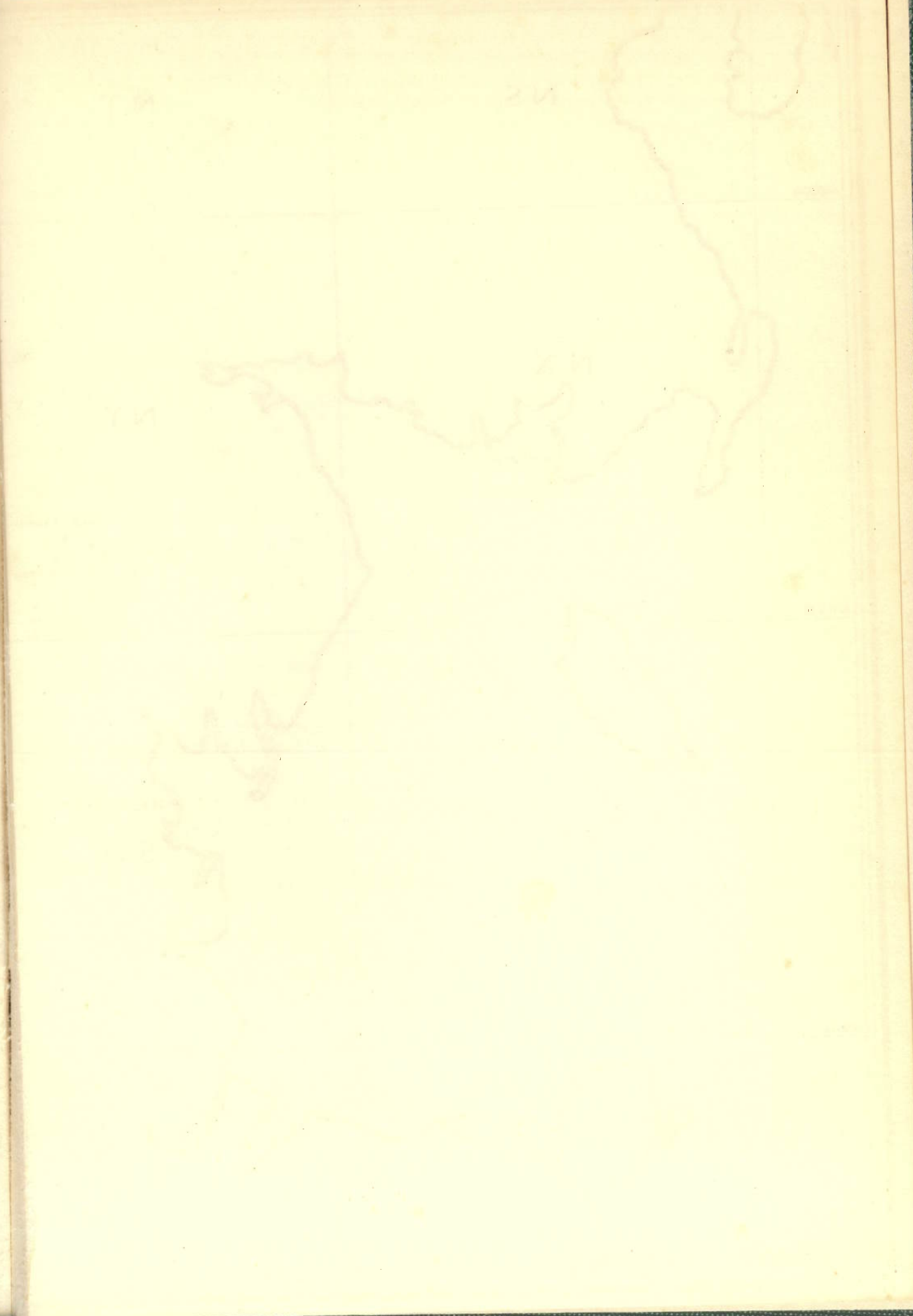
Muchelney abbey claimed to have been founded by King Ine of Wessex (688-726), and certainly was in existence when a grant was made to it by King Cynewulf in 762.¹ William of Malmesbury

says it had the same founder as Middleton, i.e. King Athelstan (924-39); but this must relate to a re-foundation.² A charter of Ethelred the Unready to Muchelney survives in the original form.³

¹ D. Whitelock, *E.H.D.* (1955), no. 71, p. 459.

² *Gesta Pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (Rolls Series, 52) (London, 1870), 199 f.

³ E. H. Bates, *Two cartularies of... Muchelney and Athelney* (Somerset Record Society, 14) (London, 1899), frontispiece.



Norham

NS

NT

600 Km

NX

NY

Warden

• Whithorn

Long Marton

Morland

Appleby

Crossby
Garrett

500 Km

SC

○ HEYSHAM

SD

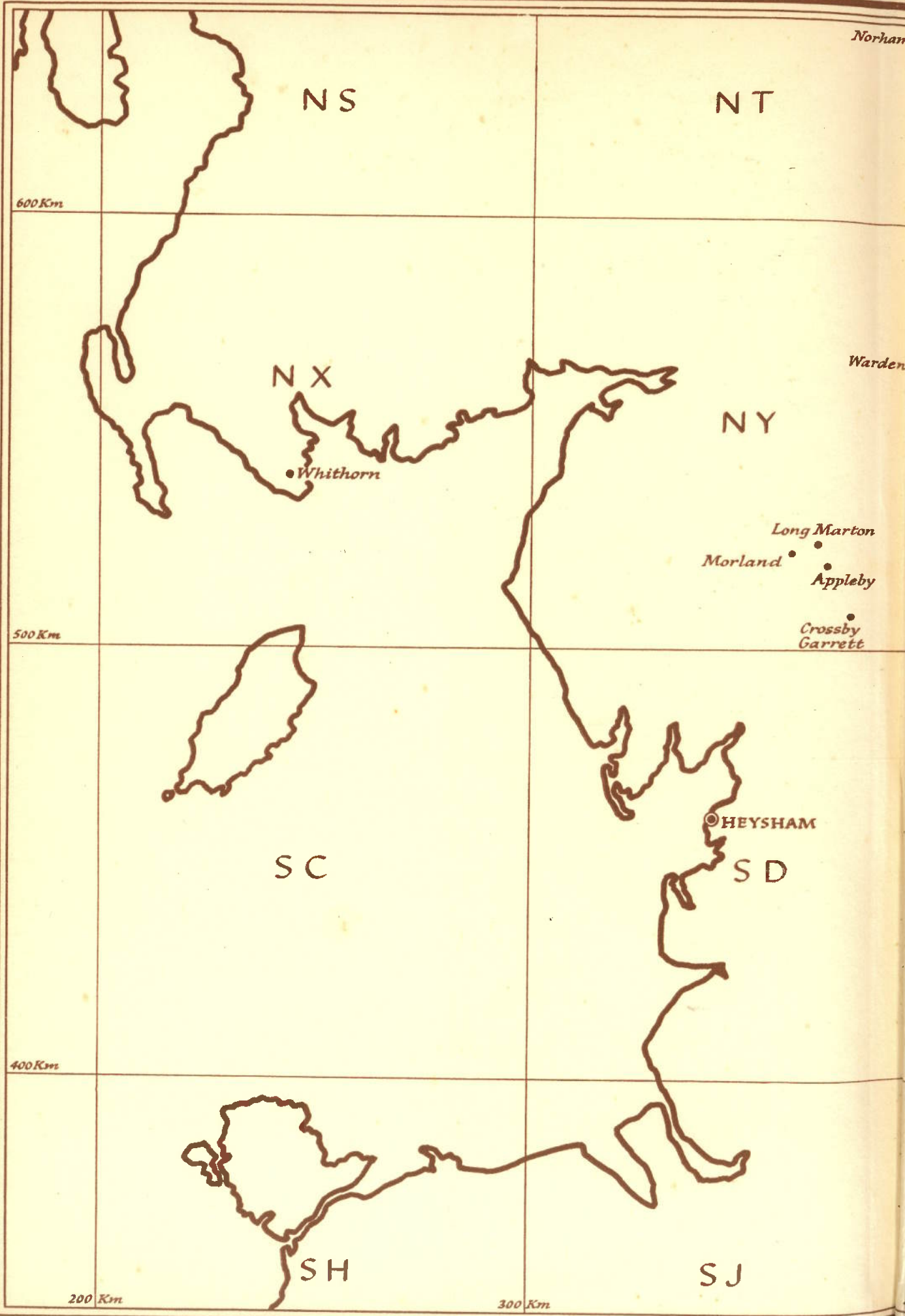
400 Km

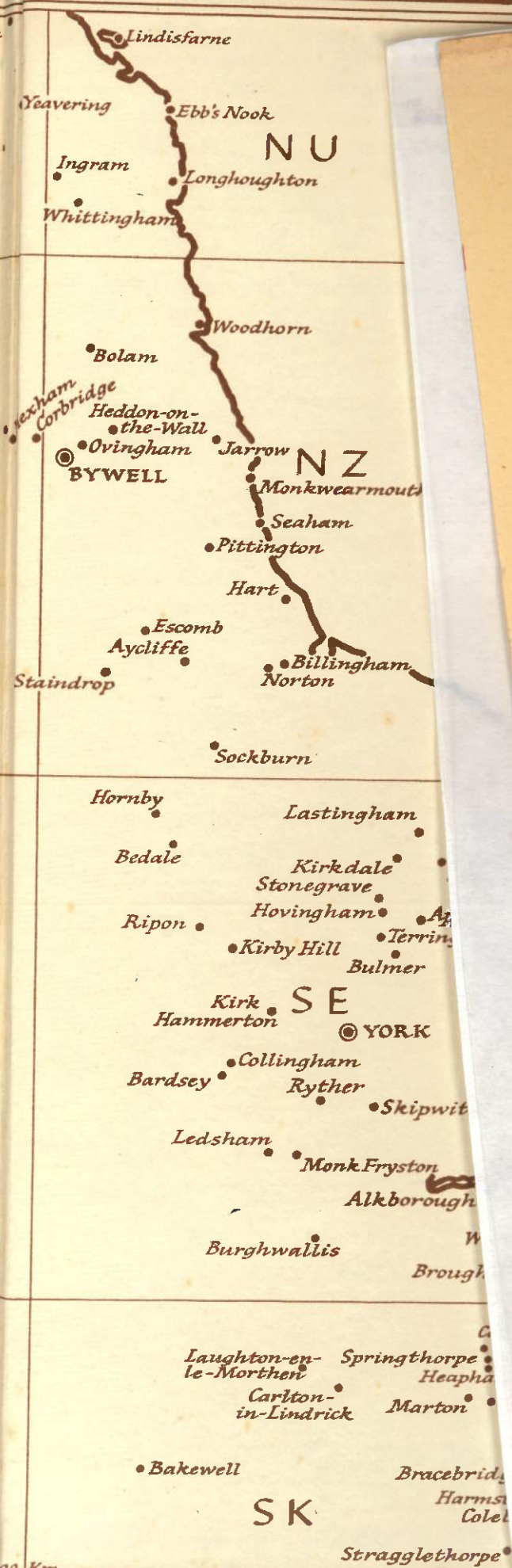
SH

SJ

200 Km

300 Km





The picture on the jacket is a copy of a nineteenth-century drawing of CORHAMPTON CHURCH. It illustrates some features that were destroyed in a later restoration (see pp. 176-9 and Fig. 440).

The scroll-work embossed on the cover is based upon the carved stone panels of the tower of BARNACK CHURCH (see pp. 44-5).

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Bentley House, 200, Euston Road, London, N.W.1

American Branch: 32 East 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

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Printed in Great Britain

